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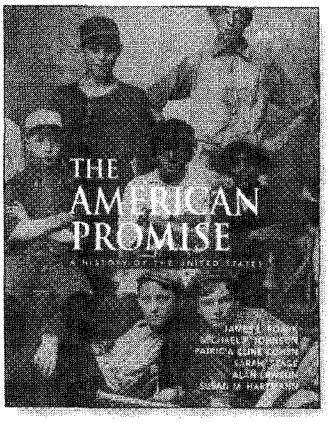
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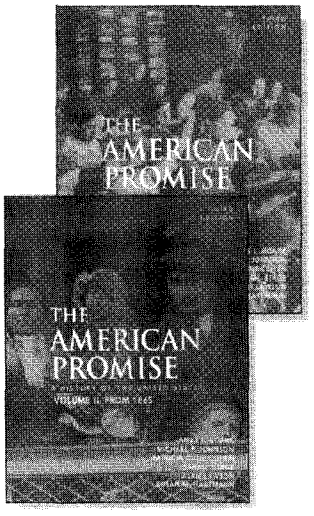
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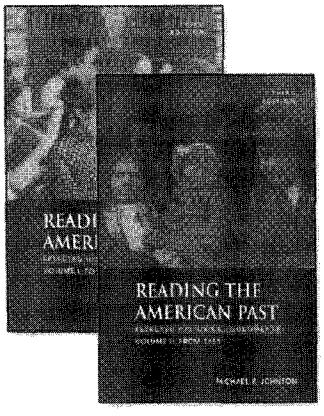
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In This Issue

This issue contains four articles and a review essay. The articles examine the regulation of the meat trade through a comparative analysis of three cities, the creation of historical narratives in India, the connections between race and benevolence in the early twentieth-century United States, and the place of Islam in modern Japanese diplomacy. The review essay surveys historical studies in the newly emerging field of the scholarship of teaching. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Roger Horowitz, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, and Sydney Watts compare the shifting boundaries between state intervention and market liberalization in the meat trades of Paris, New York City, and Mexico City across three historical episodes: an old regime period characterized by paternalist intervention, a radical era of liberalization, and a period that reinstituted a regulatory regime. Their comparison of the same trade in three major cities reveals how different societies structured the regulation of economic activity. The authors use Ira Katznelson's notion of "the grammar of liberalism" to suggest that a useful strategy in comparative history is not to argue for exceptionalism but instead to identify points of similarity between different national cultures. They present the various configurations of market organization and consumer society as expressions of what they term "market culture." First they explain the various ways that historians have employed market culture to capture the tension between economic rationality and the social relationships in which such concepts and practices are embedded; then they employ the concept as a tool to rethink economic and social processes and to focus on how consumer expectations and market regulation vary depending on particular goods and services. More generally, Horowitz, Pilcher, and Watts argue for the centrality of food as an important and revealing subject of historical inquiry. Their study demonstrates the insights that can come from subjecting longstanding issues like economic regulation to comparative analysis.

Sumit Guha examines the distinctions between "folklore" or "native traditions" and "scientific history" and how they have emerged historically. His analysis is drawn from a study of the changing character and social meaning of historical narratives

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in western India from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Guha uses material from these narratives to trace the ways in which the interaction of kingly power with resilient local societies generated a distinct narrative genre from the sixteenth century onward. He also shows how that genre changed over time: first in the eighteenth century with the rise to all-India prominence of a regional Marathi-speaking elite, and again with the establishment of British colonial rule a century later. His fundamental goal is this analysis is to provide a new perspective on an issue of perennial importance to our discipline: the generative relations between structures of power, on the one hand, and historical traditions and practices, on the other. Guha's essay thus helps us understand historical thinking as a cultural construct.

Gunja SenGupta analyzes the interplay of identity, power, and everyday politics with the assumptions of American exceptionalism in Progressive-era New York. The dynamics of this interplay emerge in her case study of the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School (HOIS), an African-American benevolent association originally founded in Brooklyn to shelter the children of southern migrant women employed in domestic service. The records of the HOIS offer a rich set of sources to study the formation of identity by assessing the organization's benefactors, staff, and clients as men and women, as workers and consumers, as surrogate parents, children, and lovers, and as black and white Americans. SenGupta develops this analysis by examining the dialectical relationship between elite white and black interpretations of American identity embedded in the welfare visions and management styles of the HOIS's mostly white managers and its black staff. She also shows how these clashes in turn helped shape the rhetorical, symbolic, and material strategies of the institution's inmates. Applying the conceptual insights of subaltern scholarship on Africa, Latin America, and Asia to the United States, SenGupta's essay demonstrates how local studies can engage larger historiographical issues.

Selçuk Esenbel explores the role of Islam in Japan's global claim to Asia in an effort to connect Japanese history to the history of Islam. She argues that despite the major role Islam came to play in Japan's Pan-Asianist international policy, the topic has not been studied extensively because of the intellectual boundaries of area studies. She crosses those boundaries by focusing on the relationship between Japanese nationalism and political Islam through the activities of Pan-Islamist and Japanese Pan-Asianist actors between 1900 and 1945. In the process, Esenbel challenges the simple applications of ideological explanations such as Occidentalism or Orientalism as explanations of the emergence of anti-Western movements highlighting instead how the transnational character of Pan-Islam was connected to the policies and behavior of world powers in the twentieth century. In place of the familiar Japan/West binary, she asserts the need to understand an alternative arena of international relations between so-called "Non-Western" regions in modern history.

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Review Essay

David Pace charts the rise of interest in the scholarship of teaching and learning throughout the English-speaking world and the work it has produced on the teaching of history. The emergence of this new body of scholarship, he argues, has made visible the longstanding contrast between the rigor with which historians create knowledge about the past and the amateurishness that has traditionally marked the generation and transmission of knowledge about teaching history. Those in the new field have begun to explore questions such as how the conceptions of history students bring to the classroom affect their learning and what kinds of mental operations students must master to succeed in history courses. However, Pace concludes that the potential of such research will not be realized until professional historians join in the effort to create rigorous knowledge about what occurs in the college history classroom.

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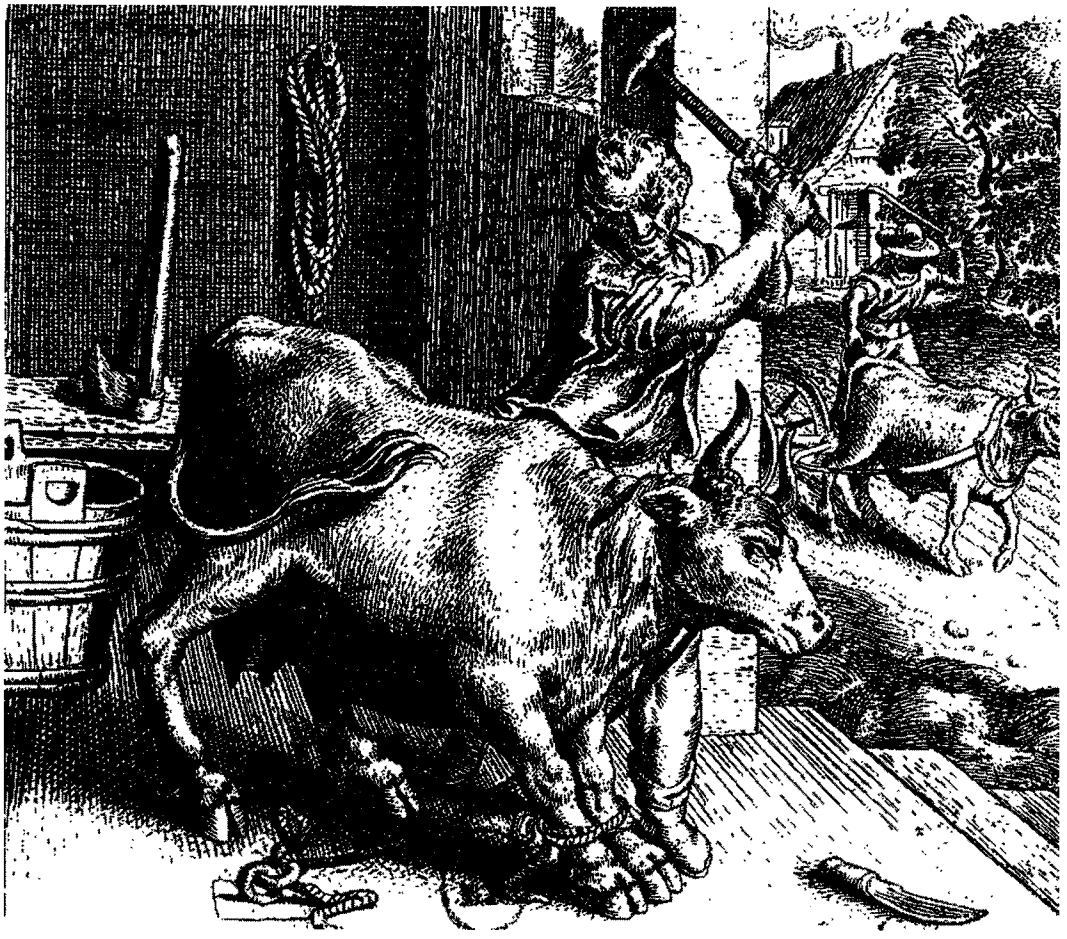


FIGURE 1: "Le boucher à l'Ancien Régime," from Cabinet d'Estampes, Collection Arts et Métiers. Reproduced with kind permission of the Bibliotheque nationalde France, Paris.

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Meat for the Multitudes: Market Culture in Paris, New York City, and Mexico City over the Long Nineteenth Century

ROGER HOROWITZ, JEFFREY M. PILCHER, and SYDNEY WATTS

In 1981, a special Independence Day edition of the *National Provisioner* boasted proudly of the meat-packing industry's success producing "meat for the multitudes." "Nowhere else," they asserted with imperial confidence, "have consumers been able to enjoy so much wholesome, healthful, and delicious meat."[1] Democratic access to beef thus was cast as the industry's mission, conveying legitimacy, and signifying more generally the inevitable superiority of U.S. capitalism. Yet the technology of feedlots and packinghouses, praised so lavishly in the *National Provisioner*'s pages, also has raised fears of tropical deforestation and untested growth hormones, *E. coli* infection and "mad cow" syndrome. Contemporary protests have spurred governments to intervene in markets in much the same way that Upton Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle* (1906), fueled earlier demands for meat inspection in the United States.[2]

Just as capitalist economies pass through cycles of boom and bust, the "market culture" that shapes relations between state and civil society also seems prone to waves of expansion and contraction in response to popular attitudes and fears. This essay examines an earlier period of oscillation between state intervention and market liberalization in the meat trades of Paris, New York City, and Mexico City. Although the timing varied, these cities passed through three common episodes: an old regime characterized by paternalist intervention, a radical era of liberalization in which market controls relinquished their purview, and a subsequent expansion of state authority under a reformulated regulatory regime. In each city, monopolistic corporate guilds had inspired widespread dissatisfaction, but, contrary to their expressed goal of increasing supply, attempts to create free markets instead raised

This article began with a chance meeting at a Hagley Museum and Library conference, took form through panels at the Association for the Study of Food and Society, American Historical Association, and European Business History Association, and initially cohered into a single essay in a May 2002 research seminar at Hagley. At various stages, comments by Warren Belasco, Donna Gabaccia, Thomas Brennan, Mark Wasserman, Philip Scranton, William Sewell, James Brophy, Michael Grossberg, and several anonymous *AHR* readers vastly improved the essay. Given our culinary interests, we are indebted to our chef, Blair Grossman, who hosted a meeting in Richmond that first gave form to this article. The authors want to recognize support they received from the Hagley Museum and Library, University of Richmond, and The Citadel during the drafting process.

[1] *The National Provisioner* 185 (July 4, 1981): 5.

[2] Marion Nestle, *Safe Food: Bacteria, Biotechnology, and Bioterrorism* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Maxime Schwartz, *How the Cows Turned Mad* (Berkeley, 2003).

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prices and increased pollution and meat adulteration, leading ultimately to renewed demands for government intervention. The new regulatory regimes mirrored the ideals of their paternalist predecessors with one important difference, a change in focus from ensuring adequate supply and distribution to regulating production so as to guarantee wholesomeness and public health. We map these shifting boundaries between state regulation and individual economic activity through a connected comparison of market organization and consumer culture drawn from three independent research agendas.[3]

Scholars generally use the term "market culture" to capture the tension between economic "rationality" and the social relationships in which such concepts and practices are embedded. Studies of market culture have thus taken a critical anthropological perspective to reveal the contingent and politically charged foundations of the supposedly universal axioms governing neoclassical economics. Such an approach has inspired major revisions of the historical narrative of European industrialization by showing just how early modern entrepreneurs first learned to behave in a "rational" economic fashion and why the resulting markets excluded workers, women, and other subordinate groups.[4] These unequal power relations notwithstanding, historians have also demonstrated that markets remained tied to the popular expectations of consumers as well as to the material characteristics of goods. It is perhaps here that Americanists working in the fields of business, technology, and consumer culture have made their greatest contribution to this emerging literature. Although not using the term market culture, scholars in the United States have emphasized variations in the structure and behavior of firms depending on markets, production technologies, materials, and consumer demand.[5] These studies view the market as a negotiated space between makers and users of

[3] Roger Horowitz, *"Negro and White, Unite and Fight!" A Social History of Industrial Unionism in Meatpacking, 1930–1990* (Urbana, Ill., 1997); *Meat in America: Technology, Taste, Transformation* (Baltimore, forthcoming); Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *The Sausage Rebellion: Public Health, Private Enterprise, and Meat in Mexico City, 1890–1917* (Albuquerque, N.M., forthcoming); Sydney Watts, "Boucherie et hygiène à Paris au XVIII^{e} siècle," *Révue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 51: 3 (July–September 2004); "Meat Matters: The Butchers of Eighteenth-Century Paris" (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1999).

[4] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963); Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); William M. Reddy, *The Rise of Market Culture: The Textile Trade and French Society, 1750–1900* (Cambridge, 1984); Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998); Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York, 1998); John Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1999); Victoria E. Thompson, *The Virtuous Marketplace: Women and Men, Money and Politics in Paris, 1830–1870* (Baltimore, 2000); Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001).

[5] The paradigmatic work in economic and business history comes from Philip Scranton, especially *Endless Novelty: Specialty Production and American Industrialization, 1865–1925* (Princeton, N.J., 1997). Other studies include the essays in Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, eds., *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York, 1989); Regina Lee Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning* (Baltimore, 2000). On the politics of consumer culture, see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, 2003); Margaret Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, 2005).

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goods and among those who sell, advertise, and design the material culture of their society.[6]

Contemporary critics of the neoclassical paradigm revisit, in turn, an older debate between "formalists" studying rational economic decisionmaking and "substantivists" concerned more broadly with the material acts of making a living, especially for societies in which reciprocity and redistribution assumed greater importance than market exchanges. The economic historian Karl Polanyi, who framed the terms of this debate, argued in his 1944 book, *The Great Transformation*, that the modern capitalist system and market rationality represented a radical departure from earlier forms of economic organization and mentalities.[7] Yet subsequent research has complicated this notion by demonstrating significant continuities across this supposedly epochal divide; indeed, scholars now find it increasingly difficult even to agree on where to draw such a line.[8] Moreover, the success of Asian industrial economies has challenged the unitary model of Western modernization and demanded recognition of the diversity of market culture.[9] In this study, we look for an oscillation of popular attitudes over periods of revolutionary social and political change in place of a linear and deterministic "great transformation."

In Paris, New York City, and Mexico City, the rapid urbanization and industrial growth of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries forced governments to grapple with questions that were both prosaic and political: how best to supply the populace with fresh, wholesome meat? To what degree should the state be held responsible for the basic necessities of its people? What aspects of the meat trade necessitated regulation and oversight? The rules governing the relationship between civil society and state power in the meat trade—an element of what Ira Katznelson has termed the "grammar of liberalism"—varied on many levels.[10]

[6] Economic historian Douglass C. North has dismissed the assumption of rationality as inappropriate for understanding historical change and called instead for an examination of the effects of institutions on economic behavior. See his Nobel Prize address, published as "Epilogue: Economic Performance through Time," in Lee J. Alston, Thráinn Eggertsson, and North, eds., *Empirical Studies in Institutional Change* (Cambridge, 1996), 347; as well as *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (Cambridge, 1990). The historical literature on market culture simultaneously intersects with a rising insurgency by economic psychologists, feminist economists, and others who have probed the numerous situations in contemporary Western society that defy seeming economic rationality, particularly within the domestic sphere. Important works include Nancy Folbre, *The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values* (New York, 2001); Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, "Rational Choice and the Framing of Decisions," in Robin M. Hogarth and Melvin W. Reder, eds., *Rational Choice* (Chicago, 1986).

[7] The terms formal and substantive appeared in Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," in Polanyi, Conrad Arensberg, and Harry Pearson, eds., *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires* (New York, 1957), 243–70. For a recent summary of the debate, see Richard R. Wilk, *Economies and Cultures: Foundations of Economic Anthropology* (Boulder, Colo., 1996), 5–13.

[8] Thomas L. Haskell and Richard F. Teichgraeber III, eds., *The Culture of the Market: Historical Essays* (Cambridge, 1993).

[9] Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Market Cultures: Society and Morality in the New Asian Capitalisms* (Boulder, Colo., 1998).

[10] We draw from Katznelson's essay, "Working Class Formation and American Exceptionalism, Yet Again," where he argues for "a shift in the angle of vision away from the state as such to the character of the rules and institutions that govern the transactions between the state and civil society." Rather than see liberalism as a stable set of ideas and practices, Katznelson suggests that the most fruitful line of comparative inquiry would be at the level of its "grammar," the rules and relationships that were focal points for recurrent crises and reformulation, and through which scholars could explore "whether

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These boundaries were first of all geographic, the physical locations of the supply chain that both regulators and purveyors sought to control. A related struggle arose over who was best qualified to regulate the trade, for while guild butchers possessed expertise and experience, the state asserted its power based on impartiality. Medical professionals who stood outside the market exchange ultimately claimed both knowledge and impartiality, although their authority gained recognition only gradually over the nineteenth century. Consumption formed yet another boundary, as the demands of city residents for a good piece of meat, usually expressed inchoately through thousands of individual commercial transactions, could rapidly congeal into powerful political movements to alter the balance of public and private power.[11]

In these three cities—at different moments and under different circumstances—political revolutions built on liberal ideals replaced the paternalist state with a new deregulated marketplace in which supply and demand rather than government edict directed meat provisioning. By freeing the marketplace from the control of cartels and guild monopolies, these newly formed governments sought a more democratic labor pool and greater commercial transparency. Tensions arose from different ideas of how liberty in the marketplace would supposedly encourage supply and allow for a just price through competition. In each case, the paternalistic model came in direct conflict with the new liberal political economy over the role of cattle merchants and butchers, particularly in the establishment of health and safety standards. Free trade allowed the market to run amuck with soaring prices and dwindling supplies, prompting consumers and public health experts to call for renewed regulation.

These cases make ideal sites to explore the multiple ways producers, consumers, and state regulators regarded these provisioning demands and responded to changes in the marketplace. As the principal urban centers with privileged positions in their respective nations, Paris, New York City, and Mexico City remained relatively well provisioned with fresh meat, mainly in the form of beef and mutton. The politically influential elite became the trade's most demanding customers, and while these upper and middle-class shoppers were unlikely to emulate bread rioters

critical moments in American political development have coincided with such moments elsewhere." The essay may be found in Rick Halpern and Jonathan Morris, eds., *American Exceptionalism? US Working Class Formation in an International Context* (London, 1997), 36–55.

[11] E. P. Thompson has provided the most influential analysis of consumer politics through the "moral economy" of the crowd. Although this notion has been adopted as a handy yardstick for measuring collective violence of all sorts, Thompson used it as a mode for analyzing consumer expectations (not necessarily actions) that were bound to a paternalist model of food marketing where governments intervened for the public good. Conflict arose among producers, consumers, and public officials as this market culture (characterized by the moral imperatives that bound a paternalistic state to its people) confronted a liberal regime of the free market in grain. Meat, by contrast, as a good of heterogeneous nature and elastic demand, rarely incited riots but nonetheless remained a source of popular concern and, at times, collective action. Consumer expectations focused on the quality of this perishable rather than on price alone, along with economic structures such as the consistency of cattle supplies and the organization of distribution of this basic foodstuff to the urban populace. The elements of a "moral economy of meat" thus found expression under the old regime in popular consensus as to the legitimacy of cattle wholesaling and meat retailing practices. See "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50 (February 1971): 76–136; "The Moral Economy Reviewed," in *Customs in Common* (New York, 1993), 261.

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by going out into the streets, through their own more inconspicuous connections they made known to political authorities the value of facilitating fresh meat supplies. Poorer city residents also grew accustomed to beef, often inferior pieces of the animal, but enough so that they were players in meat provisioning politics. The difficulties of obtaining regular supplies of fresh beef imparted much to its panache as a food and its resonance in daily politics, and provide a basis for considering subsequent transformations within each city occasioned by liberal reforms.[12]

Comparative history entails questions of periodization as well as of sample, and the search for an appropriate chronology must begin by rejecting the classical trinity of democratic revolution, 1776, 1789, and 1810, which suggests America's leading role in the advance of liberalism. This essay will instead follow the recent historiography of American republicanism and treat the half-century after independence as part of an old regime of privilege.[13] Until the triumph of Jacksonian politics in the 1840s, New York City's public market system protected a butcher cartel similar to the guilds of monarchical France or the monopolies of colonial New Spain. France pioneered the liberal experiment with the 1791 d'Allard Law that abolished guilds, ending the corporate privileges of butchers.[14] But revolutionary turmoil and economic crisis quickly led Parisians to abandon free markets, and Napoleon ultimately resolved the chaos in the meat trade through the creation of municipal abattoirs. The liberal experiment lasted longest in Mexico City, where opposition to Spanish mercantilism culminated in an 1813 declaration of free trade. Unregulated commerce persisted for almost a century, as large livestock merchants beat off successive efforts to reimpose municipal control.

To examine these changes, this essay begins with the institutions and customs of paternalist governments of the old regime. The focus here is on comparisons between supply regions and guild organizations, state forms of regulation and the corporate control of butchers and cattle merchants, as well as the ways that consumers expressed their preferences and asserted their power. The second section considers consumer discontent with monopolistic practices and how this coalesced into political pressure for market liberalization. In each case, the unfettered marketplace clashed with principles of subsistence, health, and hygiene. As the third section explains, culturally specific consumer expectations shaped the general disgust with the liberal regime, resulting in various attempts to regulate the market. The commonalities of these experiences with liberalism suggest the persistent need for regulation by an impartial group and the continued imposition of rules and controls on meat providers.

[12] Beef was primarily consumed fresh because of its inadequacy as a cured product. Unlike pork, which takes well to curing because of the shorter, less dense muscle fibers and the distribution of fat throughout the flesh, beef is rendered hard and tasteless by the process of salting and drying.

[13] See Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); William J. Novack, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), esp. chap. 3.

[14] In March 1791, the National Assembly issued the d'Allard law, abolishing guilds across France. In June of that year, the Le Chapelier laws forbade workers' associations altogether.

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THE RURAL-URBAN MEAT TRADE OF THE OLD REGIME assumed very different forms based on networks of cattle provisioning and the organization of commercial markets in New York City, Paris, and Mexico City. Yet each distinct system wrestled with the same intractable problem of assuring steady supplies of livestock to urban areas. In all three cases, the organization and effectiveness of the meat exchange worked within the limits of politically sanctioned cartels holding virtual monopolies. The focal points of control differed in each case, based on their organization of wholesaling and retailing. Wholesale cattle markets constituted one power center, the slaughter of livestock another, and retail meat sales a third. The politics of meat emerged from the pursuit of individual interests by producers, consumers, and regulators within these various sites and informed by the expectations of market culture.

These three cities had both prodigious appetites for meat and the political and financial resources to satisfy that hunger. Paris, the largest of the three, had more than half a million residents on the eve of the revolution, including a substantial elite of royal dignitaries and wealthy merchants, as well as transients and the working poor.[15] Mexico City, home of the viceregal court of New Spain, became known as the "city of palaces," but the majority of its 110,000 inhabitants at the dawn of the nineteenth century lived in crowded tenements and crude shacks outside the elegant Hispanic city center.[16] New York City, although not the national capital, had nevertheless become America's principal city by the early nineteenth century, with a population of more than 300,000 in 1840.[17]

In France, royal statutes entrusted meat markets to the guild of master and merchant butchers, giving them exclusive purview over the purchase of cattle in outlying markets as well as the sale of fresh meat within licensed Parisian shops and stalls. In Mexico City, the Spanish colonial state likewise afforded a monopoly, known as the *abasto de carne* (meat supply), to prominent merchants. In the United States, municipalities rather than the federal government held responsibility for provisioning, and the New York City council conferred de facto guild status on its licensed butchers, who held an exclusive right to retail sales but had no influence over cattle supplies. These political-economic structures ensured reliable provisioning and stable venues of control, but they simultaneously contributed to a phlegmatic economic environment by restricting both entry and internal mobility in the meat trades.

Livestock supply naturally framed regulation under the old regime, as no meat trade was possible without an adequate supply of animals. The paternalistic state extended its regulatory control over livestock markets throughout France and New Spain to ensure steady supplies of meat to the capital cities. Paris consumed 150,000

[15] According to a report to the procurator general, the butchers acknowledged "une augmentation de leur débit d'une cinquième depuis quelques années." Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter, BNF), Collection Joly de Fleury, mss. 460, folio 191; A. Husson, *Les consommations de Paris* (Paris, 1875), 157; M. Lachiver, "L'approvisionnement de Paris en viande au XVIII^{e} siècle," in *La France d'Ancien Régime: Etudes réunis en l'honneur de P. Goubert* (Toulouse, 1984), 345–54, 352.

[16] Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *¿Relajados o reprimidos? Diversiones públicas y vida social en la ciudad de México durante el Siglo de las Luces* (Mexico City, 1987), 132–35.

[17] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States: Population* (Washington, D.C., 1872), 51.

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to 200,000 head of livestock (50,000 to 60,000 steer and cows) annually,[18] largely from the provinces of Normandy and Limousin, although when herds were low, the crown commissioned livestock purchases from as far away as Switzerland and Ireland.[19] By law, all cattle within the Paris region had to be sold at the two provisioning markets in the nearby towns of Sceaux and Poissy, which were carefully monitored by police.[20] Mexico City depended on a similarly complex, and paternalistic, livestock supply chain. Cattle were raised on haciendas in the piedmont along the Gulf and Pacific coasts and then driven to the central plateau using a complex network of intermediaries and feedlots.[21] The viceroy, concerned about ensuring regular supplies for a restive populace, required cattle shipped into the Valley of Mexico held in the capital's common pastures until demand was satisfied, thereby conferring considerable market power to the city's wholesale merchants.[22] (See Figure 2.)

In contrast to the heavy-handed paternalism of France and New Spain, New York City's proximity to extensive grazing land allowed it to obtain supplies with minimal government oversight. Autonomous drovers dominated the trade, collecting herds from "upstate" Westchester and Duchess Counties or ferrying cattle from New Jersey farms.[23] Livestock also came from New England, and increasingly after 1820, from the west, principally Ohio.[24] As in Paris and Mexico City, however, the wholesale trade was closely circumscribed; New York City livestock sales could only

[18] Livestock provisions included sheep, cows, steer, veal, and a nominal number of pigs. For statistics on cattle entries in 1637, see BNF, Collection Joly de Fleury, 1428, fols. 1–14, published in Arthur-Michel de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoire de la généralité de Paris* (Paris, 1881), 658–59. For later statistics, see Marcel Lachiver, "L'approvisionnement de Paris en viande au XVIII^{e} siècle," in *La France d'Ancien Régime*, 345–54; and Bernard Garnier, "Des boeufs pour Paris: Commercialisation et élevage en Basse-Normandie (1700–1900)," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 106, no. 1 (January–March 1999): 101–20, esp. 104–05.

[19] Jean-Marc Moriceau, *L'elevage sous l'Ancien Régime, XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles*, (Paris, 1999); Bernard Garnier, "Les marchés aux bestiaux: Paris et sa banlieue," *Cahiers d'histoire* 42, no. 3–4 (1997): 575–609.

[20] Manuscript collection, "Commerce de la viande dans les marchés de Sceaux et de Poissy, 1705–1725," Archives Nationales de France (hereafter, ANF), G7 1668–70, fols. 157–213; see esp. letter dated March 1, 1724, fol. 161; ANF, G7 1677; F12 fol. 59.

[21] François Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda*, Alvin Eustis, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1970), 95, 116, 123; Herman W. Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576–1767* (Stanford, Calif., 1980), 175–82; Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780–1826* (Austin, Tex., 1976), 49.

[22] Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley, Calif., 1981), 202–03; Nils Jacobsen, "Livestock Complexes in Late Colonial Peru and New Spain: An Attempt at Comparison," in Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, eds., *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810* (Berlin, 1986), 123; Charles H. Harris III, *A Mexican Family Empire: The Latifundio of the Sánchez Navarros, 1765–1867* (Austin, Tex., 1975), 80; Guy P. C. Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700–1850* (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 131; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), 346.

[23] J. Ritchie Garrison, "Farm Dynamics and Regional Exchange: The Connecticut Valley Beef Trade, 1670–1850," *Agricultural History* 61 (1987): 1–17.

[24] Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York* (New York, 1933), 374–76. Thomas De Voe, "The Introduction and History of Cattle in America," unpublished manuscript, 169–78; undated article, "The Butchers and Drovers Bank" (c. 1877) in folder, "Notes and Clippings about Butchers"; entry for Ernest Keyser in folio volume, "List of Butchers in New York City"; all Thomas De Voe Papers, New-York Historical Society. David C. Smith and Anne E. Bridges, "The Brighton Market: Feeding Nineteenth-Century Boston," *Agricultural History* 56 (1982): 3–21.

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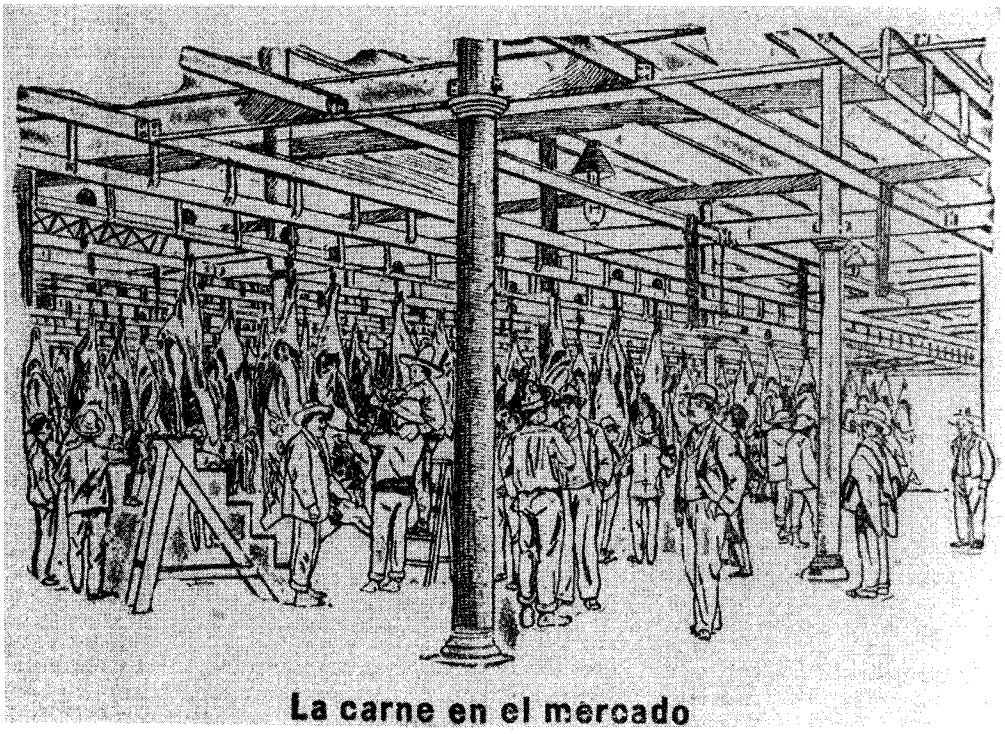


FIGURE 2: "Le carne en el Mercado" (Meat in the market), *El Mundo*, September 5, 1891. Stylishly dressed Mexican livestock importers bargain with barefoot retail butchers over sides of beef displayed by slaughterhouse workers. Reproduced with kind permission of the Hemeroteca Nacional, Mexico City.

take place behind the Bull's Head Tavern, a central stockyards located near 24th Street and Lexington Avenue.[25] (See Figure 3.)

While officials in all three cities hoped to maximize the wholesale supply of livestock, retail markets functioned as legally sanctioned cartels, limiting competition and supply. The point at which both governments and butchers focused their control of the markets differed in each case. Parisian guilds carried out their trade in individual shops spread throughout the city, while New York City butchers worked out of city markets, and in Mexico City, a public abattoir served as the exclusive location for slaughtering cattle. A common theme in all three cases was the importance of butchers in regulating the quality of meat, while city officials acted more as overseers than inspectors, concerned primarily with licensing the trade and collecting taxes.

In Paris, an elite group of butchers used corporate privileges and guild leadership to dominate the wholesale to retail trade. The guild system acted as gatekeeper to the urban trade, and butchers seeking mastership had to complete three years as an apprentice and at least five years as a journeyman. While the long road to mastership guaranteed a level of skill and expertise, conferring prestige and distinction, the privilege of mastership—limited to 240 members—also encouraged members to police itinerant, "rogue" meat-sellers who worked outside the corporate system. Guild masters acted as quasi-public servants, pledging annually their

[25] *The World*, February 3, 1877, De Voe Papers.

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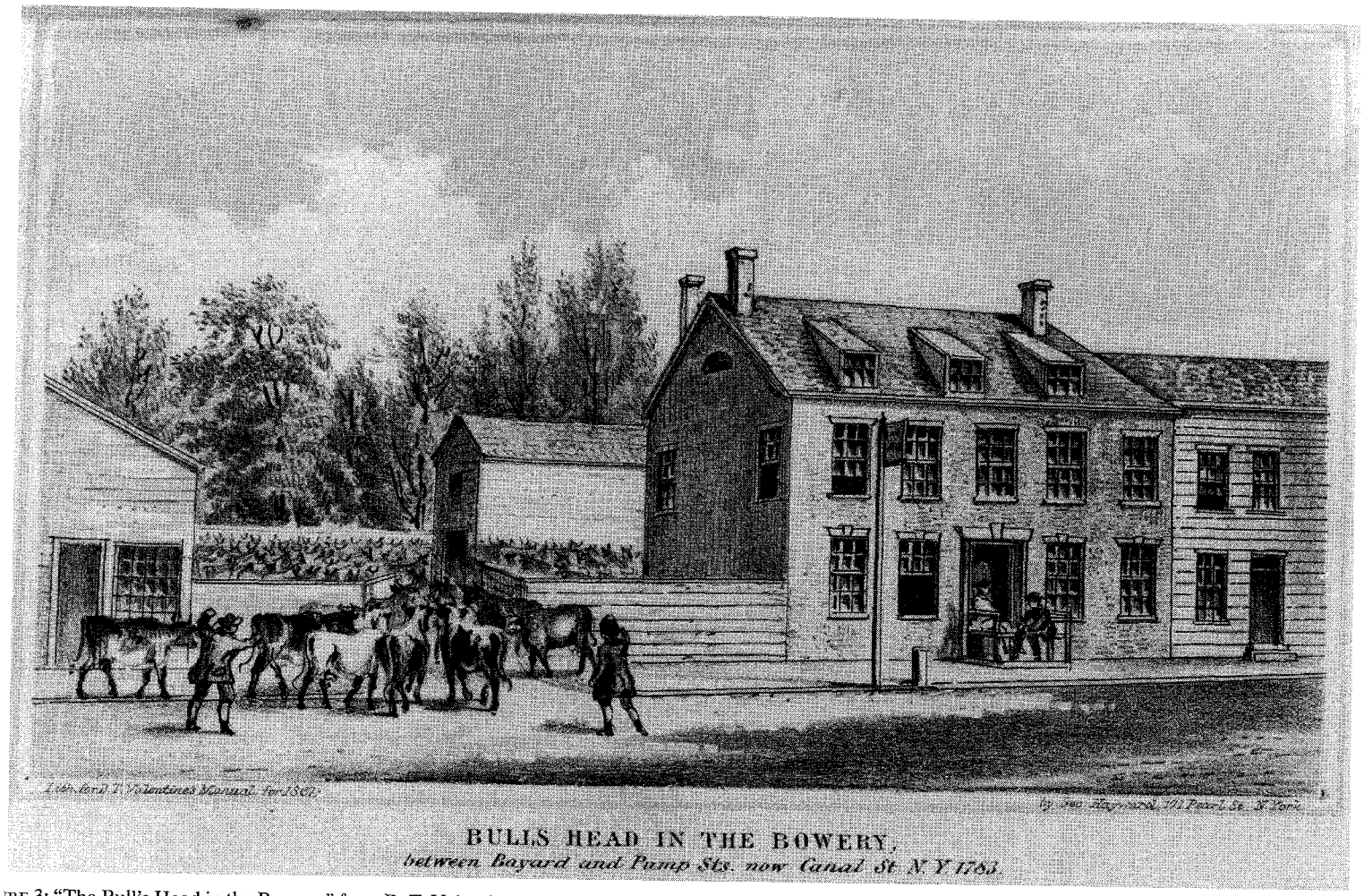


FIGURE 3: "The Bull's Head in the Bowery," from D. T. Valentine, ***Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*** (1861). Reproduced with kind permission of the Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware.

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duty to provide meat that was "good, trustworthy, and marketable."[26] The guild further protected the status of these masters through a strong sense of corporate identity built around several powerful family firms, who used extended family networks to evade city restrictions on businesses to three stalls per master. The wealthiest merchants dominated the trade by practicing vertical integration from wholesale cattle markets to privately owned slaughterhouses then finally to their own butcher stalls. Hence, paternalistic practices, imbued with a spirit of honor and service, pervaded the guild structure both internally and in retail sales.

While a handful of prominent families dominated Paris's fresh meat business, an equally restricted clique of Mexico City merchants maintained control over the municipal slaughterhouse. Following medieval Spanish custom, the city contracted wholesale markets for beef and mutton to a semi-private monopoly conferred through an annual auction. The enormous capital needed to satisfy the capital's demand for meat at a fixed price restricted the bidding to wealthy merchants and landowning nobles.[27] Retailing took place in thirteen markets (*carnicerías*) forming a circle around the Hispanic city center. Contrary to European guild practices, the meat trades were organized along functional lines to limit collusion, but by the eighteenth century, the nominally independent retail meat-cutters (*tablajeros*) had become de facto employees of supply merchants. Native American slaughterhouse workers occupied the lowest level of the social and economic hierarchy but nevertheless preserved a corporate identity as the *comúna de carniceros* (butchers' guild), despite their lack of recognition by officials and merchants.[28]

A third system, based on access to retail outlets, gave municipally licensed butchers a dominant position over New York City's meat business for sixty years after independence. By law, the city government restricted meat sales to a given number of stalls located in twelve municipal food markets. These rules created a quasi-guild structure controlled by licensed butchers, who reserved the trade largely to descendents of British residents of colonial New York, excluding more recent immigrants such as the Germans. Becoming a market butcher was a long process, requiring an apprenticeship of four to seven years, followed by perhaps a decade as a journeyman. Butchers controlled the city's Market Committee and would only certify journeymen with recommendations from well-regarded masters. Market laws also restricted competition from wholesale vendors, known colloquially as "shirk" butchers, and farmers. City inspectors monitored market stalls closely, more

[26] The royal procurator and the lieutenant general of police administered this oath to the master and merchant butchers annually. As the text states: "Donnons pareillement lettres du Serment et soumission faits par ledits sindics [*sic*] et adjoints et par les autres marchands Bouchers presents [*sic*] de garnir en viande de boucherie *bonne loyale et marchande* [emphasis mine] chacune son égard les Etaux à eux cy [*sic*] dessus adjugé." ANF, Y 9503/B.

[27] Ivonne Mijares, *Mestizo alimentario: El abasto en la ciudad de México en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City, 1993), 98–99; William H. Dusenberry, "The Regulation of Meat Supply in Sixteenth-Century Mexico City," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 28 (February 1948): 45; Ward Barrett, "The Meat Supply of Colonial Cuernavaca," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 64 (December 1974): 527; Constantino Bayle, *Los cabildos seculares en la America Española* (Madrid, 1952), 473–79. On the Spanish *abasto de carne*, see María Antonia Carmona Ruiz, *La ganadería en el reino de Sevilla durante la baja edad media* (Seville, 1998), 300–06.

[28] Slaughterhouse workers' petition of May 20, 1813, in Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México (hereafter, AHCM), vol. 8, exp. 282. See also Actas, April 2, 1538, AHCM, vol. 632A; Gabriel Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City, 1692–1810* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1999), 76–77.

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to ensure that unauthorized persons did not sell to the public than to certify wholesomeness, although occasionally they seized poor meat, provoking the ire—and challenging the reputation—of trusted butchers.[29]

These three cartels operated in a symbiotic relationship with paternalistic states seeking to guarantee a healthy, abundant food supply. On the one hand, livestock and meat purveyors received protections aimed to counter the vagaries of trade, which included losses due to cattle disease, agricultural shortfalls, the costs of transportation, and unbridled competition. On the other hand, these privileges acquired with the exclusive membership in a working community helped build their reputation as men of honor. The reciprocity inherent in this market culture existing between cattle merchants and retail butchers, elite butchers and their journeymen rested in a paternalistic logic bound by tradition and a clear sense of hierarchy.[30] But how did the ethos of market exchange meet the expectations of market-goers?

In all three cities, the elite and expanding middle class demanded regular supplies as meat provided an important demarcation of class status. Popular access to meat, in contrast, varied widely, at its greatest in New York City and most limited in Mexico City. During the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, urbanization placed increasing burdens on city governments with longstanding commitments to assure adequate supplies of meat and—in the cases of Paris and Mexico City—at a fixed or "just" price. Almost imperceptibly, dissatisfaction with access to meat supplies grew, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the "old regime." Societal distinctions in the distribution of meat were particularly pronounced in old regime Paris, where a new culinary system was placing heavy emphasis on quality cuts of red meat. Beginning with *Le cuisinier françois* (1651), the Parisian elite began to abandon complicated medieval ragouts and *pièces montées*. Instead, diners sat before a single-joint roast served with a simple sauce made from the drippings (*jus*) that accentuated the meat's quality. Nor was this "nouvelle cuisine" limited to just the elite; it formed part of a larger shift in food habits whereby beef became a bourgeois staple.[31] Although consumption of choice cuts were skewed to the upper ends of the social ladder, French magistrates and royal officers assumed a moral responsibility in overseeing the food supply for the common good.[32] In 1717, the price ceiling of lesser cuts including the skirt, shoulder, and shank (called *basse boucherie*) stood at 6 sous a pound; by the mid-eighteenth century, this price rose to 8 sous a pound.[33] As a result, a fairly well-paid journeyman or water carrier

[29] The best source on New York City's antebellum public markets is Thomas F. De Voe, *The Market Book: A History of the Public Markets of the City of New York* (1862; New York, 1970).

[30] David Bien, "Offices, Corps, and a System of State Credit: The Uses of Privilege under the Ancien Régime," in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols. (Durham, N.C., 1989), 1: 92.

[31] Daniel Roche has demonstrated the growing presence of cooking implements through a study of the probate records of Parisian artisans and domestics. Roche concludes that quick-fried meats gradually replaced the slow, simmering stews known as *pot au feu*. Roche, "Cuisine et alimentation populaire à Paris," *Dix-Huitième siècle* 15 (1983): 7–18; Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500–1800," in Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, Clarissa Botsford, trans., *et al.* (New York, 1999), 403–17.

[32] Royal proclamation, "Portant Reglement sur les Estaux des Boucheries de Paris," announced in Paris March 13, 1719, published in 1720. BNF, Collection Delamare, mss. fr. 21656, fols. 216–17.

[33] The municipal government also controlled the price of tripe and other offal, as these were meats "destined for the poor." In the mid-eighteenth century, a shopper paid 2 sous for each beef's liver, 5

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making 15–20 sous a day might afford some kind of meat to supplement his diet, while a skilled worker making 30 sous a day could possibly eat some form of animal protein daily.[34]

In colonial Mexico City, beef was considered the meat of the poor, while the rich consumed mutton. Therefore, the police allowed no price differential for different cuts; all had to be sold at the same fixed price.[35] Despite the class-based distinctions in consumption, wealthy Mexicans nevertheless shared many cultural preferences with their plebeian countrymen. Mutton, like beef, was commonly stewed or pit roasted, often with chiles in marinade (*adobo*). The Mexico City Council maintained a close surveillance over meat markets through magistrates of the *fiel ejecutoria* (market court). When shortages became common at the end of the eighteenth century, the mayor (*alcalde*) toured the markets to demonstrate the government's concern for the meat supply. Nevertheless, consumers had trouble obtaining even subsistence levels of meat, as prices rose to about five pounds for a *real* (an eighth of a peso) in the final decades of the colonial period. According to the best estimates, urban artisans may have earned about 72 pesos a year, but a family of four spent more than half of that amount, nearly 47 pesos, on the staple maize, so even small rises in the price of meat could make the difference between an occasional dish of *mole con carne* (beef in chile sauce) and *puros frijoles* (nothing but beans).[36] In Mexico City, fresh meat consumption was largely for the upper and middle classes.

By contrast, New Yorkers of all social strata expected to be able to obtain fresh meat at a reasonable price. An 1851 food budget for a working-class family indicated that annual per capita consumption of "butcher's meat" by family members was 146 pounds. For immigrants, such access defined their new American standard of living. "We buy the best of meat," English immigrant John Parks wrote to friends back home in 1827.[37] Nevertheless, even in this abundant market, class heavily influenced the types of fresh beef eaten by nineteenth-century Americans. Elites favored British-style roasts, cooked slowly for hours, and served with thick sauces and abundant side dishes. The poor were more likely to rely on tougher cuts of bony meat, such as the neck, shoulder, and thigh—judged "excellent for a sweet, strengthening soup."[38] The absence of formal price controls in New York City rendered such class distinction informal, but they were no less real.

The old regime's market culture of paternalism reflected and reinforced popular expectations that governments would ensure a steady supply of meat, and at

sous for the heart, 9 sous a pound for prepared tripe. By definition, the *basse viande* also included beef tongue, veal's feet, and *tête de veau*. BNF, Collection Joly de Fleury, mss. 77, fol. 289; BNF, mss. fr. 6687, cited in H. Monin, *L'état de Paris en 1789* (Paris, 1889), 442.

[34] Jean Vidalenc, "Une industrie alimentaire à Paris au XVIII[e] siècle: La préparation et la vente des tripes et abats," *Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 1 (1949): 279–95; Jeffry Kaplow, *The Names of Kings* (New York, 1972), 53–54.

[35] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Noticias de México, recogidas por D. Francisco Sedano vecino de esta ciudad desde el año de 1756* (Mexico City, 1880), 67–68.

[36] Eric Van Young, *La crisis del orden colonial: Estructura agraria y rebeliones populares de la Nueva España, 1750–1821* (Mexico City, 1992), 51–123.

[37] Richard Stott, *Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 177, 179 (quote).

[38] Thomas De Voe, *The Market Assistant* (New York, 1867), 57.

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reasonable prices. But two intertwined developments eventually undermined the system in each city: the increased difficulties of ensuring supplies for a growing population, and public dissatisfaction with protected cartels. Clamor for increases in meat's availability clashed with government regulations on meat distribution and production methods. In this sense, the revolutions in meat provisioning of all three cities were integrally part of the democratic revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

REVOLUTIONS IN ALL THREE CITIES swept away the old regime in favor of experiments in unregulated market economics—albeit of varying scope, duration and rhythm. The democratic demands enunciated by Parisian sans-culottes, Mexico City patriots, and Jacksonian New Yorkers gave special attention to the vital political issue of meat provisioning. Although market reforms were only part of broader social movements, they brought liberal political economy home to the dinner table, thereby making the contested boundaries of state regulation in the labor market and the meat markets significant for the consuming public.

The specific nature of the reforms differed from city to city, but a few common themes emerged in the shift away from state authority to the marketplace. Liberalization removed first the geographic limitations on the meat trade, and the proliferation of retail outlets magnified the problem of urban slaughter and pollution. Moreover, these reforms opened the trade without giving adequate attention to regulating quality. Attempts to reconfigure networks of supply resulted in the spread of urban pollution, price inflation, and meat adulteration, and, as a result, consumers fell back on an earlier market culture with reawakened interest in government intervention.

The French Revolution introduced the first bold experiment in ending corporate cartels and implementing liberalism. The August decrees, put forth in 1789 as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, virtually dissolved feudal obligations as an assault on the basic human right of liberty. This end of privilege had an immediate effect on commercial life, even before the 1791 d'Allard Law abolished all guilds as societies of exclusive master members: journeymen left their positions with masters and established their own businesses. Country butchers poured into cities to engage in free enterprise. The presence of self-proclaimed butchers increased rapidly; the number of shops and stalls grew from 370 in 1781 to nearly 700 in 1790.[39] (See Figure 4.)

The frenzied marketplace brought a new level of disorder and malfeasance to commerce in the absence of guilds to regulate the "unqualified" butchers who plied their trade from meat carts and makeshift stalls throughout the city. This dramatic shift posed problems for the municipality even with the continued presence of the guild. Jean-Sylvain Bailly, the mayor of Paris at the time, was a realist, closing his eyes to the abuses that were quickly becoming the norm. He conceded that "resistance [to the statutes] was general and universal, the public pressure was not

[39] ANF, F11 1146, cited in Louis Bergeron, "Approvisionnement et consommation à Paris sous le Premier Empire," *Mémoires de la Féderation des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologique de Paris et Ile-de-France* 14 (1963): 197–232.

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big enough, one was hard pressed to employ it, and license and infractions were gaining ground everyday."[40] Moreover, "la liberté de travail" did not create competitive prices, but rather encouraged hoarding and speculation. The economic crisis in Paris was exacerbated as revolutionary pressures to supply the citizen-army disrupted cattle supplies through mandatory requisitions. Parisians experienced sudden meat shortages, thereby raising the real price of meat.[41]

As numerous problems faced revolutionary France, the necessity of keeping food prices within reach of the lower classes prompted renewed government regulation. Paris's meat supply, long touted as a "good of first necessity," became a political priority for authorities responding to the economic crisis.[42] In response to the women's march on Versailles in October of 1789, the National Assembly set limits on the price of meat at 8 sous a pound.[43] In October of 1790, the popular demand for red meat had become an absolute necessity for Parisian revolutionaries addressing the newly constituted National Assembly.[44] Under the popular pressure of the sans-culottes, the Jacobins sought to guarantee food staples at affordable prices for the urban populace through an economic dictatorship under the Committee of Public Safety. The revolutionary government instituted strict price controls of meat and other widely consumed items. The law of the general maximum, adopted on September 29, 1793, set prices of necessary goods, with meat topping the list, at the 1790 price plus one-third, and wages at twice their 1790 level. Armed militias scoured the countryside to arrest hoarders and speculators, but the economic terror failed to accomplish its goals, and fresh meat soon disappeared from the stalls and shops of Paris.[45]

The Thermidorian Reaction relaxed price controls in December 1794, and traces of the liberal experiment persisted as unlicensed butchers remained free to practice their trade. Not until 1799 did Napoleon again begin to limit the number

[40] Jean-Sylvain Bailly, *Mémoires de Bailly*, Berville and Barrière, eds., 3 vols. (Paris, 1822), 2: 275–76. See also Steven Laurence Kaplan, *La fin des corporations* (Paris, 2001), 364–71.

[41] The downward spiral of the government's newly issued legal tender (the *assignat*) caused the price of meat to rise from 12 sous a pound in June 1790 to 19 sous in June 1793, far outpacing the rise in wages. George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (London, 1959), 125–26.

[42] The phrase, "la viande de boucherie est la nourriture la plus ordinaire après le pain," appears in several eighteenth-century dictionaries including Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie: Ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts et métiers*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1751), 2: 350–52, as well as the subsequent *Encyclopédie méthodique*, 46 vols. (Paris, 1782–1832), 26: 229; and Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la police* (Paris, 1705), vol. 1, book 5, p. 571. In a 1719 royal regulation of Parisian butcher stalls, the crown announced its "singular intention to procure for their subjects and principal inhabitants of our good city of Paris the abundance and cheapness of goods [butcher's meat] necessary for their subsistence." Royal proclamation, "Portant Reglement sur les Estaux des Boucheries de Paris," announced in Paris March 13, 1719, published in 1720. BNF, Collection Delamare, mss. fr. 21656, fols. 216–17.

[43] Sources on the women's march to Versailles can be found in Lara Mason and Tracey Rizzo, eds., *The French Revolution: A Document Collection* (Boston, 1999), 83–87.

[44] The title page of the "important treatise" presented to the National Assembly by the Parisian districts dictated the "four objects of first necessity of existence," specifically wheat, butcher's meat, firewood, and wine. Chantrelle de Beaumont, *Traité importante sur les quatre objets de premiere nécessité de l'existence, présenté à l'Assemblée nationale le 24 octobre 1790* (Paris, 1790).

[45] Instruction sur le Tableau Général du Maximum (Paris, 1793), ANF, AD XI 75. See also Florin Aftalion, *The French Revolution: An Economic Interpretation*, Martin Thom, trans. (Cambridge, 1990); Pierre Caron, *La commission des subsistances: Procès verbaux et actes* (Paris, 1925); Marie-Claude Al Hamchari-Vignaud, "Le maximum du prix du bétail: De la difficulté d'être," *Etat, finances et économie pendant la Révolution française* (Paris, 1991), 487–93.

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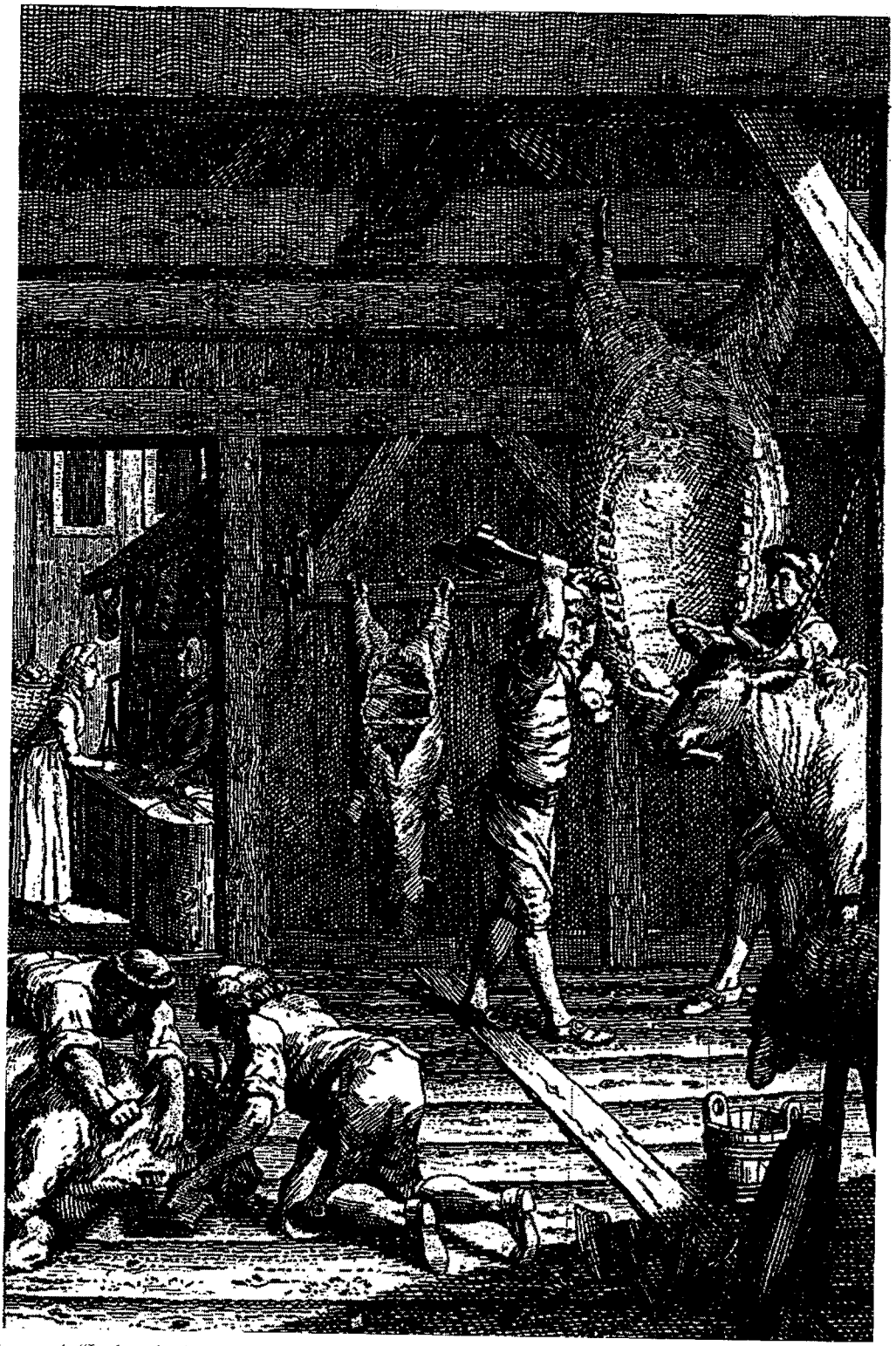


FIGURE 4: "La boucherie urbaine," from Cabinet d'Estampes, Collection Arts et Métiers. Reproduced with kind permission of the Bibliotheque national de France, Paris.

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of stalls and, later, the number of butchers. The creation of the Syndicat de la Boucherie de Paris in 1811 established a new corporate structure under municipal rule with no more than 300 registered stalls. Yet even with the return of state controls, more circumscribed liberal experiments reemerged when shortages and higher prices forced open the trade to outsiders. Regulations governing the number of licensed butchers waxed and waned in the 1840s and 1850s in response to political turmoil and meat shortages. In 1859, the Cour de Cassation opened the trade to all merchants while requiring sanitary inspection. French liberalism in the meat trade thus led a fugitive existence.[46]

Just as the French Revolution overthrew the privileges of guild merchants, the hated meat monopoly was abolished during Mexico's wars of independence. As the insurgency spread, threatening food supplies, Viceroy Francisco Javier Venegas declared *comercio libre* in 1813, simultaneously abolishing taxes and freeing vendors from the official *carnicerías*.[47] In just five years, the number of shops increased from thirteen to more than a hundred, and critics painted a morbid image of individuals slaughtering cattle in every public thoroughfare and "selling the meat by the by."[48] City officials then spent the rest of the nineteenth century struggling to regain regulatory control to prevent adulteration and pollution.

Although independence brought an end to the official monopoly, a small cartel of merchants quickly asserted a grip on Mexico City meat markets and retained control for the rest of the century. These specialized merchants, known as importers (*introductores*) from the internal tariff (*alcabala*) on livestock entering the city, operated with minimal regulatory oversight. An official later recalled that "they slaughtered cattle in a corral on the side of the granary [*recogidas*], facing south, in another at the Cacahuatal [Street of the Peanut Field], in those [two] on the Garrapata [Street of the Tick, appropriately], and in all of the hidden ones of the city, without order, many without paying taxes, neither the *alcabala*, nor the municipal [fees], and without any policing."[49] (See Figure 5.)

This tightly knit group easily beat off efforts at re-regulation because of both the abrupt break from the former locus of control, the municipal slaughterhouse, and the difficulty of establishing the health profession as a new scientific regulatory body. In 1848, the city attempted to recreate the colonial position of meat inspector by hiring a former National Guard colonel, but the importers quickly drove him from office. Subsequent political appointees served only brief terms, reducing their effectiveness in regulating the trade.[50] Responsibility for assuring wholesome meat eventually passed to the physicians of the Mexico City Board of Health (founded in 1841). Nevertheless, this body fought for decades to assert its authority over the liberal property rights of the local meat industry. In 1869, for example, livestock

[46] Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, la ville 1852–1870* (Paris, 1997), 190–201; Alain Boulanger, "Boucheries et Bouchers au XIX^{e} siècle," *Gavroche* 63–64 (May–August 1992): 17–22.

[47] Venegas decree, July 4, 1811, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter, AGN), Abasto, vol. 8, exp. 10, fols. 186, 191; Venegas decree, April 13, 1811, AHCM, vol. 8, exp. 256; Venegas decree, March 1, 1813, AHCM, vol. 3768, exp. 7.

[48] Miguel Ramiro Rodríguez to Venegas, January 11, 1813, AGN, Abasto, vol. 8, exp. 16, fol. 280.

[49] Francisco Carbajal report, August 29, 1849, AHCM, vol. 3768, exp. 23.

[50] Carbajal reports, April 12, 1849, July 3, 1851, AHCM, vol. 3768, exp. 23, 39; González de Cosío to Carbajal, April 27, 1849, AHCM, vol. 3768, exp. 23; Tosta to Ayuntamiento, June 27, 1853, Buenrostro to Ayuntamiento, June 28, 1853, AHCM, vol. 3769, exp. 48.

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merchants appealed successfully to President Benito Juárez to preserve their interests against renewed city regulations.[51] Liberalization, albeit permitting the control of a tight coterie of merchants, thus continued unchecked, although the city still resurrected paternalistic practices such as price ceilings and municipal sales in times of serious supply disruptions, under both conservative and liberal regimes.[52]

Yet merchants were less successful in transforming popular attitudes, despite their efforts to inculcate liberal ideas about supply and demand in place of their perceived monopolistic power. During one meat shortage, an editorial in *La Patria* used the colorful language of the streets to portray attitudes about price fixing, concluding: "The children of labor are nothing more than slaves to His Majesty the Monopoly."[53] A few days later, a representative of the butchers responded in a letter attributing price fluctuations to natural market conditions. He dismissed "the irritating belief that the livestock importers [have]. . . the absolute power to corner the market on meat and impose fanciful prices." Instead, he described them as "merchants like any others. . . subject to the incontrovertible laws of supply and demand."[54] The argument proved persuasive, at least to the editors of *La Patria*, who abandoned their populist line, although the lower classes remained skeptical of the disinterested service of their butchers.[55]

Liberalization came last to New York City, and while persisting longer than in France, enjoyed considerably less latitude than in Mexico City. Andrew Jackson's election in 1828 and the subsequent termination of the Second Bank of the United States accompanied rising opposition to government-protected corporate groups. One influential New York political party attacked the entire public market structure, asserting that "our bread, our meat, our vegetables, our fuel, all pay tribute to monopolists."[56] Growth of the city's population and size added to popular discontent, as trips to the public markets to buy meat became more onerous and encouraged violations of market laws. By the late 1830s, market butchers complained about unsanctioned meat shops "established in almost every part of the city."[57] Harsher penalties for non-market sales proved ineffective because even though the "fact of the violation may be proved beyond dispute, the Jury will, very frequently, render a verdict for the defendant."[58] The refusal of juries to convict outlaw butchers reflected a sea change in popular attitudes toward provisioning; regulation, rather than a municipal responsibility, was an infringement on liberty and the right to engage in commerce.

[51] Saavedra decree, January 12, 1871, and Paz report, November 21, 1874, AGN, Gobernación, 2a series, 870, box 3, exp. 1.

[52] Ignacio Trigueros, *Memoria de los Ramos Municipales* (Mexico City, 1866), 55.

[53] *La Patria*, September 8, 1897; *El popular*, September 11, 1897.

[54] *La Patria*, September 12, 1897.

[55] *La Patria*, September 25, 1897.

[56] Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), 608. See also Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class* (New York, 1984); Walter E. Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829–1837* (Stanford, Calif., 1960); Graham Russell Hodges, *New York City Cartmen, 1667–1850* (New York, 1986).

[57] De Voe, *Market Book*, 532. In 1841, a desperate Market Committee persuaded the city council to hire twelve marshals for the sole purpose of enforcing restrictions on meat sales. *Journal and Documents of the Board of Assistants [Alderman] of the City of New York*, 19: 35.

[58] Document 43, January 11, 1841, *Journal and Documents of the Board of Alderman of the City of New York*, 7: 600.

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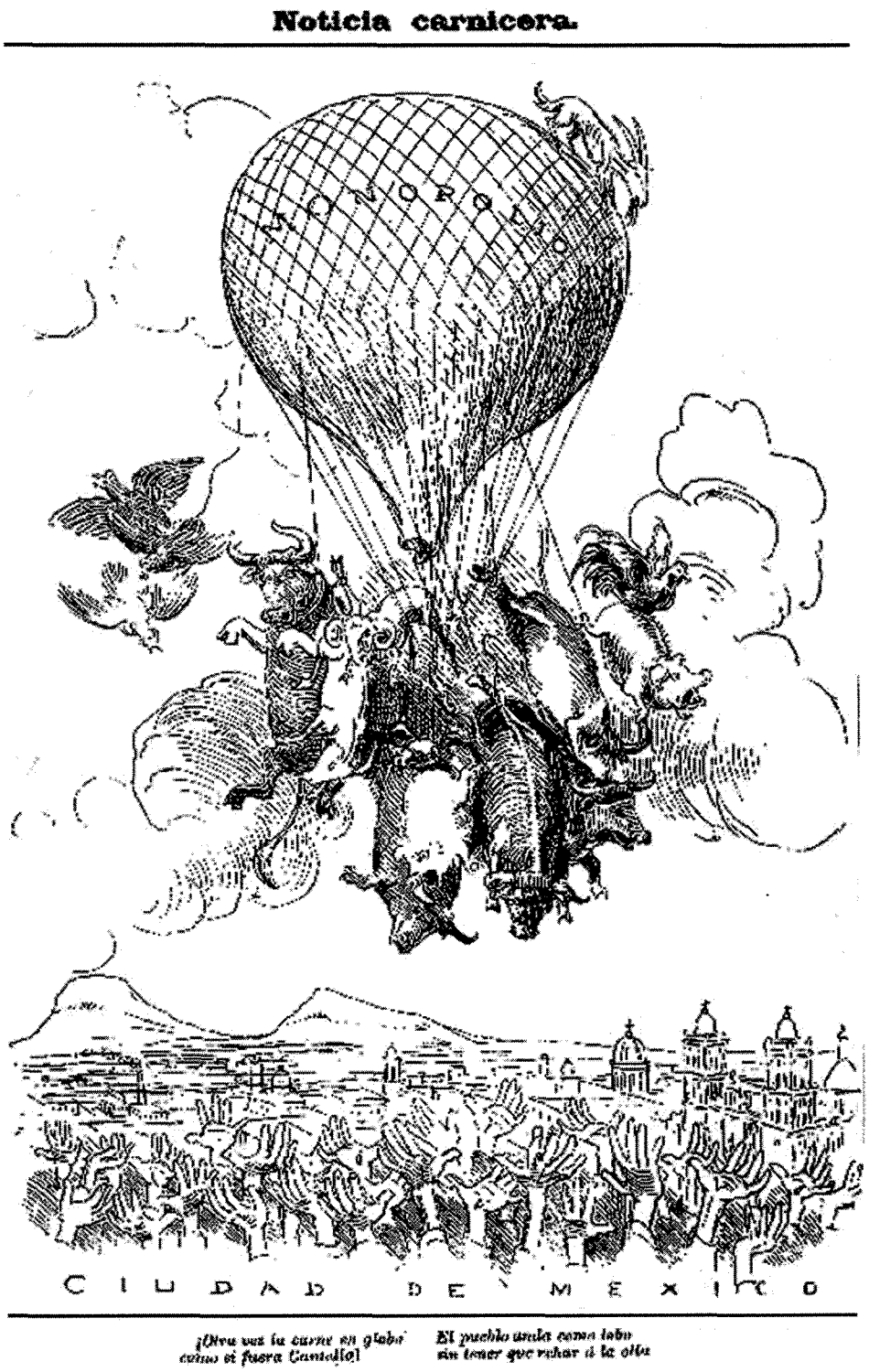


FIGURE 5: "Noticia carnicera" (News from the meat market), *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, July 16, 1899. The importers' monopoly, represented by a balloon, suspends cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, and chickens out of reach of the Mexico City poor. Reproduced with kind permission of the University of Texas at El Paso Library, Special Collections Department.

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In 1843, the city council legalized meat sales in private stores. Shopping for meat changed with extraordinary speed. While butchers still needed to obtain licenses to engage in their business, the new regulations opened the door to Irish and German immigrants by removing the apprenticeship requirement. By the end of the decade, one-half of New York City's butchers were foreign-born, and 531 shops operated in the city. A contemporary observed, "it has become fashionable to have a meat shop on almost every corner." The butchering trade changed equally dramatically by fragmenting into store owners, their hired meat cutters, wholesale butchers still operating out of the public markets, and slaughterhouse workers who now were utterly separated from actual meat sales.[59]

While consumers may have found obtaining meat more convenient, the systemic effect was chaos. As population tripled to one million between 1840 and 1870, the dispersal of slaughterhouses and retail outlets magnified urban problems.[60] In 1866, New York's Board of Health decried how "wild Western steers" were herded four miles from the Bull's Head Tavern stockyards to slaughterhouses, "causing alarm and apprehension," while the heavy traffic of meat carts returning from the wholesale markets to butcher shops proved a "great annoyance" to the public. As in Mexico City, public health advocates acted as the opening wedge of a new regulatory regime. The Board of Health asserted its authority over the meat trade, and by the mid-1870s had restricted slaughterhouses to a few blocks around 40th Street along either the east and west riverbanks of Manhattan.[61]

Such modified liberalism still proved inadequate, as health officials continued to decry the "filthy condition" of the city's fifty-four private slaughterhouses.[62] Meanwhile, wholesale beef prices nearly doubled during the 1860s, and remained high until the 1877 recession created a widespread deflation throughout the American economy. New Yorkers could find a place to buy meat more easily in 1870 than 1840, but it was much more expensive and almost certainly not as wholesome. Even if price increases could be attributed to other factors, especially shortages caused by the Civil War, the promises of a plentiful and affordable meat supply through liberalization had been thoroughly discredited.[63]

In Paris, successive coups and radical swings in politics made for unstable governments that were often at the mercy of consumer demands for subsistence and commercial pressures for market freedoms. In New York City and Mexico City, operating under far less radical regimes, market liberalism had much greater opportunity to flourish, especially where powerful economic groups like the importers held sway over supplies. The oscillations and inconsistencies in these unstable provisioning regimes, their incomplete embrace of liberalism and experimentation with new forms of state controls, conceal a common shift of regulatory

[59] Document 50, *Journal and Documents of the Board of Assistants [Alderman] of the City of New York*, 21: 52; Edward Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York, 1981), 127, 129.

[60] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States: Population* (1872), 57.

[61] *New York Times*, August 29, 1866 (quotes), and March 18, 1874, from De Voe Papers; John Duffy, *A History of Public Health in New York City, 1625–1866*, 2 vols. (New York, 1968), 2: 4, 128–29.

[62] *New York Times*, September 3, 1874, from De Voe Papers.

[63] When New York legalized private butcher shops in 1843, the wholesale price for "beeves" (cattle or cows) was $3.08 per hundred pounds. Prices rose steadily, to $4.01 five years later, $5.46 in ten years, then reaching $9.14 in 1870. U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, *Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation*, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Report 1394 (Washington, D.C., 1893), Part II, 25–26, 88–90.

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focus. In place of the early modern concern with consumption—protecting public access to supply—the new regulatory impulses turned primarily toward production.

PARTICULARLY REVEALING IS THE CONNECTED NATURE of the reconstituted regimes—dare we call it the regulatory Thermidor?—as each successive polity sought to reconstitute the boundaries between public and private to restore order to the chaos of market liberalism. Slaughtering, rather than retailing, became the common thread of political regulation and linchpin of economic power in each society. Market integration and centralized meat processing not only streamlined production but also altered the quality of the final product. The growing medicalization of nineteenth-century society and public health initiatives also inflected market culture. Urbanites sought cleaner cities, ridding themselves of the stench and pollution of the butcher trade, without sacrificing the availability and quality of fresh meat. Concurrently, increased industrial output in a centralized slaughterhouse, often far from central markets, forced producers to find ways to keep meat "looking" fresh. These challenges raised medical questions over the definition of wholesomeness and sanitation, questions that draw on culturally specific notions of palatability and cleanliness.

As Alexis de Tocqueville might have imagined, the French experiment with market liberalization ended quickly under Napoleon I. Aided by his army of engineers, the emperor attempted to rebuild Paris and reorganize the provisioning system as well as to beautify and glorify his capital. These plans were finally accomplished with the massive public works under Bonaparte's nephew, Napoleon III. During this first imperial rule, which followed nearly a decade of revolution and disorder in the marketplace, the meat trade returned to fixed prices and forced requisitions in order to quell unrest. In 1810, Napoleon I eliminated the filth and hazards of meat processing from the urban space by ending the traditional practice of slaughter in the streets and alleys alongside shops and stalls. In their place, the city established five municipal abattoirs located on its outskirts, divorcing the circulation of livestock and slaughter from retail sales.[64]

Centralizing slaughter under municipal control broke the traditional organization of the trade into two halves: a group of wage-earning slaughterhouse workers and the more traditional merchant butchers. Nevertheless, among the latter, the practice of apprenticeship and the title of master persisted as traditional elements of the trade until well into the nineteenth century. Membership in the reformulated cartel, the labor association (*syndicat*) of butchers, reappeared as a requirement to practice butchery, yet now it was the prefect of police who licensed butchers and limited stalls. The privileges of guild masters had given way to a career open to skill, hard work, and of course, capital, but this renewed system of exclusion also brought back the traditional hierarchies based on the capital and reputation of family firms. During the emperor Napoleon's rule, the trade retrenched dramatically from

[64] Eugène D'Auriac, *Essai Historique sur la boucherie de Paris* (Paris, 1861), 111; Dorothee Brantz, "Slaughter in the City: The Establishment of Public Abattoirs in Paris and Berlin, 1780–1914" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2003).

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revolutionary liberalization, even as city police gained power at the expense of the guild *jurés*.[65]

More significant changes to the trade came when such public health pioneers as Parent-Duchâtelet and Dr. Louis Roux, like their counterparts in Mexico City and New York City, attacked the presence of urban waste and disarray.[66] These ideas were not new. From late in the eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century, scientists and scholars had focused their attention on public hygiene, pointing to the evil within the city walls: trapped, polluted air from cemeteries, cesspools, and slaughterhouses that contaminated the urban food supply and bred "dangerous classes." The problems of urbanization became more acute with the rapid population growth in the first half of the nineteenth century that spurred overcrowded living conditions, faulty sewers, lack of air and light, and urban unrest. Projects put forth by the anti-contagionists centered on public hygiene in the marketplace, seen as a breeding ground for disease and popular revolt.[67] Hygienists acting as consumer advocates inspired a public health movement beginning in the 1830s and continuing through the next three decades.[68]

This process of urban renewal further reconfigured the meat supply, particularly after the installation of the Second Empire. Napoleon III transformed Paris underground as well as above, and in 1858, a new central market at Les Halles opened with connections to an underground railway linking it to the livestock market and abattoirs at La Villette. By joining the cattle market with the public slaughterhouse, where production and distribution could be carefully monitored by city inspectors, urban regulators decisively replaced the old regime provisioning system that had relied on guild merchants. Furthermore, they ensured a wholesome product from barnyard to market stall with minimum transaction costs.[69]

A few years after the opening of the La Villette slaughterhouse, New York City meat provisioning underwent an equivalent movement away from the liberal experiment of mid-century. Similar to France, health concerns brought renewed state supervision but in an utterly different system framed by the nationalization of the meat supply under private corporate control. Acquisition of Western grasslands due to the U.S.-Mexican War and the expulsion of the Plains Indians shifted the locus of meat production to the Midwest. The development of refrigerated meat cars by Chicago-based Swift & Company then revolutionized America's meat business by permitting radical separation of slaughter from urban retail markets. In

[65] Archives de la Préfecture de Paris, DB 375, 382, 383; Arrêté, 8 vendémaire an XI, as cited in Henri Bourgin, *L'industrie de la boucherie à Paris pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1911), 133.

[66] *Mémoires de M. Gisquet écrits par lui-même*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1840), 4: 306–07; A.-J.-B. Parent-Duchâtelet, *Hygiène publique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1836); Ann F. LaBerge, "The Early Nineteenth Century French Public Health Movement: The Disciplinary Development and Institutionalization of *hygiène publique*," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58 (1984): 363–79; Donald Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

[67] D. Pinckney, "Napoleon's Transformation of Paris: The Origins and Development of the Idea," *Journal of Modern History* 27 (June 1955): 125–34. See also Louis Chevalier, *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1973).

[68] Victoria Thompson, "Urban Renovation, Moral Regeneration: Domesticating the Halles in Second Empire Paris," *French Historical Studies* 20 (Winter 1997): 87–109.

[69] David H. Pinckney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1958); see also Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen*; J.-A. Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris depuis les premiers temps historiques jusqu'à nos jours*, 2d edn., 10 vols. (Paris, 1824), 9: 162.

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October 1882, *Harper's Weekly* confidently announced that the "era of cheap beef has begun for New York" with the opening of Swift's first refrigerated meat wholesale shop. Lower prices sped up consumer acceptance of chilled beef, and by the mid-1880s wholesale beef prices had declined to 1860 levels, even as wages increased.[70]

Separating production so radically from consumption, however, brought a new set of problems. How was the wholesomeness of the meat to be guaranteed by municipalities when it was produced outside their jurisdiction? Meat-packing fragmented the division of labor so that the sobriquet "butcher" was a degraded category indicating not a skilled craftsman but rather someone trained to perform an individual step of the slaughtering process.[71] Moreover, nationalizing meat production created incentives for firms to find methods to extend meat's salable life—even at the expense of wholesomeness. Greater productivity concomitantly induced firms to find new ways to keep meat fresh through the introduction of chemicals previously unknown in the food supply.

Boracic acid and borax were the principal ingredients added to meat by the large national firms. Both were antiseptic compounds used initially to treat wounds, but also employed to inhibit bacterial growth in food products, and turn-of-the-century meat industry formulas routinely contained substantial quantities. To maintain meat's "fresh appearance," one industry handbook recommended treating fresh beef with a solution containing one-and-a-third pounds of borax and boracic acid for every gallon of water. Borax was routinely sprinkled on fresh meat prior to shipment, "to prevent them [the meat] turning slippery or moldy."[72]

These two ingredients were at the center of the public health controversy that finally resulted, after publication of Upton Sinclair's exposé, *The Jungle*, in federal regulation of meat industry. Defenders of boracic acid and borax claimed these materials were of "inestimable value" in safeguarding the public's health because of their prevention of contamination.[73] Critics, led by Harvey Wiley, countered by stressing the incremental impact of these products, alleging that over time these agents could damage the kidneys. In 1906, the Department of Agriculture banned use of borax and boracic acid in food products in the same measure that finally imposed federal inspection over the national meat industry.[74]

Sparked by particular abuses, the 1906 Meat Inspection Act ultimately proved as significant for where it pointed as for what it legislated. Passage brought a close to the liberal experiment in American meat-packing. Meat was one of the last bastions of municipal regulation overthrown by the Jacksonian revolution, and its re-regulation was one of the opening salvos of the American Progressive era and its reconfiguration of the relationship between society and the state. Placed in the

[70] *Harper's Weekly* (October 21, 1882): 63; Committee on Finance, *Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation*, 25–26, 88–90, 456–57. New York retained a local meat-packing business to service the kosher market.

[71] See James R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), 23–26.

[72] F. W. Wilder, *The Modern Packing House* (Chicago, 1905), quotes 225, 322.

[73] William Douglas & Sons Limited, *Douglas's Encyclopedia* (London, 1907), 93.

[74] Harvey W. Wiley, *Foods and Their Adulteration* (Philadelphia, 1907), 37, 553. Wiley's tests would not have convinced medical experts today; he only used twelve volunteers, all white men in their twenties, and even those results were not consistent.

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context of government policy since American independence, the nineteenth-century liberal experiment in the meat trade appears as merely an interruption in the dominant market culture of regulation governing this industry, rather than a marker of America's exceptional reluctance to regulate producers.

In Mexico City, the government attempted to install a system of refrigerated meat-packing technology, imported from the United States. Their failure to duplicate Swift's success demonstrates the limitations of the industrial model in the face of incompatible cultural traditions and constrained natural resources. The adoption of refrigerated meat-packing became possible once the country had achieved a measure of peace under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911). In 1908, the Mexican National Packing Company opened a packinghouse in the western cattle country of Michoacán and began shipments of chilled beef to the capital.

Company president John W. DeKay recognized that success depended on convincing Mexico City consumers of the superiority of refrigerated meat, and he advertised heavily, emphasizing the company's dedication to supplying "clean, wholesome, and properly prepared meats." The products bore the label "El Popo," after the volcano Popocatépetl, both for nostalgic appeal and because "DeKay Meat" made a poor brand name.[75] Local merchants fought back against the foreign rival with a promotional campaign of their own, not only implying that Popo brand tasted inferior to freshly slaughtered beef but also casting doubt on the company's claims of sanitary benefits from refrigerated meat. "It loses its juice, it becomes discolored, it is insipid and acquires a rare tenderness, due, perhaps, to the beginning of decomposition."[76]

DeKay won the battle but lost the war for Mexican consumers. El Popo's success depended on achieving a decisive cost advantage over local competitors, but also on forcing prices low enough to allow regular meat purchases by the masses. Yet American expansion had deprived Mexico of lands on which to raise abundant supplies of corn-fattened cattle whose carcasses would age well under refrigeration.[77] DeKay's attempts to achieve vertical integration and industrial efficiency also caused the three branches of the local meat trade, wholesale importers, slaughterhouse workers, and retail meat cutters, to put aside their longstanding rivalries in order to fight the foreign interloper. This cross-class alliance of Mexican butchers engaged in union actions, industrial sabotage, even shop-floor attempts to murder the foreign managers.[78] Moreover, the campaign to build market share in the face of a strong consumer preference for fresh meat proved costly. Popo retail stores practically gave their meat away, selling for one-fifth of their competitors' prices, and by February of 1910, this price war forced the company into bankruptcy,

[75] *Mexican Herald*, January 13, February 23, March 12, 1908. The structural limitations of Porfirian industrialization have been described by Stephen H. Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989); and Priscilla Connolly, *El contratista de Don Porfirio: Obras públicas, deuda y desarrollo desigual* (Mexico City, 1997). The case of the Mexican National Packing Company is analyzed in detail by José Napoleón Guzmán Avila, *Michoacán y la inversión extranjera, 1880–1911* (Morelia, Michoacán, 1982), chap. 5.

[76] *Mexican Herald*, April 15, 1908; *El Imparcial*, April 18, 1908.

[77] Worse still, the best remaining rangelands, in northern Mexico, were drawn into the provisioning basin that supplied eastern American cities such as New York.

[78] DeKay to Zakany, October 11, 1909, AHCM, vol. 1280, exp. 29.

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allowing another generation of importers to gain control of the Mexico City market and continue the old, labor-intensive methods of supplying fresh meat.[79]

Although DeKay failed to bring economies of scale to the local meat industry, his importation of chemical additives from the United States inspired the Mexican government to assume responsibility for regulating the meat trade. After the Díaz regime fell in 1911, members of the new revolutionary government discovered that the company had engaged in widespread adulteration. As a result, in 1912, the government published a new code for the sale of food and beverages, comparable to the American Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906, imposing harsh penalties on the sale of unwholesome foods.[80] Further improvements in the nation's meat supply were interrupted by revolutionary violence, from which the country recovered only in the 1920s. Beginning in the 1930s, however, revolutionary governments established an elaborate welfare bureaucracy seeking to guarantee supplies of meat and other staples, although corruption within the ruling party worked to undermine the goals of this paternalistic policy. As an epilogue, the U.S. industrial model was abruptly adopted in 1992 when a neoliberal administration closed the municipal slaughterhouse while dismantling the revolutionary food program.[81]

In all three cities, a market culture of health regulation intended to ensure wholesomeness of supply replaced the prior government commitment to ensure sufficient supplies at reasonable prices for consumers. Liberalism had left its mark, but the public no longer trusted the unregulated market economy for meat supplies. Tensions among price, access, and wholesomeness remained, even as mass production began to transform the industry and as each new provisioning regime in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries operated under progressively thicker layers of state regulation.

THE MCDONALD'S HAMBURGER has become one of the most universally recognized and most contentious icons of contemporary globalization. Supporters of the fast-food chain view it as a force for democracy, allowing people throughout the world the choice of an efficient, dependable, hygienic source of food containing more protein than vegetarian peasant cuisines.[82] Careful observers point out, moreover, that McDonald's restaurants offer far more than simply food and that they have achieved such enormous popularity precisely because they allow people to experience the American lifestyle.[83] Critics of the chain such as the French

[79] Stavert to Civil Court Judge, March 4, 1911, Washington National Record Center, U.S.-Mexico Claims Commission, RG 76, entry 125, agency 4850, "Mexican Government Response," 9, 15–16, Annex 11; Gabriel Ascencio Franco, *Los mercaderes de la carne* (Morelia, Michoacán, 1992), 32, 58.

[80] Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Gobernación, *Reglamento para la venta de comestibles y bebidas en el Distrito Federal* (Mexico City, 1912), 3–5, 9, 20. See also *Boletín Oficial del Consejo Superior de Gobierno* (November 15, 1912): 627.

[81] Enrique C. Ochoa, *Feeding Mexico: The Political Uses of Food since 1910* (Wilmington, Del., 2000); *La Jornada*, March 14, 17, 1992.

[82] Although not referring specifically to McDonald's, the case for the democratizing effects of industrial food has been argued most persuasively by Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York, 1973), 309–31.

[83] James L. Watson, ed., *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); Rick Fantasia, "Fast Food in France," *Theory and Society* 24 (1995): 201–43.

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burger-Luddite, José Bové, agree that the greatest danger of the transnational corporation is its ability to lure middle-class consumers—those who can afford fast food—away from traditional French symbols such as the baguette to an Americanized "McWorld," which not only lacks diversity but also threatens nutritional health.[84] American food has thus become a model of modernity, aspired to by the rest of the world, for better or worse.

Yet the hamburger is only the latest incarnation of an American meat culture with deep historical roots. Democratic access to meat has always been one of the great attractions for immigrants, whether arriving from eighteenth-century England or twentieth-century Mexico. Indeed, meat was so plentiful that price controls often seen as being the essence of a paternalistic, moral economy never took root. This abundance continued even during the massive urban growth of the nineteenth century, thanks to the timely development of industrial refrigerated meat-packing technology. At first glance, the examples of Paris and Mexico City, with their corporatist resistance to capitalist enterprise, serve only to magnify this apparent example of American exceptionalism.

Nevertheless, close attention to patterns of change in the grammar of liberalism reveals curious antinomies that belie the standard narrative of liberal, capitalist progress exemplified by American industry. All three cities followed similar patterns of deregulation followed by reaction against the unchecked power of the marketplace. Moreover, New York City emerges as the retrograde case in which liberal provisioning policies lagged a half century behind Paris and a generation behind Mexico City. Paris experienced the briefest period of liberal experimentation as a flashpoint of liberal reform and revolution that exposed the ravages of unbridled competition. Mexico City was the most committed to liberal reform despite its reputation for military coups rather than a developed civil society.[85] And the re-regulation that followed the collapse of liberal experiments shared key characteristics: the imposition of health controls at the point of production even as the site of production varied between the three cities.

Understanding the cross-cultural experience of meat provisioning therefore requires a deconstruction of the liberal narrative, starting with the faith in free market liberalization. Paris, New York City, and Mexico City each saw a dramatic increase in the number of retailers under their liberal experiments, but this did not initially translate to any real benefits in quantity, price, or quality, stimulating renewed political pressure for a return to regulation. Admittedly, the French experience took place during a period of general economic disorder. But while this liberalization democratized the métier for many workers, free trade did little to increase the availability of meat for the sans-culottes. The French government quickly saw the need for oversight and controls, although it remained difficult to find the right balance between regulating standards of sanitation in production and

[84] The term comes from Benjamin Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld* (New York, 1995). Other prominent critics include George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 2000); Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation* (Boston, 2001).

[85] José Antonio Aguilar Rivera has made a compelling argument that the instability of Mexico's early republic emerged not from the incomplete embrace of liberalism but rather from an overly doctrinaire pursuit of an inherently fragile liberal constitutional model. See *En pos de la quimera: Reflexiones sobre el experimento constitucional atlántico* (Mexico City, 2000).

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allowing for a free labor market. Political configurations in New York City allowed the chaotic liberal experiment to continue longer, essentially until the arrival of refrigerated meat removed the trade from the control of local health authorities and merchant butchers alike. Nevertheless, relocating production did not solve the problems of wholesomeness, and in 1906 the federal government finally stepped in to fill the regulatory gap. After a long struggle, Mexican officials attempted to emulate this U.S. industrial model to resolve their own supply shortages during the Porfirian era, but, without a solid financial basis, the private meat packers could not overcome the resistance of consumers and local tradesmen. When the revolutionary government finally ended the liberal market in meat, the dominance of fresh meat from local municipal slaughterhouses made the Mexican system more similar to France than to its northern neighbor.

The notion that a capitalist economy brings about a simultaneous shift in consumer expectations when a paternalist regime is replaced with a deregulated, free market system also appears oversimplified in light of the comparative experience of Paris, New York City, and Mexico City. The revolutionary mobilization of the Parisian sans-culottes after 1789 and of Mexico City *vecinos* after 1910 actually fell back on paternalistic rhetoric when popular demands from these new liberal regimes included basic food entitlements at a fair price for all. Such a notion of parity and justice forms an essential constituent of liberalism: equality. Even in New York City, where more or less abundant supplies and competitive prices were never seriously in doubt, the public continued to express its moral entitlement to wholesome meat. Thus the rise of the consumer movement drew on elements contained within an earlier epoch, when the government's moral obligations placed the meat trade within their purview of public service. Of course, the exact configuration of this market culture of meat did change over time, even as it differed between countries. Nevertheless, this continuity belies the totalizing assumptions of economics with its views of pure market functions and demonstrates the ways that markets remain embedded in social practices.

Comparing the experience of Mexico and the United States, finally, calls into question the benefits or even the possibility of universalizing the Western industrial meat-packing model. New York City increased its meat supplies only by tapping the resources of the far West, which left Mexico unable to achieve a similar transformation. Moreover, the cattle in what remained of northern Mexico were shipped across the border rather than south to the capital because of the higher incomes in the United States.[86] Meat-packing technology did not become entrenched in Mexico City until the 1990s, and even then it was due to administrative fiat rather than consumer preference. The change led not to the widespread availability of prime sirloin steaks but rather to the consumption of lean cattle that had lost its fresh taste without any corresponding gain in tenderness from the time spent under refrigeration.

The points of comparison examined here suggest many applications for the

[86] Mexican Creole cattle rather than corn-fed Angus ironically provide the best source for so-called "manufacture beef" used to produce McDonald's hamburgers and other processed foods. See Steven A. Sanderson, *The Transformation of Mexican Agriculture: International Structure and the Politics of Rural Change* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 139.

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wider historical profession. This case, in particular, illustrates the material and symbolic centrality of food, a topic that remains marginalized in historical research. Foods, as commodities with social lives of their own, elicit "biographies" that place the political climate in stark relief. Historians can also follow "trails" along the supply chain to reveal detailed landscapes of economic activity and cultural nuance.[87] E. P. Thompson long ago pointed to the political significance of provisioning, but his concept of "moral economy" has been applied most often to subjects other than food riots.[88] And although individual foodstuffs such as sugar and corn have been recognized as crucial to the rise of capitalism,[89] studies of the food-processing industries have been more concerned with issues of labor, technology, and business than with the social context of the foods themselves.[90] Nevertheless, in the past decade, there has been a growing body of scholarship examining the crucial role of cuisine in the formation of ethnicity, class, gender, and national identity.[91] Our connected comparison also indicates how market culture can provide a useful analytic vector with which to explore the intersection between economic production and social reproduction. These cases illustrate how market culture is grounded in social processes that shape and are shaped by particular claims of healthfulness, necessity, and what is just, if not democratic. Market culture highlights how consumer expectations vary depending on particular goods and services. Certainly meat, a perishable food that satisfies basic human needs, generates a range of demands and concerns that differ to some degree from those associated with durable products such as cars, services such as lodging, or

[87] Fernand Braudel drew attention to the historical importance of food in his monumental *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th century*, Siân Reynolds, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1981). Steven Kaplan has demonstrated bread's historic role in the tension between the ideas of a "marketplace" and "market principle" in eighteenth-century Paris. See *Provisioning Paris: Merchants and Millers in the Grain and Flour Trade during the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984). For an insightful study of Asia's daily "bread," see Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

[88] Thompson, "Moral Economy of the Crowd." See also Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Diana Wylie, *Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 2001); Carol F. Helstosky, *Garlic and Oil: Politics and Food in Italy* (London, 2004).

[89] Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985); Arturo Warman, *Corn and Capitalism: How a Botanical Bastard Grew to Global Dominance*, Nancy L. Westrate, trans. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003).

[90] In business history, see, for example, Geoffrey Jones and Nicholas J. Morgan, eds., *Adding Value: Brands and Marketing in Food and Drink* (London, 1994); Michael French and Jim Phillips, *Cheated Not Poisoned? Food Regulation in the United Kingdom, 1875–1938* (Manchester, 2000); Ian MacLachlin, *Kill and Chill: Restructuring Canada's Beef Commodity Chain* (Toronto, 2001). Among labor historians, see Horowitz, *"Negro and White, Unite and Fight!"*; Rick Halpern, *Down on the Killing Floor: Black and White Workers in Chicago's Packinghouses, 1904–1954* (Urbana, Ill., 1997); Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1937–1950* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1987).

[91] Major works include K. C. Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge, 1982); Eno Blankson Ikpe, *Food and Society in Nigeria: A History of Food Customs, Food Economy and Cultural Change, 1900–1989* (Stuttgart, 1994); Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Flandrin and Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History*, Clarissa Botsford, translation (New York, 1999); Warren Belasco and Philip Scranton, eds., *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies* (New York, 2001).

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government activities such as payments for medical care and old age pensions.[92] Yet there is a relationship between these adjacent centers of social life, as the beliefs and (competing) claims associated with food influence expectations in other sectors. Because of popular sensitivity to food supplies, and the daily experience entailed in obtaining meat, there were more dramatic swings in the extent and character of state regulation than might be the case in other areas of society. Nevertheless, attention to market culture can help gain a larger recognition that, whether we like it or not, the experience of buying a piece of meat, or indeed most other commodities, is a constitutive part of our social fabric and helps to form the ideology through which citizens understand their societies.

Comparative analysis, closely focused, balances our use of market culture. Interpreting the embedded nature of markets requires close attention to cultural nuance, but the specialization that allows such an undertaking can also conceal the multiplicity of possible outcomes. Cross-cultural comparison is essential to avoid exceptionalist narratives of the sort voiced by the *National Provisioner*, with its predictions of the inevitable triumph of American industrial models. The comparison of market culture with respect to meat reveals the ways that people in Paris, New York, and Mexico City adapted to their own circumstances ideas drawn from a transatlantic dialogue about democratic reform, economic change, and health initiatives. Moreover, by framing our study across the "great transformation," we have looked for continuities in market culture that are equally relevant to scholars of pre-modern and contemporary times.[93] Certainly there are many unique political events in our story; there is little in the historical record to match the turbulence of the French Revolution. Yet our use of market culture to compare these distinctive national narratives rests on the common experience of urban residents, rich and poor, trying to find sufficient food to keep their families alive and healthy.

Ultimately, we find it significant that the scientific authority of health professionals as disinterested third parties trumped private interest in each case, although regulatory forms varied widely. Such convergence sharply contrasts with the enormous divergence in meat provisioning systems, as each nation solved the problems of animal supply, processing, and distribution in utterly different manners. Even with its progressive claims, the renewed regulatory framework harkened back to assumptions underlying the old regime provisioning systems, that public authority—rather than private economic interests—should have final oversight over the provisioning of meat for the multitudes.

[92] For a revealing study of the twentieth-century oscillation regarding state control over medical care, see Peter Temin, *Taking Your Medicine: Drug Regulation in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

[93] As an exemplar of comparative method, we look to R. Bin Wong's study of industrialization in China and Europe. In a chapter analyzing grain riots, Wong delineated the tension within Qing food policy resulting from efforts to balance market distribution with Confucian ideals of social stability. He concluded that, although Chinese and European riots followed similar patterns, they differed on a deeper level because of the cultural values attributed to economic behavior. See *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 222–29.

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Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India, 1400–1900

SUMIT GUHA

IN RECENT DECADES, historians have increasingly turned to consider the institutional practices, epistemological assumptions, and silent exclusions that shape the discipline.[1] This reflexive movement has led to the identification of difference and disjunction in the formerly seamless lineage from classical Greece to twentieth-century Europe, and has encouraged a search for alternate and parallel forms of historical knowledge. It has prompted a reconsideration of neglected hermeneutic issues that a generation of historians had disregarded in the frenzy of scientism.[2] The entire process is itself rooted in larger changes in the world of learning, by which knowledge has become "retrospective and critical, more concerned with the reconstruction of the past, of the practices in which people made knowledges—which is to say, historical."[3]

Historical problematics themselves emerge historically. So do the meta-systems that distinguish "native traditions" from "scientific history"—a distinction suddenly imposed in much of the colonial world at the end of the nineteenth century. I will address both these points through a study of the changing deployment of the historical narrative in Marathi—a major language of western India whose literary traditions go back to the twelfth century C. E., early in what Sheldon Pollock has

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I have translated all the Indian-language texts cited herein. With one exception, all citations are from either the Modi or the Nagari script: when rendering into Roman, I have followed the appropriate convention but omitted diacriticals. This convention has also been followed for proper names, barring a few that have established Roman renderings ("Shivaji," for example).

[1] Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge Mass., 1998); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), esp. chap. 4; *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Q. Edward Wang and George G. Iggers, eds. (Rochester, N.Y., 2002); Peter G. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden, 1994); Glen W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); *History and the Present*, Partha Chatterjee and Anjan Ghosh, eds. (Delhi, 2002).

[2] Donald R. Kelley, *Fortunes of History: Historical Inquiry from Herder to Huizinga* (New Haven, Conn., 2003), 337–38.

[3] Ronald Inden, "Introduction," *Querying the Medieval: Texts and Practices in South Asia*, Inden *et al.*, eds. (New York, 2000), 4.

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called the vernacular millennium.[4] This article traces the socio-political structures that generated and marked this narrative genre from the sixteenth century onward. I will show how it emerged and how it changed: first in the eighteenth century with the rise to subcontinental prominence of a Marathi-speaking elite, and again with the establishment of British colonial rule a century later.[5] By analyzing the changing response to these narratives through the past five centuries, we can gain a new perspective on the generative relations between structures of power, on the one hand, and historical traditions and practices, on the other.[6] But before that, let me begin by situating modern evaluations of pre-colonial texts within the comparative global setting that began with the Enlightenment discovery and ranking of "civilizations."

Speaking very broadly, the historiography of India has hitherto been marked by two opposed positions: either that Indic civilization lacked any capacity for rational history, or that it had always possessed a distinguishably historical tradition. This issue really gained significance with the worldwide spread of Western power in the nineteenth century. Western historical practice took institutional shape in the century after the French Revolution, an epoch marked by global imperialisms that were driven by metropolitan, and opposed by emergent, nationalisms. As François Furet describes it, history now became "the genealogical tree of European nations and of the civilization they bore."[7] To be a nation, and not (as Winston Churchill famously described India) "merely a geographical expression," it was necessary to have a historical consciousness. As Prasenjit Duara has noted, "national history secures for the contested and contingent nation the false unity of the self-same, national subject evolving through time."[8] Securing this was especially important in the non-Western world, and nationalists were eager to recover and represent their own history. Youssef Choueiri writes of North Africa that "Tunisian, Algerian and, later on, Moroccan historians began to articulate an image of the long-forgotten past in national terms. They used the structure of French scholarship and turned its prototypes upside down."[9]

But how should this recovery of "their own" history proceed? There were two

[4] Sheldon Pollock, "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity 1000–1500," *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 41–74.

[5] For an analysis of how the rise of Maratha power bore on linguistic usage, see Sumit Guha, "Transitions and Translations: Regional Power and Vernacular Identity in the Dakhan c. 1500–1800," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2004).

[6] The relevant literature is to be found in at least sixteen South Asian languages plus English. It is obviously impossible for me to do more than give a few examples. As the ultimate focus of this article is on Marathi-language writings from western India, most of my examples will be drawn from there. To avoid confusion, let me clarify that "Marathi" is the language; "Maratha" is the ethnonym, and "Maharashtra" is the name of the Indian state predominantly inhabited by speakers of Marathi.

[7] François Furet, "The Birth of History in France," *In the Workshop of History*, Jonathan Mandelbaum, trans. (Chicago, 1984), 98.

[8] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation* (Chicago, 1995), 4.

[9] Youssef M. Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography: Historical Discourse and the Nation State*, rev. edn. (London, 2003), 71. Also see David C. Gordon, *Self-Determination and History in the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1971). Even the matchless historical tradition of China had to be recast. What China needed, the leading intellectual Hu Shih wrote in 1914, was: "1. the principle of inductive reasoning; 2. a sense of historical perspective; 3. the concept of progress." Cited in Min-Chih Chou, *Hu Shih and Intellectual Choice in Modern China* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984), 168. See also Q. Edward Wang, "China's Search for a National History," in Wang and Iggers, *Turning Points in Historiography*, esp. the telling quote from Teng Shih, 196.

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obvious routes: one was to affirm or assume that equally valid historical knowledge had long existed within indigenous scholarly traditions, and draw on these to develop a usable national past. The other was to defeat Western imperialism by deploying its own scientific-historical apparatus to build a more satisfactory national history. In colonized India, state control excluded the first strategy from the education system that took shape in the mid-nineteenth century, but it was vigorously pursued in the larger public sphere of printed and oral polemic. An early and immensely influential example of this is *Satyartha Prakasa* by the founder of the Arya Samaj, a major modernist Hindu organization. In this book, Dayananda Sarasvati drew on the ancient Hindu traditions of scriptural exegesis as the source of true knowledge to establish his theories and refute Western ideas on (for example) the early history of India.[10]

Few colonial intellectuals had the self-confidence to be so dismissive of Western learning, and so a significant number sought to defeat Western historians with Western methods. A leading figure in this enterprise was V. K. Rajwade (1864–1926), a nationalist who forsook all gainful employment and devoted almost forty years of his life to locating, editing, and publishing primary sources for the history of the Marathas.[11] Rajwade came to the discipline of history in the 1880s—a time when (as Bonnie Smith has shown), historical study in the West had moved from the public and declamatory lecture hall into the closed professional seminar that produced factual narratives based on archival sources. It was this practice that was seen to transform history into "knowledge and secular truth."[12] Rajwade desired, above all, to displace colonial history by a more rigorous application of its own methods. He published his first volume of documents in 1898. Meanwhile, in a more directly confrontational vein, Rajwade's militant contemporary Savarkar sought to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the major anticolonial uprising still known to the Anglophone academy as "the Indian Mutiny" with a new history of *The Indian War of Independence*. Banned before its appearance, it was printed in France, and stray copies circulated illegally in India. While unabashedly propagandist in tone and rhetoric, it drew most of its information from nineteenth-century British sources read "against the grain," and supplemented by a few similarly authentic Marathi documents.[13] The colonial official Valentine Chirol described the book as a "very remarkable history of the Mutiny, combining considerable research with the grossest perversion of facts and great literary power with the most savage hatred."[14]

After India became independent in 1947, nationalist history unself-consciously used the methods of Western historiography to develop a dominant national narrative engaged in a running polemic with "imperialist" history.[15] A sharp

[10] Dayanand Sarasvati, *Satyartha Prakasa* (1884; 34th rpt., Ajmer, 1998). This method is deployed throughout his work: for example, "when the Veda says this, why would intelligent people adopt the delusions of some foreigner?" 237.

[11] See Laksamanasastri Josi's introduction to his edition of *Rajavade Lekhasangraha* (1958; rpt. edn:, Delhi, 1992), 1–13.

[12] Smith, *Gender of History*, 103–29, 128.

[13] Vinayak D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence* (1908; first Indian edition, Bombay, 1947).

[14] Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, cited in Bhaskar G. Deshpande, *Krantisurya Savarkar*, 2nd edn. (Pune, 2002), 110.

[15] Sumit Sarkar, "The Many Worlds of Indian History," in *Writing Social History* (1990; rpt. edn., Delhi, 1999), 38–39.

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critique of both these "elite" positions marked Ranajit Guha's launching of the *Subaltern Studies* project in the early 1980s. But the Subaltern school was still generally content to assume that true historical understanding came from the West. The tools used to recover subaltern struggles from the disdainful neglect or discursive appropriation of the elite were drawn first from Marxism, then structuralism, and (later) postmodernism.[16] Ranajit Guha himself found no Indian historical writing worthy of note until the Bengali-language *Rajabali* issued from the colonial College of Fort William in Calcutta in 1808. Until then, it would appear, a "hallowed and hoary sense of the past had been reproducing itself in Puranic discourse for a thousand years or so until as recently as the eighteenth century."[17]

Ranajit Guha can hardly have been ignorant of the existence of histories firmly located in dated time and written in Persian, but it would seem that these were not "Indian" enough for him. Only Bengali and English writings appear in his "Indian" historiography. This, although Persian histories were read all over South, West, and Central Asia, while at the time of writing the first "Indian" history, the *Rajabali*, could have had no readers outside the narrowly provincial Bengali literati community and a handful of trainee English civil servants reluctantly completing the curriculum in "native languages." But radical historians have not been the sole adherents of this position. The conservative R. C. Majumdar—who saw India's unity as mainly grounded in a shared Hindu culture—had long accepted the absence of historical writing in ancient India.[18] Another leading historian of modern India, Sumit Sarkar is more aware that the pre-colonial was not a *tabula rasa* conveniently available for the Orientalizing fantasies of imperialism, and that

> [p]re-colonial India, with its very long traditions of written culture, produced numerous texts of recognizable historical intent or value: Puranic king-lists, dynastic chronicles, histories of castes and religious sects, biographies of holy men, genealogies of prominent families. As elsewhere, there were evident links between the quantum of such texts or documents and levels of organized, bureaucratic power . . . historical accounts became much more numerous under the Delhi sultanate and the Mughal empire.[19]

The suggested link between bureaucracy and textual production is one that I shall explore.

Other scholars anticipated Sarkar's reluctance to make the Indian historical tradition coeval with colonial rule. But (with rare exceptions) they also tended to seek indigenous historical scholarship, not in Persian or the modern vernaculars, but in the ancient high language of Sanskrit (sometimes supplemented by the Buddhist sacred language, Pali). The Sanskritist A. K. Warder complained for, example, that not only had nobody written a comprehensive overview of Indian

[16] Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India," introduction to *Subaltern Studies I* (Delhi, 1982), 1–8.

[17] Ranajit Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India: A Nineteenth-Century Agenda and Its Implications* (Calcutta, 1987), 11–12, 33–35. The *Purana*(s) are massive Sanskrit compendia of traditional lore, including myths, king-lists, and legends.

[18] Majumdar confessed himself unable to explain what he viewed as the lack of historical writing in India. "This fact seems to be more of an accident than the result of any definite cause or causes." Ramesh C. Majumdar, "Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature," in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, Cyril H. Philips, ed. (London, 1961), 27.

[19] Sarkar, "The Many Worlds of Indian History," 6.

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historical thought but that the object itself "is even widely supposed not to exist." He added that "[p]ractically all existing 'Indian history' written in English can in fact be adequately characterised as 'imperialist' historiography. "[20] In 1966, V. S. Pathak published a scintillating study of five "historical" poems from the Sanskrit tradition arguing (a decade before Hayden White) that the poets had winnowed factual elements from royal lives in order to emplot a narrative of royal triumph consummated by union with a queen who embodied the glory of the kingdom.[21]

Warder published his massively learned survey in 1972. It was then cited by Romila Thapar in a 1974 lecture in which she argued that the people of ancient India had a special kind of historical tradition. This was one in which "the past was not recorded as a succession of political events, for the legitimation of political authority was more important, and it was to this that the historical tradition gave precedence" via the transmission of genealogical lists. Since she also views many genealogies as fabrications, it is clear her definition of "historical" is far wider than Majumdar's, and this enables her to find "history" in Sanskrit texts where Majumdar could not discern it.[22] But this is achieved at the cost of blurring, if not obliterating, the distinction between historical *evidence* and historical *narrative*, cult and chronicle. Meanwhile, largely ignored by the Anglophone academy, Indian scholars of the different regional languages worked on recovering and editing their respective literary and historical legacies in institutions such as the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhana Mandala, the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad, the Rajasthan Oriental Institute, and many others.

The issue of the validity of non-Western narrations of the past gained a new prominence in the wake of Edward Said's celebrated attack on the imperial foundations of the Western academy in *Orientalism* (1978). The 1970s saw scholars launching important efforts to study historical narratives in living vernaculars. In 1979, James Siegel published a subtle study of several long poems from the Atjeh region of Indonesia, characterizing these as the "historical thought of a Sumatran people." But as he describes them, the "narrative of the epics cannot be equated with 'what happened' even though some of the events described actually did occur. Atjehnese themselves *did not distinguish* epics on historical topics from those based on mythical themes." It would appear, in fact, that these texts can be distinguished from "fantasies derived from Indian or Malay sources" only because the personages and transactions also appear in Western sources.[23] This point was sharply made by Shelly Errington in 1979, when he argued that viewing Malay *hikayat* as quasi-historical was intrinsically wrong, and amounted to an effort to force them into a Western genre where they did not belong.[24] A different argument was made by Virginia Matheson in 1986. She proposed that several Malay narratives of the eighteenth century argued obliquely over the ranking of regional centers of power,

[20] Anthony K. Warder, *An Introduction to Indian Historiography* (Bombay, 1972), viii-ix.

[21] Vishwambhar S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India: A Study in Historical Biographies* (Bombay, 1966).

[22] Romila Thapar "Ideology and the Interpretation of Early Indian History," read at Cornell University, 1974, published in *Interpreting Early India* (1989; rpt. edn., Delhi, 1999), 20.

[23] James Siegel, *Shadow and Sound: The Historical Thought of a Sumatran People* (Chicago, 1979), 209–10, and footnotes. Emphasis added.

[24] Shelly Errington, "Some Comments on Style in the Meanings of the Past," *Journal of Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (February 1979): 231–33.

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and can be read "as mirror images or responses to each other."[25] This suggests that the target audiences of these texts possessed the background knowledge needed to interpret them: knowledge that modern scholars have to reconstruct from non-Malay sources. Matheson's article can then be seen as an exercise in "ethnohistory"; defined by Nicholas Dirks in 1987 as "the reconstruction of an indigenous discourse about the past."[26]

Dirks himself attempted this for an eighteenth-century South Indian kingdom in a book where the oral testimony of contemporary informants had to be grounded in the evidence of colonial archives. Partly inspired by Dirks, Phillip Wagoner went further in his study of the Telugu *Rayavacakamu*, establishing it as a seventeenth-century text, rather than the sixteenth-century official dispatch that it purported to be. Viewing the text as an "organically coherent literary whole," Wagoner showed how its author's knowledge of the recent past was deployed as "part of an ideological argument for the political legitimacy of the Madurai Nayaka regime" (that came to prominence after the fall of the imperial city of Vijayanagara in 1565).[27]

Meanwhile, a Hindu nationalist claim to the site of a sixteenth-century mosque in Ayodhya grew ever more strident, despite an overwhelming scholarly consensus on its lack of any real historical basis. A mob demolished the mosque on December 6, 1992, and that sparked Hindu-Muslim violence across India and Bangladesh.[28] Indian historians were confronted with a powerful challenge to their disciplinary claim to produce authentic knowledge of the past. The issue was on the minds of scholars gathered for a conference in 1997, and Daud Ali, the editor of their proceedings, pressingly raised the question: "can we write a history of conceptions of the past, or *a history of regimes of historicity* in South Asia?"[29] A bold answer was presented in an essay by Sanjay Subrahmanyam that prefigured a co-authored book that appeared in 2001.[30]

At the core of this important monograph are skilled and subtle analyses of Western and Indian accounts of two celebrated eighteenth-century battles in South India. While clearly indebted to Siegel, Errington, Matheson, Dirks, and Wagoner, among others, the authors are bolder than their precursors, and seek to "*recover as history* a significant body of literature from late medieval and early modern South India." This is to be done by reading texts exclusively through South Indian "society's visions and understandings of the past" as extant through the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. The producers of this history are identified as *karanams*—a select elite of officials knowing more than one language, reading different scripts

[25] Virginia Matheson, "Strategies of Survival: The Malay Royal Line of Lingga Riau," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 17, no. 1 (March 1986): 34.

[26] Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: The Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (1987; new edn., Cambridge, 2000), 58–59.

[27] Phillip B. Wagoner, *Tidings of the King: A Translation and Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Rayavacakamu* (Honolulu, 1993), 10.

[28] Propagated by pamphlets like *Ramjanmabhumi ka Raktaranjit Itihasa* (Bloody History of the Birthplace of Ram), cited in Sarkar, *Writing Social History*, 2.

[29] Daud Ali "Introduction," *Invoking the Past*, Ali, ed. (Delhi, 1999), 4.

[30] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Recovering Babel: Polyglot Histories from the Eighteenth-Century Tamil Country," in Ali, *Invoking the Past*, 280–321; V. Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India 1600–1800* (New Delhi, 2001; New York, 2003).

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and "with access to" Persian and Sanskrit. One may infer that this social stratum is assumed to be the real bearer of South Indian society's "visions and understandings." The authors' putatively total envelopment in a pre-colonial "South Indian" cultural perspective, of course, prevents them from following Siegel in using external referents to winnow "historical topics" from "mythical themes." Yet as anyone who dips into the literary corpus of pre-colonial India knows, every narrative set in the past tense can hardly be deemed historical in either content or intent. The authors are aware of this problem and resolve it by an *ex cathedra* decree: "Readers or listeners at home in a culture have a natural sensitivity to texture. They *know* when the past is being treated in a factual manner." Epistemologically speaking, this is hardly a convincing position. (Where does one get a domiciliary certificate for an eighteenth-century culture?) The essentialist approach of the authors is also exemplified in their reification of both "genre" and "community": "we propose that history is written in the dominant literary genre of a particular community . . . If *purana* is the pre-eminent literary form, history will be written as *purana*; if *kavya* [epic poem] dominates, we will find history as *kavya*; if prose chronicles come to the fore, they too will serve history."[31] A brilliant exercise in comparative philology, *Textures of Time* repays reading for the several subtle literary analyses that it contains, rather than for the shaky theoretical scaffolding that encumbers them.

The above-mentioned Hindu nationalist campaign to destroy the Ayodhya mosque was defended, in part, by recourse to an esoteric "unrecorded" history.[32] Partha Chatterjee recently reflected approvingly on how social pressures have led some historians to redefine the discipline by not "excluding popular practices of memory from its list of approved practices" and "incorporating within itself an appropriate analytic of the popular."[33] Yet more recently, a mob attacked and damaged an important archive in Pune, India, because an American scholar who (they alleged) had written disrespectfully of the seventeenth-century monarch Shivaji had used that collection.[34] How are disputes between "indigenous discourses about the past" or "popular practices of memory" to be resolved in the present? Who decides who else is "at home" in a culture? Moving the epistemological goalposts is not a fruitful strategy for dealing with differences.

Perhaps the history of the Marathi *bakhars* suggests an answer. These narratives emerged in settings where the historian did not stand forth as a judge: rather, he (rarely, she) spoke as a plaintiff, a defendant, and sometimes a witness. Narratives were often produced in judicial disputes over heritable property. So they contested alternative stories and sought to ground themselves in witness testimony, documentary evidence, and the "common knowledge" of the local community. That community itself was usually religiously, culturally, and linguistically diverse. The

[31] *Textures of Time*, 2–5, emphasis original; for *karanams*, see esp. 19–20, 115–18.

[32] The confident assertion of a special unrecorded history of the "Hindu" community is found in *BJP's White Paper on Ayodhya and the Rama Temple Movement* (introduction by L. K. Advani), no place, dated April 1993. "There are *unrecorded traditions* of many military expeditions by the Hindus between 1528 and 1707 for repossessing the Janmabhoomi," 20, emphasis added.

[33] Partha Chatterjee, "Introduction: History and the Present," in Chatterjee and Ghosh, *History and the Present*, 17.

[34] "A Taste of Bamiyan," *Outlook*, January 19, 2004 (weekly from New Delhi; on the web at www.Outlookindia.com), 18–19.

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assembly of worthies that acted for it often included rich and poor, high and low caste, Hindu and Muslim alike. The members of the judicial assembly scrutinized documents and interrogated witnesses. Sometimes, lack of evidence forced them to leave an issue unresolved. The award in one such case stated that the matter could be resolved only if a specific original document mentioned by several witnesses was found, but not otherwise.[35] I propose that the larger setting for these discourses was the interaction of expanding royal power and resilient local society in the early modern era. This setting led peasant proprietors and great nobles alike to develop coherent narratives of local pasts. I thus seek to ground a genre (the Marathi *bakhar*) in the social history of Western India, and to show how the effort to generate a "Maratha identity" itself impacted the genre. Unlike *Textures of Time*, my object is to historicize both genre and community, rather than attempt a literary analysis of the hundreds of Marathi texts that are the subject of this essay.

Let us return to Sumit Sarkar's useful suggestion that the production of such texts is connected to the exertion of bureaucratic power. Much of this essay will be devoted to an examination of it. But we must note that different classes of historical record appeared through time. The ancient king-lists, for example, began to be compiled at least two millennia ago, and were recopied, miscopied, and edited for centuries after.[36] Furthermore, alternative and divergent king-lists coexisted without any effort at comparison and authentication. It is also worth considering why the various genres were not uniformly produced in the various regional languages that took shape between the Khalji sultanate (1290–1325) and the Mughal Empire (ca. 1550–1750). "Bureaucracy" or at any rate administration by specially trained literati was, for example, strongly present in greater Rajasthan or we could not have the detailed local information on (for instance) tax assessments, crops, irrigation sources, and castes found in works such as Mumhta Nainsi's *Vigat* from the 1660s.[37] But the narrative portions of the Rajasthan texts are firmly centered in the genealogical mode, worked into a frame constituted by genealogical family and its appanages. I may in passing remark that Nainsi's compilation certainly recognizes that the different clan and lineage histories he recounts were occurring simultaneously, if unconnectedly, in diverse locales. The link between them was that all the protagonists were Rajputs (though this term occurs infrequently). Nainsi also signals differences between what he deems established facts and more doubtful reports. His account of the famous Sisodiya clan begins by saying (my term) "factually" that they were "originally" called Gaihalot, and then adds that "one

[35] The complete award includes a critical summary of the pleas and a scrutiny of documents produced on both sides. It dates from 1773–1774. Those attesting the award include Muslims, Brahmans, local artisans, tradesmen, and low-caste village servants. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhana Mandala Varsika Itivritta Sake 1835* [1912–1913]: 360–72.

[36] Ludo Rocher, *The Puranas* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 123.

[37] See, for example, the detailed statistical statements of Jodhpur in *Mumhta Nainsi-ri Likhi Marwar-ra Parganan-ri Vigat*, Narayanasingh Bhati, ed., 3 vols. (Jodhpur, 1968–1974), 1: 145–70, 186–372. But these scribes would be more numerous and less accomplished than the elite polyglot *karanams* envisaged in *Textures of Time*. A valuable annotated translation of significant portions of the Rajasthani narratives has recently appeared: Richard D. Saran and Philip M. Ziegler, *The Mertiyo Rathors of Merto, Rajasthan: Select Translations bearing on the History of a Rajput Family, 1462–1660*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, Mich. 2001). They note that the narrative portions of Nainsi's work are devoted almost entirely to clan histories; 11.

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report" said that their first dominion was in the South—in Nasik Trambak.[38] Nainsi's conscious adoption of the genealogical mode was, I suggest, related to the genealogical sources of legitimacy and clan-based structures of authority in the Rajasthan macro-region—a structure that ultimately circumscribed the power of literati officials like him.

AND SO TO THE REAL TOPIC OF THIS ESSAY, the Marathi *bakhar*. This was a prolific genre, with some 200 or more works in this class known to be extant and seventy in print.[39] I shall begin by considering the meaning of the term and then propose that narratives of this type had their beginnings in two related sources: lawsuits tried by the local community and inquests by incoming royal authority. I shall then move on to show how such narratives mutated as they became enmeshed in the Maratha imperial project of the eighteenth century before changing once again when their dominion was subverted by the incoming British.[40] Let us begin with the term itself. Rajaram Hervadkar is the leading editor and analyst of the genre. He suggests that the term itself arose by metathesis from the Arabic *khabr* (news report). Another authority, Bapuji Sankpal, on the other hand, has argued that the two words were used differently, and that as both terms were in circulation simultaneously, one could not have arisen by metathesis from the other.[41] The real significance of naming practice should be sought not in etymology but in usage. Whatever its origins, the term was certainly well established in official usage by the 1670s, when the Maratha sovereign Shivaji ordered the preparation of a thematic Sanskrit thesaurus that would reduce the excessive use of "Yavani" (Islamic) terms of statecraft. *Bakhair* is listed in a chapter dealing with specialized terms used by recordkeepers and accountants (*lekhanvarga*) of the *Rajvyavaharkosa*, and given the Sanskrit equivalent *akhyayika*.[42] *Akhyayika* itself is defined in a classical Sanskrit thesaurus as *uplabdhartha*—obtained or received knowledge—in meaning therefore, exactly the same as the South Asian usage of *khabar*.[43] It is preceded by equivalents for statistical statements (*terij* and *tala*), and followed by a Sanskrit substitute for *ferist* (list). This placement in the section that offers equivalents for standard tax-office terms suggests that the *bakhar* itself was something that the *divan*—finance minister—often had to address. But the *divani daftar* (loosely, the

[38] Badriprasad Sakariya, ed., *Mumhta Nainsiri Khyat*, 4 vols. (Jodhpur, 1984–1994), 1: 1.

[39] Rajaram V. Hervadkar, *Marathi Bakhar*, rev. enl. edn. (Pune, 1975); Bapuji Sankpal, *Bakhar Vangmaya: Udgama ani Vikas* (Pune, 1982); *Marathi Vangmayaca Itihasa*, Ramacandra S. Jog, ed. 6 parts (1963–1993; rpt. edn., Pune, 1999), 3: 490–571. Most of the background information in this essay is drawn from these sources. Many interesting glimpses of the London manuscript collection are to be had from James F. Blumhardt and S. G. Kanhere, *Catalogue of the Marathi Manuscripts in the India Office Library* (London, 1950).

[40] I take this idea from the outstanding work of Prachi Deshpande, "Narratives of Pride: History and Regional Identity in Maharashtra, India c. 1870–1960," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 2002), 47–55; and "Writing Regional Consciousness: Maratha History and Regional Identity in Modern Maharashtra," in *Region, Culture and Politics in Maharashtra*, Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhaus, eds. (Delhi, forthcoming).

[41] Sankpal, *Bakharvangmaya*, 19–27; Hervadkar, *Marathi Bakhar*, 1–5.

[42] Dhundhiraja, *Rajavyavaharakosa*, ms. composed c. 1676; Kailash N. Sane, ed., printed in *Sivacaritrapradipa*, Gangadharrao V. Mujumdar and Dattatreya V. Apte, eds. (Pune, 1925), 169.

[43] Amarasimha, *Amarakosah*, annotated by Visvanatha Jha (Delhi, 1999), 1: 58.

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fisc) was an institution found in most parts of the subcontinent from at least the fifteenth century onward; its existence would not by itself explain why so many narratives of the *bakhar* genre came to be composed in Maharashtra rather than elsewhere.

I have invoked Indo-Persian administrative terminology, and it is therefore necessary to address the possibility that the genre was essentially borrowed from the Persianate literati who staffed the uppermost levels of the administration under the sultans of southern India and (later) the Mughal emperors. It is almost certain that some writers of *bakhars* would have known of or read Persian histories, but this knowledge would not by itself generate Marathi historical narratives unless the regional setting was such as to prompt such writing. We should otherwise expect this genre to be found all over the subcontinent in various languages, which is not the case. So this article will seek the impulses and the settings that led literati to generate these texts within certain identifiable conventions and in a specific regional language.

Let me now turn to a setting where people have long had the incentive to produce credible narratives of contested pasts: this was (and is) the court of law. Officials of the fisc often presided over the judicial gatherings that decided important property claims.[44] Long disputes over patrimonies were the stuff of everyday life in Maharashtra, and, as the historical origins of the claim had to be explained, *bakhars* were also written as a consequence. We have an early case (1610) where the term *bakhar* is used in the proceedings to mean simply a statement of fact (in this case, the location of the boundary).[45] Two hundred years later, a century-long dispute over the hereditary astrologer's office of twelve villages was settled in favor of the Pavaskar family; one of the latter's friends then composed a congratulatory Marathi poem. The poem tells us that at one stage Sridhar Joshi took his plaint to the judge at the provincial governor's court. The local landlord sent his testimony in the form of a *bakhar*, which however, was scrutinized and rejected by the judge. This did not deter the false claimant from again raising his claim, this time by bribing an important person at the court of the king Sambhaji (ruled 1680–1689) and presenting another slanted *bakhar*.[46] A *bakhar* was clearly seen as something that was (or should be) factual. It was also literary, as Sankpal has pointed out.[47] But implicit in his analysis is the assumption that this literariness moves these narratives away from being "real" histories. Does this "literary" quality weaken my suggestion that the pre-history of the *bakhar* is to be found in the written pleas filed before judicial authorities? I would suggest that the resort to softening and omission of truth, to ornamented narrative and rhetorical device, is characteristic of the forensic process, and these qualities may be seen as an important source of many features of the *bakhar* genre itself. These traits would

[44] Verdicts from judicial assemblies often ended with the warning: "whoever violates this will be a wrong-doer before the community and punishable by the Diwan."

[45] Datto V. Potdar and Gangadharrao N. Mujumdar, eds., *Sivacaritrasahitya* 2, (Pune, 1930), 113–18.

[46] This interesting manuscript is in the British Library, London, Mss Mar A-7 pt. 1, chap. 6, verses 40–41, 48: "tenen svamate lihili bakhar."

[47] Sankpal, *Bakhar*, 70.

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not, nonetheless, detract from the effort at verisimilitude made in the text, or turn it into a pure work of the imagination.

Protracted legal disputes that dragged from forum to forum and were reopened with each change of regime were common, and literati in Maharashtra had frequently to prepare testimonies in such cases.[48] The relation between the maintenance of family chronicles and the defense of patrimonial claims is elegantly illustrated in a book recently published by A. R. Kulkarni, doyen of Maratha historians. The volume contains both the chronicle or memorandum book (1627–28 to 1696–97) of the Jedhe family and a *karina* that explains the history of their patrimony. The chronicle itself is a list of dates together with brief notes of important events: battles, coronations, the births and deaths of important people, and so on. This information was then drawn on to write a *karina*—an explanatory history of how they acquired and held their lands.[49]

But gentlefolk like the Jedhes and courtly literati were not the only authors of historical narratives. Take the following summary of evidence from a suit begun in the early eighteenth century and resolved in 1785. The plaintiff was a poor goldsmith whose grandfather had been a village lord (*khot*). I cite a summary of the plaintiff's written and oral evidence prepared by a clerk sent by the chief justice.

> You [the plaintiff] wrote out a plea the substance of which, as supplemented by additional evidence, is that the *khoti* [lordship] of the aforementioned village is anciently ours, but we cannot tell which of our forefathers secured this patrimony. During the Bijapur reign Krishnaset son of Yesaset held the lordship. Krishnaset's brother was Sonaset; upon his death his wife became a *sati*. The immolation site in the village still has a masonry marker. After this Bhagset son of Krishnaset held the office, as did Dadset son of Bhagshet. After them it was held by Krishnaset and Lamset, sons of Dadset. Lamset died, leaving a son Sonset, my father. Krishnaset fled the village due to the turmoil caused by the invasion of Naroji Ghorpade, and went to Rangana, lived there five or six years and died. His son Dadset lived at Satara and worked as a goldsmith to support himself, and my father Sonshet came back to our village. Fifty or sixty years have gone by since then; owing to poverty he could not fulfill the functions of the landlord's office.[50]

We may notice how the narrative is sought to be authenticated by a genealogy linking the claimant to the original holder, to locally well-known events such as the invasion of Naroji Ghorpade, and to a still-extant masonry memorial to a widow-immolation.

The hereditary office (the plaint continues) was then usurped for many years. When challenged, the new occupant also claimed legitimate possession, and the court scrutinized documents on both sides. The displaced claimant had to explain the adverse possession of the incumbent. The judge sought sworn testimony from various villagers, and each of them declared what he had himself seen as well as what he had learned from his father or other older persons. Documents were also

[48] For an excellent account with many documents attached, see Vitthala T. Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas* (Pune, 1953).

[49] *Sakavali* means "sequence of years." Ananta R. Kulkarni, ed., *Jedhe Shakavali-Karina* (Pune, 1999); *Karina*, an Arabic loan-word, is derived from *qrn*—to join or connect; it is here applied to an explanatory history. John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English* (1884; rpt. edn., Delhi, 1997).

[50] Maharashtra State Archives, Pune, Parasnis transcripts, vol. 12, fols. 22–23.

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challenged on occasion. So, for example, eleven villagers testified that they had heard that one Keso Tanadeva had forcibly taken the old landlord and important villagers to the temple and extorted deeds transferring ownership to him. However, three others stated that they only knew that the deeds had been written and attested, but they did not know the process involved.[51] The obvious effect was to question the value of the documents produced as evidence.

The significance of refuting contrary evidence was well understood. So, for example, in preparation for a lawsuit, the Sitole family compiled a memorandum showing what old documents they possessed from the time of Malik Ambar (early 1600s) to the present. Interestingly, it also included lines of rebuttal for documents held by the other side: "When the Nizamshahi [dynasty] fell, the Idilshahs took over and the district came under Bijapur. At that time the two brothers did not go to greet the new ruler, whereupon he was angered and conferred the *deshmukhi* [hereditary office] on the Ghatge family [who might therefore have records too]. Then Vithoji Naik [Sitole] went to Bijapur, got the Ghatges removed and secured a royal order in his favor. We have the *farman* [decree, which would supersede other documents held by the Ghatges]on (special) green paper."[52] Similarly, when the Jagdales and Yadavas feuded over an estate, the former took pains to compile a set of testimonials from many neighboring landholders. These stated that the estate had been awarded by the then king without an assembly of local worthies attesting to its true ownership. The Yadavas, on the other hand, sought to explain this away by reference to various incidents in the strenuous campaign against the Mughal Empire having prevented this being done.[53]

Not just great nobles but even small-town literati maintained memorandum books listing noteworthy events. So a Brahman resident of Cheul listed sacrifices, ceremonies, the names of Brahmans who attended and officiated, the installation of statues, gifts, and fees given as well as major political events in chronological order.[54] As the rights to officiate and receive fees were often hotly contested between Brahman lineages, this information was of more than passing significance. Similarly, as many tax-free assignments were held by Brahmans, suspensions of and inquiries into them were important. But other information could also be swept into his memorandum book. Two extracts:

> Sake 1714 *Paridhavi samvatsara* Bhadrapad dark half [of the lunar month], 14th day, [tax-free] land-grants in the territory of Janjira Kulaba were taken over by the government . . . Sake 1723 Jyeshta dark half 12th day, a huge fish floated up near the shore of Naganva harbor. It was thirty or thirty-one cubits long and as thick as the full height of an adult man. All the Prabhus and other folk went to look at it.

Documents and narratives would ultimately be tested in an assembly of regional or village notables (*majlis*, *gotsabha*, *samasta dehijan*). Literally thousands of such

[51] Parasnis transcripts, vol. 12, fol. 87.

[52] *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Govind S. Sardesai, ed., 46 vols. (Bombay, 1931–1935), 31: 67.

[53] Rajwade, *Marathyancya Itihasancin Sadhanen*, 22 vols. (various places, 1898–1918), Vol. 15 (Dhule, 1912); reprinted as volume 2 in the new series (Dhule, 2002), 2: 86–89; Appasaheb Pavar, ed., *Tarabaikalina Kagadpatre*, 2 vols. (Kolhapur, 1969), 1: 189–203. I owe this idea to Prachi Deshpande (personal communication).

[54] *Mandala Itivritta Sake 1835*, 43–45.

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gatherings are mentioned in the records of medieval western India. It is important, I think, to note that people of diverse communities and persuasions would be present. Contestants could not, therefore, appeal to esoteric or sectarian knowledge, but turned rather to the "common knowledge" or "common sense" of a diverse local community, narrated in a language that everyone could understand. I have already mentioned the local assembly that met in 1610 to resolve the boundary dispute between two villages of Pune district. It was headed by the hereditary Islamic judge Kazi Abdulla and his deputy, Kazi Ismail. Also present were Mir Isiph, deputy commandant of the fort of Kondana, Nur Miya Vali, custodian of an important Sufi shrine. But the gathering also included two Brahman officials, the heads of the merchants of three market towns, and a long list of village headmen and notables from the nearby villages.[55] Thus Islamic scholars and officials, Brahman bureaucrats, merchants, local gentry, and substantial peasants were all present. All these would have to be convinced, and would then authenticate the award with their seals, signatures, or marks. Most proceedings were held in the open or in public places. People of many classes would thus periodically gather to hear, debate, and renew local knowledge and common sense. Some of them might have to stand forth as witnesses, plaintiffs, or respondents. In a largely nonliterate society, such meetings would be important in shaping and transmitting local and regional history. It is therefore not surprising that the English surgeon Thomas Coats observed of Maharashtrian peasants in the early nineteenth century: "they are fond of conversation, discuss the merits of agriculture, the characters of their neighbours and every thing that relates to the concerns of the community, and many of them are not without a tolerable knowledge of the leading events of the history of their country."[56]

Like royal orders, grants, and other documents, the decrees resulting from such assemblies were firmly located in dated time, often with the Salivahana Saka alongside the solar Islamic (*suhur*) year; sometimes, a regnal year would be added as well. That all these dating systems referred to the same neutral commonplace linear time went without saying. Furthermore, implicit in such cross-dating is the idea that time has a single flow, and that different markers are arbitrarily placed. There was no single eschatological event that changed time, nor did it move to some eventual end of days. In that sense, this time was more secular than that of Jean-Baptiste Bossuet's universal history (for example), where human destiny was irretrievably altered by the incarnation of Jesus.[57]

BUT THE LAW COURT was not the only time and place where local and family history was rehearsed, contested, and remade. Many *bakhars* frequently also present

[55] *Sivacaritrasahitya* 2, Potdar and Mujumdar, eds., 113–18.

[56] Thomas Coats, "Account of the Township of Lony," in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 3 (1823): 192. He adds, "The cultivators . . . form almost the whole of the population of the township . . . A school is established in the town, where reading, writing and arithmetic are taught; but it is only attended by the children of brahmins, shopkeepers and patails [headmen], so that scarcely any of the cultivators can either read or write."

[57] Jean-Baptiste Bossuet, *Discourse on Universal History* [1681], Elborg Foster, trans. (Chicago, 1976).

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themselves as responses from knowledgeable subordinates to a question from a superior authority. This rhetorical device may also give us a clue to the origins of this hybrid genre of writing: as Sumit Sarkar suggested, it stems from an increasingly bureaucratic regime in which successive rulers needed to know their domains, and began by demanding testimony from local officials. Such inquests would be common wherever royal authority had weakened powerful intermediary lords and penetrated to the localities. This is suggested in one of the very earliest, if not earliest, *bakhars* extant—the *Mahikavatici bakhar*.[58] It records that after the kingdom was conquered by Nagarsya:

> Samvat 1228 that is . . . Salivahana Saka 1163 the 7th day of the bright half of the month Magha, Tuesday . . . then the people of the land gathered. The district gentry, their assistants, the village elders, the cleverer village headmen, tax officers, merchants, Brahmans—all communities brought their records, papers and charters and all came into the royal presence.[59]

It is unlikely this happened at either of the dates given, but it was common some centuries later. As Rajwade pointed out, this manuscript comprises not one but six distinct works by at least two authors, subsequently copied and recopied over perhaps two hundred years into a single manuscript. Indeed, it is in many ways an excellent example of a transitional *bakhar* text/texts. The first part begins with the heading: "Lines of descent–lineage origins–the separation of classes–exposition." The author describes how the goddess of speech animated him, and then refers to a Sanskrit *Bhavisyottara Purana* as his source and re-tells some traditional cosmological myths. We learn of families descended from the Sun, the Moon, or the Serpent Sesa, and names and affiliations of the kings who ruled from the city of Paithan. It ends by explaining the multiplicity of castes by proper and improper marriages, and affirms its source to be yet another *purana*.[60] Rajwade dates this poem to the sixteenth century, and that certainly seems plausible on linguistic grounds.

The next major segment of the manuscript is in prose, and brings us into the familiar territory of the *bakhar*. The author makes a ferocious effort at verisimilitude and plunges us into precise time and specified place: "In the year of Vikramarka 1125 that is . . . Salivahana Sake 1060, . . . the bright half of the month of Magha, 5th day, Monday, from Anahilavadapattana near Champaner."[61] The narrative then plunges into a brisk if sometimes inconsistent history of land grants and land seizures clearly intended to explain and justify contemporary claims to land and estates. Another ten pages describe how disputes over estates or honors were settled under the Navait Muslim rulers and their successors, the sultans of Gujarat. Finally, portions of a story found earlier in the text are recopied in order to explain the ancient roots and noble descent of a set of families not previously mentioned. I could go on. In short, this is a composite document whose segmented

[58] One manuscript was edited and printed by V. K. Rajwade: *Mahikavatici Bakhar* (1924; rpt. edn., Pune, 1999). Others exist: a slightly variant one is British Library, London, Add Mss 26494 B.

[59] *Mahikavatici Bakhar*, text: 41. The two dates do not match.

[60] *Mahikavatici Bakhar*, text: 1–31.

[61] *Mahikavatici Bakhar*, text: 32. The dates do not match. Rajwade dated this part of the text to 1448 CE.

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structure exhibits the different narrative modes that went into constituting the more integrated narratives produced from the seventeenth century onward.

But let us return to the territorial inquest as another source of the *bakhar* genre. It is doubtful if the Raja Nagarsya indeed ordered such an inquest, but later records of such inquiries survive—as, for example, when the Maratha king Shivaji conquered the districts of Cheul and Rairi in the early 1650s. He summoned the hereditary gentry-administrators and chiefs of the merchants to the fort of Prabalgad, and ordered them to provide a complete account of the tax collections under the preceding regime. "Thereupon Appaji Tavji, hereditary district accountant [*deshkulkarni*] said that under the Nizamshahs and Adilshahs we would make a lump-sum assessment and did not keep accounts of the [actual] payments made by the peasants." He was punished, and arrangements made for local accounts to be kept in the future.[62] Historical narratives were important in bargaining over tax rates—thus on the reestablishment of Maratha power in Satara district after 1708, local hereditary officials were able to produce a detailed memorandum of the tax rates fixed at the coronation of Chatrapati Shivaji in 1674, as well as the changes made under his successor Sambhaji.[63] The corresponding officials in the Anjanvel subdivision of the Konkan maintained an even more detailed account, last updated for the British in 1824. Its real focus was on tax arrangements, but included historical notes such as those excerpted below:

> Kanada Ramraja Chhatrapati by caste [*jati*] a Lingayat Vani—in his time there was no fort in the subdivision; then Pavar of the Maratha caste built a fort at Gudhe in Valambe area and set up the Gudhe province about 600 years ago. The province was depopulated; taxes were not collected by measurement; instead the cultivated area was estimated annually and a sum levied after negotiation with the peasants . . . This system continued for about 275 years, and then Patshahi rule began.
>
> Ali Idilshah and Bahri Nizamshah, who were brothers, killed the Kanada Ramraja at the camp of Anegondi, and Ali Idilshah enthroned himself at Bijapur in the year *salas tisa[in?] maya* [193?] *Sake 1424*[1501–2 CE] . . .
>
> In the manner detailed above the Adilshahs ruled; in that period the land tax was not assessed on the basis of a half-share from each cultivator; the demand was adjusted depending on the state of the cultivation—this was the system during the entire rule of the Padshahs.
>
> Shivaji Bhosle lived in the vicinity of Chandi-Chandavar [*sic*; Senji and Thanjavur]; Bhosle and Jadhavarao were related by marriage; a family quarrel ensued, and Bhosle rose in rebellion from 1574 [CE 1652]—he continued for 22 years. Then in 1596 [1674 CE] Shivaji Maharaj Chhatrapati was crowned at Raigad, and he sent generals with an army to occupy the Konkan. Sivaji Maharaj conducted affairs for 22 years before his enthronement and for six after it. [64]

Thus the discussion of tax arrangements under different regimes would also involve a historical narrative about them. But it is only in the 1650s that the historical notes gain a degree of accuracy. I believe that this reflects the new demands of Shivaji's

[62] *Peshwa Daftar*, 31: 21.

[63] *Peshwa Daftar*, 31: 88–90.

[64] *Mandala Itivritta Sake 1835*, 319–23. The first Arabic year is garbled, and neither of the events mentioned occurred in 1501–1502. The later dates are quite accurate. The Arabic words spell out the Suhur year.

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administration, which led officials quickly to collect then current oral traditions to lend authority to their description of previous tax regimes, and to keep regular notes thereafter.

BUT THE JUDICIAL CASE AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE INQUEST were not the only templates for the *bakhar*. These factual narratives also came to serve the identity of the Marathas as a rising regional elite. The above-cited officials of Anjanvel certainly saw the coronation of the Maratha sovereign Shivaji in 1674 as an epoch-making event. That act was the culmination of a campaign that both drew on and reinforced local and regional patriotism. Shivaji began raising a local militia in the 1640s and seized some crucial strongholds in western Maharashtra from his nominal overlord, the Adilshahi sultan. The sultan's ministers sent threatening letters warning the local gentry that their heads would be struck off if they connived with him. Shivaji reassured a wavering supporter in a message that subtly highlighted his own rootedness in the locality: "Rohidesvara, the original presiding deity of your valley, who exists in self-created form next to the *sendri* tree on the plateau at the crest of your peak, has assured me success."[65] Shivaji succeeded in founding an independent kingdom that survived a full-scale Mughal assault. The introductory chapter to Ramacandra Pant's treatise on statecraft was written in 1717: "This is the kingdom that was assailed by a powerful enemy like [the Mughal emperor] Aurangzeb and still beat him back. Aurangzeb focused all his forces and expended all his resources against it, but failed to conquer; bootless, disheartened he took himself off to the land of death. And Aurangzeb was master of fifty-four kingdoms; endowed with wealth and soldiers second to none, of whom it was famously said 'either the lord of Delhi or the lord of the world' [are equal in wealth]."[66] Dynastic identity thus merged with and built on regional pride, and the protean *bakhar* was turned to yet another narrative: the construction of a common glorious past.

Not surprisingly, therefore, one of the most famous early *bakhars*—that detailing the life and deeds of Shivaji, was written in 1694, during the hard days of the struggle with the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, whose armies had overrun most of Maharashtra. Its author Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad framed text as an answer to King Rajaram's question: "My father achieved great feats of arms, confronted four empires—such was his valor. That being so, how has Aurangzeb been able to come and wreck fort after fort? You are an old and knowledgeable servant of the state—write an account of his [Shivaji's] deeds [*caritra*] from the very beginning." Significantly enough, the text, while opening with an invocation of the deeds of the founder-hero, ends by speaking in terms of a regional patria ruled by a *Maratha* king: "He proclaimed his dominance from the Narmada river up to Ramesvara [traditional southern extremity of India] and captured the land. Adalshai, Kutubshai, Nizamshai, Moglai—these four empires as well as the twenty-two empires from beyond the seas were kept in check and a new empire founded; a Maratha Padshah seated himself on the throne as a Chhatrapati [sovereign monarch]." It is

[65] Rajwade, *Marathyancya Itihasacin Sadhanen*, new series, 2: 242.
[66] Ramacandra Pant, *Ajnyapatra*, S. N. Banhatti, ed. (1961; rpt. edn., Nagpur, 1986), 59.

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perhaps not without significance that, while the work opens by describing itself as a *caritra* (biography), the closing sentences refer to it as a *bakhar*.[67] The Maratha identity had been foregrounded from at least the 1670s, when a dependent of the newly crowned *Chatrapati* wrote a Sanskrit epic on his career. It begins with Shivaji's grandfather, Malavarman, who is emphatically described as a Maratha king ruling in Maharashtra.[68] The identity was also extensively invoked by Shivaji's sons and successors during the darkest periods of the war with the Mughals.[69]

As the Marathi-speaking gentry who had long written or dictated narrative histories for consumption in the regional political arena expanded their horizons to a dominance over the peninsula and ultimately, the entire Indian subcontinent, a fresh layer of macro-narratives was added to the local and particular histories that continued to be compiled. So, in 1813, we find a manuscript that applies the same term to what is clearly seen as a Maratha national history: *Svarajya mhanon Maharashtaraje ajruyi bakhar*—a literal translation would be "the authentic *bakhar* of our kingdom, that is, of the Maharashta kingdom."[70] The change first identified by Prachi Deshpande had occurred, and we now also need to "view the *bakhars* as texts that were closely linked to the spread and exercise of Maratha power in the eighteenth century and which played an important part in its practice and representation."[71] The qualification that I would add to this formulation of the link between Maratha power and the *bakhar* genre is that only some select macro-*bakhars* (to coin a gross neologism) worked primarily with that goal, and a large number continued to build narratives centered on lesser lineages and petty disputes, as well as the lives of worthy and holy personages and their doings.

Deshpande would exclude "prose hagiographies" from the *bakhar* genre; but the distinction of sacred and secular was not made in the texts themselves—after all, the *Sabhasad Bakhar* credits dreams, omens, and prophecies.[72] Supernatural intervention was accepted and invoked in the prosaic world of the law court: if written and oral evidence failed, the disputants could offer to undergo an ordeal. Religious foundations could also get involved in property disputes that required secular adjudication. Perhaps this even led to a change in the tone of some hagiographies themselves. A full-length hagiographic *bakhar*—the life of the seventeenth- century holy man Samartha Ramdas written in 1793 by his follower Hanumantsvami—opens with a narration of sources and an admission of their incompleteness.

> I had [earlier] written a life of the Svami. You asked me to communicate it to you. It has been expanded on the basis of books, and on what the company of his contemporary disciples wrote down and preserved, and also certain stories that I have myself heard. This is communicated to you. Who indeed can tell you everything about the Svami? His deeds are infinite, his qualities infinite and so too his devotion. What is knowable I have written.[73]

[67] Krishnaji Anant, *Sabhasad Bakhar*, Bhimrao Kulkarni, ed. (Pune, 1987), text: 1, 100.
[68] Paramananda, *Sivabharatam*, introduction by Vinayakraya Apte (Pune, 1930), Chap. 1, verses 42–43.
[69] Setumadhavrao Pagdi, *Hindvi Svarajya ani Mogal* (Pune, 1966), 17–18.
[70] British Library, London, Mss Mar D.31, fol. 126.
[71] This most important insight is from Deshpande, "Narratives of Pride," 19–20.
[72] *Sabhasad Bakhar*, 2.
[73] Printed in *Ramdas ani Ramdasi* 27 (1958–1959): 239.

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By 1805, the British began visibly to overshadow the Maratha empire, and in 1817–1818, Pune and Nagpur—the two major cities of Maharashtra— came under British military occupation. The early British regime sought eagerly for *bakhars*: a manuscript found in the fort of Rairi (in 1803?) was translated and found its way into the diplomatic and military records of the Bombay government secretariat.[74] *Bakhars* were certainly used by Grant Duff, the first colonial historian of the Marathas.[75] They continued to be written well after the imposition of colonial rule and the beginnings of Western education, and they differed little from the developed *bakhars* of the eighteenth century. The loss of political power now seems to have sustained efforts at recording the past. One Krishnaji Sohoni served the Maratha regime in its last decades; he subsequently became an ascetic and lived in the holy town of Vaijnatha, where his narrative of the period when the Brahman ministers were ascendant (c. 1720–1818) became sufficiently popular for at least two persons to compile it into history. Sohoni and presumably most of his auditors were Brahmans, and their historical assessment is summed up in the disillusioned epilogue to the story:

> God granted a boon that Brahmans should rule the earth for a hundred years in the Dark Age. This is in the Puranas and the words of [the ancient seer] Vyasa. So it happened. In Sake 1635 [1712–1713] the Pesvas' government came into being; in Sake 1739 the kingdom fell. Until the time of Savai Madhavrao the kingdom was dominant. All its enemies lay underfoot with folded hands. Then, after Bajirao Raghunath came to the throne [1796], there were no more campaigns and expeditions, and the ruler saw no need to maintain armies. And so the present state of things has come about. [76]

Early colonial efforts to settle land tenure and limit tax exemptions also stimulated the writing of additional histories by landed families justifying their claims. Furthermore, as recently demonstrated in a penetrating article by Wagoner, early colonial narratives and reports were underpinned by the paleographic and linguistic work of traditional scholars, who often also wrote short histories.[77] Selections from this information were then seamlessly assimilated into the master narratives constructed in the colonial reports that provided the templates for most colonial history. We can see this happening by (for example) comparing the manuscript reports of Richard Jenkins's assistant Vinayakrao and Jenkins's own

[74] "An Account of Shahaji and His Son Shivaji," in George W. Forrest, ed., *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and Other State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat: Maratha Series* (Bombay, 1885), 1–22.

[75] James Grant Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, 3 vols. (London, 1826). The Marathi translation appeared in 1829–1830 and became a required schoolbook, reprinted eleven times by 1838. Jog, ed. *Marathi Vangmayaca Itihasa*, 4: 553–54.

[76] *Pesvyanci Bakhar*, Bhimrao Kulkarni, ed. (Pune, 1987), 146.

[77] Phillip B. Wagoner, "Precolonial Intellectuals and the Production of Colonial Knowledge," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43 (October 2003): 783–814; also Nicholas B. Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds. (Philadelphia, 1993), 279–313.

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Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore.[78] The latter, in turn, was used in a multitude of colonial histories through the next century.

The responses to colonial history soon moved beyond oblique attacks such as that made in Sohoni's *bakhar*. Nilakantharao Kirtane published the first modernist Marathi critique of British historian Grant Duff's *History* in 1867. The first "modern" Marathi historical novel also appeared that year.[79] By 1890, Rajwade had decided that solidly grounding history in the latest methods of source criticism would enable India to recapture its own history. He commented that efforts like Kirtane's were hamstrung by a lack of dependable contemporary sources. Rajwade was scathing in his critique of the *bakhars* that were slowly coming into the world of print, and devoted several pages of the introduction to his first volume of sources (published in 1898) to a denunciation of their exaggerations, anachronisms, chronological confusions, and love for fabulous stories. The truly important sources, he held, were contemporary letters, dispatches, and other documents, and he used a few of these to demonstrate triumphantly how Grant Duff had been completely wrong in his account of the movements of the Maratha armies in 1754.[80]

And so Rajwade launched the enterprise of defeating colonial knowledge by crushing it with a superior body of primary, contemporary sources. At the same time, another response to colonial dominance came in the form of the historical novel and play. As Prachi Deshpande has pointed out, novelists and dramatists drew heavily on historical documents to lend verisimilitude to their works.[81] Marathi historical novels multiplied parallel to the new public interest in history. The major novelist Harinarayana Apte declared that the two pillars of the historical novel were oral traditions (*dantkatha*) and (authentic) histories (*itihasa*).[82] Such novels clearly inherited much of the color and anachronistic spirit of the traditional *bakhars*. Meanwhile, Rajwade struggled with the difficulties of writing satisfying historical narratives in a rigorously documented mode. In his last years, he took a more sympathetic view of the *bakhars*—especially the *Mahikavatici Bakhar*, which he edited and published in 1924. In a lengthy introduction, he bends over backward to provide an authentic factual basis for the diverse and contradictory narratives contained in it; and in his conclusion he casts two personages from it as heroes—Nayakorao, the warrior, and Kesavacarya, the Brahman preceptor.[83] It is clear that he projects them as fifteenth-century forerunners of a Hindu nationalist movement that he desired in the colonized present. So the pioneer of the strict construction of verifiable history from contemporary sources found its results ultimately unsatisfying, and returned to narrative modes far closer to those of the

[78] Richard Jenkins, *Report on the Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore* (1830; new edn. with modernized spelling, Nagpur, 1923), acknowledges his British assistants, but never mentions Vinayakrao. Hundreds of folios of Vinayakrao's Modi script field-notes, tour diaries, and transcriptions from 1808 to 1823 are in the British Library, London, Marathi Mss D.35 to D.46.

[79] *Marathi Vangmayaca Itihasa* Jog, ed., 4: 556.

[80] Rajwade, *Itihasacarya Vi. Ka. Rajwade: Samagra Sahitya*, 10 vols., M. B. Shaha, ed. (Dhule, 1998), 10: 1–8, 24–25.

[81] Deshpande, "Narratives of Pride," 116–44.

[82] I rely here on Jog, ed., *Marathi Vangmayaca Itihasa*, Pt. 5, 1: 448–49; Deshpande, "Narratives of Pride," 124, cites the popular novelist V. V. Hadap: he claimed to use his imagination only where "historical evidence had failed in its task" (Deshpande's translation).

[83] *Mahikavatici Bakhar*, introduction, esp. 109–10.

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bakhars he had formerly denounced. But the rich archive that his generation recovered and preserved still stands, echoing with voices that yet contest the hegemonic claims of nations and communities (and the property claims of their neighbors).

This article had two objects: to survey the history of modern historical practice in a postcolonial nation-state, and to carry out a more detailed examination of the structures that generated historical texts in the under-researched pre-colonial era. Through this juxtaposition of current and past historical practices, I have attempted to show how we modern historians can situate the work of our obscurer predecessors without resorting to relativism. Relativists would simply declare that all forms of memory are valid, and then return to the safety of their own commonsense version of it. If I have succeeded, this essay uncovers the setting that generated other historical practices, and thus enables us to compare them with our own. The past is a foreign country. But we can hope to know why they did things differently there.

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Elites, Subalterns, and American Identities: A Case Study of African-American Benevolence

GUNJA SENGUPTA

SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD ANNE SMITH harbored aspirations higher than a lifetime in domestic service. Born in New York of Virginian blacks at the turn of the twentieth century, Smith was reared in a predominantly African-American community at the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School (HOIS), originally of Brooklyn, later of King's Park, Long Island. In accordance with institutional practice, soon after Smith entered adolescence, she was placed in housework with the family of the orphanage's white treasurer in Westfield, New Jersey. Before long, her mistress, Marjorie Snevily, reported that the young woman was anxious to withdraw savings from her wages—held in trust for her by the institution—in order to put herself through business school. The reluctant maid reportedly grew "mean" with her mistress's children when every business school in the Westfield area refused to admit her on account of her race.[1] Subsequently, Snevily attributed Smith's discontent to "a lack of money that she could herself spend on clothes . . . Her friends are all making good money and dressing a little more up-to-the minute than she is."[2] It was no

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[1] Marjorie C. Snevily to H. Hollingsworth Wood, September 5, and October 17, 1918, Howard Orphanage and Industrial School, Records, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York (hereafter, HOIS). Wood, a white Quaker lawyer, became President of the Orphanage in 1913. In order to protect the privacy of Howard alumni and their families, I have used pseudonyms for all of them mentioned in the text. In the notes, I have identified letters written to and by them by citing their initials rather than their full names. Anne Smith's true initials were M. J. Her demographic details may be found in the *Thirteenth Census of the United States* (1910) for the Borough of Brooklyn under entries for the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum. Before entering the Snevily home, M. J. was placed with the family of a Brooklyn real estate broker named D. S. Willis who promised to send her to school. When the Willises reneged on their promise on the ground that M. J. was "so backward in her work that it required every minute of her time . . . to do her lessons . . . she of course could never become a teacher," the Orphanage Superintendent Mary Gordon removed her from the Willis home. See letter by D. S. Willis to Wood, n.d., HOIS. For an institutional history of the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School, see Carlton Mabee, "Charity in Travail: Two Orphan Asylums For Blacks," *New York History* 55 (January 1974): 55–77.

[2] Marjorie Snevily to Wood, November 1918 (no day), HOIS.

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accident that Smith reportedly combined her longing for a business education with a taste for the latest fashion in clothing. For this first-generation New Yorker of African descent, "putting on style" [3] became at once a means of challenging her received identities of race, class, and gender by testing the promise of America's much vaunted success ethic, and by contesting the color construction of American consumer culture. Moreover, it served as the occasion for Smith's performance of the role of a rational economic actor in an ostensibly laissez-faire world. She was demanding control over her own wages as a worker and the autonomy to spend it however she wished as a consumer. Her bid for such independence accorded well with her interracial custodians' emphasis upon self-sufficiency in adulthood, even as it defied their agenda to promote thrift and feminine restraint among their charges.

The story of Smith's upbringing at the HOIS reveals much about microlevel, "multipositional" African-American negotiations with the contested narrative of American exceptionalism—the tension between race and civic equality that it embodied—in a particular moment and space in U.S. history. [4] This account carries important lessons about the interplay of identity, power, and the everyday politics of engagement and resistance in marginalized communities. The dynamics of this interplay may be seen in what the historian Earl Lewis has described as the "relational matrix of identity formation" among the historical actors associated with one benevolent institution from their overlapping vantage points as benefactors, staff, and "clients;" as men and women; as workers and consumers; as surrogate parents, children, and lovers; and as black and white Americans.[5] These vantage points were embedded in multiple discourses of power structured around the relations of race, class, gender, age, occupation, and consumption, as well as the politics of child welfare and constructions of nationalism in Progressive America. The archival remains of the HOIS offer an usually rich set of windows to study not only the positioning of our protagonists at the intersection of these different discourses of power but also to explore the fashion in which *interactions* among

[3] See chapter three, entitled "Putting on Style," in Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[4] As the historian Gary Gerstle has argued in *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), two competing nationalisms shaped Progressive America's schizophrenic sense of "self." President Theodore Roosevelt imagined a masculinized, racialized nation forged in the crucible of war, one that promised the rights of American citizenship to all European men, no matter what their national origin, as long as they acculturated to "American" norms in a democratic capitalist order divided between what Matthew Frye Jacobson calls "whiteness and its others." Yet Roosevelt's America was shaped not by racial nationalism alone but also embraced a version of civic nationalism that offered—at least in theory—equality of opportunity and freedom to all regardless of color or creed. One racialized the promise of American exceptionalism, the other opened up that promise to all *individuals* regardless of race, nationality, religion or, it could be argued, gender. My understanding and use of the term "multipositional," based on Earl Lewis's discussion of that concept in "To Turn as on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas," *American Historical Review* 100 (June 1995): 783, is developed in greater detail later in the essay. See also Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York, 1998). On the notion of the bipolar construction of society into "whiteness and its others," see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

[5] Lewis, "To Turn as on a Pivot," 783. Historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham has also pointed out that the "apparent overdeterminancy" of race in the United States has eclipsed not only other categories of social relations like gender but also the interrelationships among these categories. See Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race,"*Signs* 17 (Winter 1992): 251–74, reprinted in Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, and Linda Reed, eds., *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: A Reader in Black Women's History* (New York, 1995), 5.

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them molded subaltern agency. To that end, I probe in this essay the dialectical relationship between elite black and white interpretations of "American" identity implicit in the welfare visions and management styles embraced by Howard's mostly white directors and its black staff. Further, I argue that these perspectives provided a complex filter through which the orphans construed and articulated the diverse facets of their own identities. From the interlocking sites they inhabited in the full range of their social experiences, they daily mounted an array of material, rhetorical, and symbolic strategies to achieve personal autonomy, sexual equality, and racial justice within the framework of debates over national belonging.

My analysis draws upon conceptual insights generated by exchanges among scholars of subaltern groups in colonial and postcolonial Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Postcolonialists have shown that Europeans used the institutions and architecture, languages and literature, and rituals and regulations of imperial rule to create categories of knowledge that defined the imperial "self" in opposition to the colonized "other." In subordinate hands however, these categories of knowledge could become launching pads for subverting rigid identity constructs of ruler versus ruled.[6] Along similar lines, some subalternists have redefined the familiar Gramscian notion of "hegemony" to reflect what they see as a reciprocal relationship between systems of power and the agency of marginalized peoples. The Latin American scholar William Roseberry has suggested that "we use the concept [of hegemony] *not* to understand consent but to understand struggle; the ways in which the words, images, symbols, forms, organizations, institutions, and movements used by subordinate populations to talk about, understand, confront, accommodate themselves to, or resist their domination are shaped by the process of domination itself. What hegemony constructs, then, is not a shared ideology but a common material and meaningful framework for living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterized by domination." For example, anticolonial nationalists in Partha Chatterjee's work on India attacked imperialism at least partly in terms of the very premises of reason and modernity that were used to legitimize colonial rule. Similarly, the Namiquipans of Chihuahua, Mexico, studied by Daniel Nugent and Ana Maria Alonso, who rejected the *ejido* brand of agrarian reform, were nevertheless operating within the bounds of a land tenure policy established by the state.[7]

Understanding power relations in this way illuminates the *processes* of negotiation in hierarchical societies that keep both hegemonic frameworks and subaltern

[6] See the essays in the *AHA Forum*, *American Historical Review* 99 (December 1994): 1475–1545, as follows: Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1475–90; Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," 1491–1515; Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," 1516–45. For reflections on the connections between African-American history and studies of colonialism, see Kevin Gaines, "Rethinking Race and Class in African-American Struggles for Equality, 1885–1941," *AHR Forum*, *American Historical Review* 102 (April 1997): 378–79.

[7] William Roseberry, "Hegemony and the Language of Contention," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1994), 360–61. See also Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986); Daniel Nugent and Ana Maria Alonso, "Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle: Popular Culture and State Formation in the *Ejido* of Namiquipa, Chihuahua," in Joseph and Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, 209–246.

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identities in flux, confounding established notions of "otherness."[8] As Frederick Cooper has noted, the female prostitutes and landlords who, in Luise White's study of colonial Nairobi, took advantage of opportunities in a growing urban economy to serve the needs of male migrant workers "were both subverting the cultural project of colonialism and subsidizing the economic one."[9] The experience of White's Kenyan subjects as both economic players manipulating the material structure of colonialism *and* as unchaste but resourceful women challenging imperial notions of a proper working class, underscores an overlapping finding of many subalternists. This consists in the notion that subordinate identities are "migrating" subjects contingent upon varying situations. Moreover, as Florencia Mallon has made clear, such subjects are simultaneously "dominated and dominating" based on "the circumstances in which we encounter them." For instance, a revolutionary leader can "go home and beat up a wife"[10] Thus, Ania Loomba urges us to not simply "situate the subaltern within a multiplicity of hierarchies," but also to "think about the crucial relations *between* these hierarchies."[11]

These ideas have obvious implications for untangling the overlapping identities and complex social relations in African-American history. As Lewis has noted, historians have often separated black people's workplace experiences from the worlds of their community and home, treating the class and race aspects of African-American identity as "simply additive or subtractive." Instead, Lewis proposes that we scrutinize the "interactive construction of identity—as child, lover, spouse" in conjunction with the more familiar categories of race, class, color and gender.[12] In this context, our recourse to the subalternist notion of hegemony as a field of engagement by multilocational actors might illuminate the processes through which power and identities are negotiated, thereby revealing the interplay among individual, racial, and national senses of self. Black orphanages, by blurring the boundaries among work, family, and community as they arbitrated issues of social welfare and racial uplift with their Progressive white allies and a hostile world, present an excellent medium for exploring these connections. These institutions were embedded in the common "material and meaningful" framework of American exceptionalism within which contests over national belonging unfolded. The hegemonic exceptionalist frame of reference operated not simply through words and symbols like the national anthem or flag but very importantly through concrete social relations, economic arrangements, and political structures. Black voluntary associations that were partially subsidized by but marginalized within this national system of "meanings and values," functioned as material and symbolic modes of representation, throwing all manner of received identities into disarray.[13] Unfortunately, the records of most black orphanages, unlike their

[8] Florencia E. Mallon, "Time on the Wheel: Cycles of Revisionism and the 'New Cultural History'," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79 (May 1999): 339–40. See also Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 85–92.

[9] Cooper, "Conflict and Conection," 1534.

[10] Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies," 1511.

[11] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London, 1998), 240.

[12] Lewis, "To Turn as on a Pivot," 783–84.

[13] On the materiality of such "meaningful" discursive frameworks, see Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, "Popular Culture and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico," in Joseph and Nugent, eds.,

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wealthier and better documented white counterparts, often lack the assortment of voices that might help unwrap the relational formation of "client" identities. Thus much of the scholarship on African-American benevolence, although wonderfully rich, has been written mostly from the race, class, and gender standpoints of its relatively privileged leaders.[14]

Everyday Forms of State Formation, 20; and Raymond Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London, 1980), 38. In this context, situational subaltern perspectives on hegemony encourage us to think of "languages" or "modes" of representation more expansively than those of literary texts implied in the all too familiar debate over whether "experience" or "epistemology" should be the guiding principle of the historian's enterprise. For a good summary of this debate (with its implications for subaltern agency), see Regina Kunzel, "Pulp Fiction and Problem Girls: Reading and Writing Single Pregnancy in the Post-War United States," *American Historical Review* 100 (December 1995): 1471–73. See also the exchange between Joan W. Scott and Linda Gordon over reviews of Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (New York, 1988), and Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), in *Signs* 15 (Summer 1990): 848–59; Christine Stansell, "A Response to Joan Scott," *International Labor and Working Class History* No. 31 (Spring 1987): 24–29; Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (Summer 1991): 773–97. For a critique of the "linguistic left" on the ground that it ignores the agency of the dominated, see Steven Watts, "The Idiocy of American Studies: Poststructuralism, Language and Politics in the Age of Self-Fulfillment," *American Quarterly* 43 (December 1991): 625–60, and responses by Barry Shank in "A Reply to Steven Watts' Idiocy," *American Quarterly* 44 (September 1992): 439–448; and by Nancy Isenberg, "The Personal is Political: Gender, Feminism and the Politics of Discourse Theory," *American Quarterly* 44 (September 1992): 449–458. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has explored the relationship between words and the world that created them in "Writing History: Language, Class, and Gender," in Teresa de Lauretis, ed., *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies* (Bloomington, 1986) and *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985).

[14] Obviously, my assertion about the dearth of works from subaltern perspectives does not apply to African-American history outside the realm of social welfare. The literature on slavery, the black migration, the African-American working class, and black political activism offers some of the finest examples of U.S. histories "from the bottom up." This corpus is too voluminous to enumerate. For examples, see Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977); Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York, 1994) and Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

Work on private philanthropy by minorities (both religious and racial) has contributed to adjustments in the definition and periodization of social welfare history so as to collapse the neat chronological and intellectual boundaries between benevolence (conceived as private/evangelical/nineteenth century) on the one hand, and social welfare (thought to be statist/professionalized/post-1890s) on the other. For instance, historians have noted that black women bereft of government influence established privately funded voluntary associations dating back to colonial times. These organizations not only provided African Americans with services denied them by whites, such as homes for the aged, the infirm, and unwed mothers, kindergartens, libraries, and settlement homes, but in the late nineteenth century also addressed problems of special concern to the black community such as lynching, rape, and the convict-lease system in the South. Moreover we have been reminded that the black vision of welfare differed from that of whites, so that the inclusion of black perspectives has produced a far more nuanced portrait of American reform than existed before. In this context, Linda Gordon, in "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890–1945," *Journal of American History* 78 (September 1991): 559–90, has argued that African-American women welfare activists held a structural view of poverty's origins, supported universal rather than means and morals-tested public service, made racial uplift an important goal, were tolerant of wage-earning mothers, and sustained a discourse against rape to protect women from sexual exploitation. Orphanages run by religious minorities like Catholics and Jews were similar in some respects to black orphanages in terms of their internal class relations, their commitment to a combination of uplift, cultural preservation and Americanization, and their relationship with a sometimes hostile world. See for example Reena Sigman Friedman, *These are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880–1925* (Hanover, N.H., 1994). On Jewish orphanages see also Hyman Bogen, *The Luckiest Orphans: A History of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York* (Chicago, 1992); Jules Doneson, *Deeds of Love: A History of the Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia* (New York, 1996); Howard Goldstein, *The Home on Gorham Street and the Voices of its Children* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1996);

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By contrast, the documentary remains of the HOIS offer access to a kaleidoscope of perspectives on intraracial social relations and intra-bourgeois race relations intertwined with narratives of the nation within the bounds of a single institution. For the purposes of my analysis, these records are most complete for the period after 1913. At that time, the institution completed its transformation from a black-run civic association into a northern industrial school under predominantly white management before its unfortunate demise in 1918. Its remains reveal a complex web of dialectics between the overlapping worlds in which the orphanage and the various actors associated with it were entrenched. They show that like non-western revolutionaries and peasants engaging the hegemonic structures of imperialism or neo-colonialism, members of the HOIS family turned the contradictions within American exceptionalism into tools of subaltern *subject* formation

Ira A. Greenberg, Richard G. Safran, and Sam George Arcus, eds., *The Hebrew National Orphan Home: Memories of Orphanage Life* (Wesport, Conn., 2001). Yet there were also significant differences. For example, Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, in *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), have shown that some Catholic charities regarded the practice of benevolence as a sort of meritorious service that would lead to the salvation of the providers' souls. I would also point out that the rigid construction of supposedly inalienable racial differences in American society, the acute financial challenges faced by black voluntary associations, and the unique historical experiences of African Americans lent the internal and external negotiations of black orphanages a very distinctive meaning on political, cultural, and personal levels. These issues emerge throughout my discussion of the implications of "whiteness" discourse for black subaltern identity formation, as well as my argument about the intimate familial (but hierarchical) character of the Howard Orphanage. On black orphanages see Sandra M. O' Donnell, "The Care of Dependent African-American Children in Chicago: The Struggle Between Black Self-Help and Professionalism," *Journal of Social History* 27 (1994): 763–776. Timothy A. Hacsi's *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998) is a sweeping institutional study of orphanages in general. See also Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare* (Chicago, 1995); Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia, 1994); and David R. Contosta, *Philadelphia's Progressive Orphanage: The Carson Valley School* (University Park, Pa., 1997). On the more recent history of race and child welfare, see Dorothy Roberts, *Shattered Bonds: The Color of Child Welfare* (New York, 2002); Sondra Jackson and Sheryl Brissett-Chapman, *Serving African-American Children: Child Welfare Perspectives* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1999); and Robert C. Lieberman, *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). A tiny sample of works on African-American philanthropy and activism includes David Levering Lewis, ed., *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader* (New York, 1995); Nancy Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* (Urbana, Ill., 2001); Craig Steven Wilder, *In the Company of Black Men: The African Influence on African-American Culture in New York City* (New York, 2001); Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago, 2003); Ann F. Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (February 1990): 3–22; W.E.B. Du Bois, ed., *Efforts For Social Betterment Among American Negro Americans* (Atlanta, 1909); Lester Brooks, *Blacks in the City: A History of the National Urban League* (Boston, 1971); Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of St. Luke," *Signs* 14 (Spring 1989): 610–33; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), and "Religion, Politics and Gender: The Leadership of Nannie Helen Burroughs," *Journal of Religious Thought* 44 (Winter/Spring 1988): 7–22; Darlene Clark Hine, " 'We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible': The Philanthropic Work of Black Women," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Philanthropy and Power* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990); Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History* 3 (Fall 1991): 10–25; Beverley Washington Jones, *Quest For Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863–1954* (New York, 1990); Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895–1925* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1989); Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York, 1984); Iris Carlton-La Ney, "The Career of Birdye Henrietta Haynes, A Pioneer Settlement House Worker," *Social Science Review* 68

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(that is, subalterns as self-conscious *actors* as opposed to *objects* of domination) in various ways, both material and representational.

Scholars across a variety of disciplines have defined identity as a relation of *difference* (of race, religion, and so on), in which the dominant party depersonalizes or objectifies an allegedly inferior "other" by attaching to it the "mark of the plural . . . an anonymous collectivity ("They are this"; "They are all the same")."[15] Howard materials unveil the multiple approaches that variously situated orphanage figures

(1994): 254–73; Emma Jones Lapsansky, " 'Discipline to the Mind': Philadelphia's Banneker Institute, 1854–1872," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 117 (1993): 83–102; Inabel Burns Lindsay, "Some Contributions of Negroes to Welfare Services, 1865–1900," *Journal of Negro Education* 25 (Winter 1956): 15–24; Edyth L. Ross, ed., *Black Heritage in Social Welfare, 1860–1930* (Metuchen, N.J., 1978); Ralph E. Luker, "Missions, Institutional Churches, and Settlement Houses: The Black Experience, 1885–1910," *Journal of Negro History* 69 (Summer/Fall 1984): 101–13; Dorothy C. Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890–1920* (Brooklyn, N.Y. 1990); Jacqueline Anne Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer* (Athens, Ga, 1989); Claude F. Jacobs, "Benevolent Societies of New Orleans Blacks during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Louisiana History* 29 (Winter 1988): 21–33; Kathleen C. Berkeley, " 'Colored Ladies Also Contributed': Black Women's Activities From Benevolence to Social Welfare, 1866–1896," in Walter J. Fraser, Jr., Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family and Education* (Athens, Ga., 1985), 181–203; Earline Rae Ferguson, "The Women's Improvement Club of Indianapolis: Black Women Pioneers in Tuberculosis Work, 1903–1938," *Indiana Magazine of History* 84 (September 1988): 237–61; Marilyn Dell Brady, "Kansas Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 1900–1930," *Kansas History* 9 (Spring 1986): 19–30; Linda Marie Perkins, *Black Feminism and 'Race Uplift,' 1890–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, "Building in Many Places: Multiple Commitments and Ideologies in Black Women's Community Work," in Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgan, eds., *Work and the Politics of Empowerment* (Philadelphia, 1988), 53–76; Dorothy Sterling *Black Foremothers* (New York, 1979); Sharon Harley, "For the Good of the Family and Race; Gender, Work and Domestic Roles in the Black Community, 1880–1930," *Signs* 15 (Winter 1990): 336–49; Lillian S. Williams, "And Still I Rise: Black Women and Reform, Buffalo, New York, 1900–1940," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 14 (1990): 7–33; Gail Bederman, " 'Civilization' and the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness and Ida B. Wells's Antilynching Campaign, 1892–94," *Radical History Review* 52 (Winter 1992): 4–30. On the definition and periodization of welfare history, see Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare"; Clarke A. Chambers, " 'Uphill All the Way': Reflections on the Course and Study of Welfare History," *Social Science Review* 66 (1992): 492–504, and "Toward a Redefinition of Welfare History," *Journal of American History* 73 (September 1986): 407–33. Michael B. Katz has shown that policy toward the poor blurred the lines between private and public since colonial times. See Katz, *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the "Underclass," and Urban Schools as History* (Princeton, 1995), *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York, 1986), and *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York, 1989). Scholars of "maternalist politics" have also drawn attention to the nebulous boundary between private and public by showing that women's benevolent associations were also theaters for framing and implementing social welfare policies and programs. See for instance Seth Kovan and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York, 1993) and the papers on "Maternalism as a Paradigm" prepared for the 1992 Social Science History Association meeting and published in *The Journal of Women's History* 5 (Fall 1993): 95–131. A tiny sample of the literature on welfare and the "underclass" question includes Katz, ed., *The "Underclass" Debate: Views From History* (New Jersey, 1993); Peter Mandler, ed., *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis* (Philadelphia, 1990); Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State* (New York, 1974); James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle With Poverty, 1900–1985* (rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1986); Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy From Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston, 1988); Joel Handler and Yeheskel Hasenfeld, *The Moral Construction of Poverty: Welfare Reform in America* (Newbury Park, 1991); Beverly Stadum, *Poor Women and Their Families: Hard Working Charity Cases, 1900–1930* (Albany, 1992); Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclasses from the Civil War to the Present* (New York, 1992); Marilyn Wood Hill, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

[15] Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 137; Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds., *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (Durham, N.C., 1997), 15.

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adopted in order to fight the depersonalization of blackness, the objectification of African Americans. Fund-raising flyers and the cottage model of institutional organization ratified by the institution's interracial managers fashioned the exceptionalist ideal of civic equality into an inclusive discourse of what I call individual "*sameness*" versus the "anonymous collectivity" of racial difference. Other cultural "texts" bolstered the same idea by turning the symbols of white racial nationalism on their head.[16] The most interesting of these artifacts consisted of the scripts of several pantomimes apparently produced by the institution's black custodians, and intended to be performed by the orphans themselves. Simple in plot line, yet versatile in interpretive range, these pantomimes tell us a great deal about subaltern uses of cultural practices to defang codes of power by inverting the context of their representation, and to constitute new, resistant identities within the boundaries of dominant narratives. As we shall see, the scripts turned signifiers that linked whiteness with American civilization and blackness with savage "otherness"—such as the narrative of rape, the ode to upward mobility, and the doctrine of domesticity—into arguments for racially inclusive civic nationalism, illustrating the discursive operation of hegemony as a contested terrain. At the same time, the sometimes discordant interplay of different discourses of power centered around race, class, gender, and the official norms of social welfare surface in official inspection reports of the orphanage's living arrangements and exchanges between its white managers and black female superintendent. They suggest that on one level, Howard's black staff embraced the individualism inherent in the color-blind civic nationalism promoted by their white Progressive allies. Yet they also pluralized the meaning of American identity by crafting an alternative sense of community defined by an extended familial, black Christian, participatory democratic model of administration. Anchored in their historic traditions of consanguineal families and racial solidarity, their vision of community responded to the contemporary needs of African Americans.

This dialectic of bourgeois black engagement with a particular narrative of American exceptionalism upheld by the HOIS's managers, provided a prism through which their charges—the orphans themselves—acted out their own confrontations with the competing nationalisms of race and civic equality. In this context, the institution's records include rare letters written by and about former residents. These letters illuminate the ways in which the inmates' intersecting locations—as surrogate children, working women and men, aspiring professionals, mass culture consumers, and sexual rebels—forged a spectrum of behavior in the pursuit of individual and group empowerment. Their definitions of freedom, independence, and domesticity were contingent upon the various contexts of their daily lives in which they enunciated these ideas. The language, themes, and rhetorical appeals of their letters point to the ways in which the structure and texture of everyday life in HOIS, and the identities constituted within cultural practices like the pantomimes, may have influenced the orphans' self-image and strategies for mobility and autonomy.

Taken together, the records of the HOIS illustrate the fashion in which black

[16] I understand "cultural texts" to mean modes of communication and socialization characterized by an elasticity of meaning that varies from context to context.

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and white approaches to welfare, and the notions of "American" identity they embodied, related to the orphans' self-expressions as individuals and subordinate group members. In the process, these sources demonstrate the interplay of hierarchies in the construction of identity and the workings of hegemony as a field of contest and contradiction, subject to appropriation, subversion, and even redefinition by multipositional subalterns. The following pages trace the tension-ridden evolution of American exceptionalism before going on to narrate its dialectical interaction with subaltern identities during the Progressive-era history of the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School.

CONCEIVED IN 1866 IN THE MANHATTAN HOME OF SARAH A. TILLMAN, the widow of a black pastor, as an asylum for the children of southern migrants, the HOIS lived out its fifty-two-year existence against the backdrop of vigorous debate about the racial meaning of American identity. The national narrative of the United States celebrated its unique commitment to the ideals of "liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism and laissez-faire" as hallmarks of its identity.[17] Yet, the historical legacy of black slavery shaped a "white republic" not unlike empires conceived in relations of difference. The ideology and institutions of the "white republic" sculpted a racialized and gendered image of the ideal American, that in political discourse, came to be wedded to the notion of "republican citizenship." Republican citizenship made the capacity for self-government in the American republic a function of economic independence that guaranteed freedom from the political will of others. Thus, it effectively excluded women and non-whites from its purview until well into the twentieth century.[18] In the age of capitalist transformation, this political model of self-determination came to be associated with a bourgeois ethic of competitive individualism. Rugged and self-made, the idealized Euro-American male was a free agent who made rational decisions guided by enlightened self-interest. He strode through the pages of dime novels and Horatio Alger fiction overcoming an adverse environment no matter what form it assumed—whether the Indian-infested wilderness of the West or the grimy sweatshop of the metropolitan East—to ascend from rags to riches in America's dynamic, fluid, expansive society. The black male was his reverse mirror image: the contented, infantile dependent of the slaveholders' imagination; the prancing, singing, undisciplined Jim Crow conceived in minstrelsy; and the pretentious but bumbling "coon" of media construction.

[17] J. Victor Koschmann, "The Nationalism of Cultural Uniqueness," review essay on Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York, 1996) in *American Historical Review* 102 (June 1997): 762.

[18] On the racial meaning of republicanism, see Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 25, 26. On republican thought see also Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York, 1984), 14; J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975); Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969); Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *Journal of American History* 79 (June 1992): 11–38. For the gendered meaning of republicanism in the South see Stephanie McCurry, "The Two Faces of Republicanism: Gender and Proslavery Politics in Antebellum South Carolina," *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1245–1264.

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At the same time, the market revolution forged the ideal of a bourgeois world divided into two gendered spheres. The home took on a new importance as an organic refuge of affection from the competitive world of commerce beyond, under the moral guardianship of "True Woman," mother of worthy republican citizens. Defined by the virtues of piety, domesticity, purity, and virtue, this middle-class ideal was ostensibly inapplicable to laboring black "Jezebels" in slavery and freedom. It was as racialized as its male counterpart of the economically independent "rugged individual." Thus, fixed notions of the white "self" and the black "other" became firmly ensconced in the evolving perspective of racial nationalism.[19]

When the Gilded Age's economic revolution bred what the social critic Henry George labeled the "paradox of poverty amid progress," the ideological constructs of the "true" American man and woman implicitly entered discourse on "pauperism." They helped guide the twin efforts to reform the poor and Americanize the culturally alien immigrants flocking to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.[20] Catholic and Jewish newcomers of uncertain "whiteness" from southern and eastern Europe appeared to threaten venerable national institutions of economic independence, "true" womanhood, and self-government. Americanization became for President Theodore Roosevelt an essential condition for admitting immigrants to the privileges of American citizenship. Yet, in a land imagined as possessing a white soul, acculturation to American norms was itself invested with racial meaning. A number of developments in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—popular travel accounts of non-Western cultures, "frontier" skirmishes with Mexicans and Indians, and anti-Chinese agitation in the West—reinforced the construction of the American nation as divided between "whiteness and its others."[21] Above all, by the advent of the twentieth century, white southerners had devised what Grace Elizabeth Hale calls a "culture of segregation" to reassert their dominance over slaves-turned-citizens, some of whom presented the alarming

[19] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74. On the "cult of domesticity" see also Katharine Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Woman's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9–39; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, 1990); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (repr., Urbana, Ill., 1987); Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge, England, 1981). On the "Jezebel" stereotype of black women, see Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York, 1985).

[20] For a recent transatlantic perspective on immigration, see Tyler Anbinder, "From Famine to Five Points: Lord Landsdowne's Irish Tenants Encounter North America's Most Notorious Slum," *American Historical Review* 107 (April 2002): 351–387. On attempts to Americanize Progressive era immigrants, see Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *Journal of American History* 84 (September 1997): 524–558; John J. Bukowczyk, "The Transformation of Working-Class Ethnicity: Corporate Control, Americanization, and the Polish Immigrant Middle-Class in Bayonne, New Jersey, 1915–1925," *Labor History* 25 (Winter 1984): 53–82; Kerby A. Miller, "Class, Culture, and Immigrant Group Identity in the United States: The Case of Irish and American Ethnicity," in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, ed., *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology and Politics* (New York, 1990), 96–129; Gerd Korman, "Americanization at the Factory Gate," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 18 (April 1965): 396–419; Stephen Meyer, "Adapting the Immigrant to the Line: Americanization in the Ford Factory, 1914–1921," *Journal of Social History* 14 (Fall 1980): 67–82; George F. Pozetta, ed., *Americanzation, Social Control, Philanthropy* (New York, 1991).

[21] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 139–170.

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specter of black economic and even social mobility.[22] The evolution of racial nationalism, however, never proceeded unchallenged. Progressive America's civil rights activists and suffragists—among others—continued the legacy of the Civil War by championing a version of civic nationalism that, within the structure of democratic capitalism, offered equality of opportunity and freedom to all individuals regardless of color, creed, or gender.

African-Americans and their white patrons associated with the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School found within these controversies over the premises of American exceptionalism, the resources to reinvent black identities and empower African-Americans, however informally or imperfectly. The HOIS originated in the Brooklyn premises of the Pan-Africanist African Civilization Society (ACS), founded by New York blacks to promote colonization and missionary work in Africa. The ACS collaborated with local black women led by Sarah A. Tillman to provide a haven for the children of freedwomen émigrés, mostly in domestic service, who could not take their charges to work. The institution was incorporated in 1868 as the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum (BHCA)—possibly in honor of one of its white supporters, General Oliver A. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau. Until 1902, the BHCA remained almost wholly under the management of local laundresses and other African-American women of far less privileged status than their sisters in such national organizations as the National Association of Colored Women. Its most visible representative was its superintendent of thirty-three years, a blind preacher and indefatigable fundraiser named William F. Johnson.[23]

[22] Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York, 1998). Faced with a society divided between undifferentiated whiteness "and its others," European immigrants seeking to acculturate had long had to become "white," whether by joining labor unions, participating in minstrels and race riots, wearing ready-made clothing, or supporting America's adventures with empire from the antebellum age of "Manifest Destiny" to the days of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Significant examples of "whiteness" studies and the racial acculturation of European immigrants to the United States also include David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London and New York, 1991, repr., 2000); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995). References to critical race theory's treatment of "whiteness" as an analytical category occurs in Sarah Laslett's review of Daniel Bernardi, ed., *The Birth of Whiteness: Race and the Emergence of U.S. Cinema* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1996) and Jesse Algeron Rhines, *Black Film/ White Money* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1996) in *Journal of American History* 84 (December 1997): 1138. See also Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters* (Minneapolis, 1993); Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness* (London, 1994); John Hartigan, Jr., *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit* (New Jersey, 1999); and Angela Woollacott, " 'All This is the Empire, I Told Myself': Australian Women's Voyages 'Home' and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness," *American Historical Review* 102 (October 1997): 1003–1029. For an evaluation of "whiteness studies," see Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89 (June 2002): 154–173.

[23] Mabee, "Charity in Travail," 55–77; *Review Covering Forty-Five Years of Work of the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum* (hereafter cited as *Review*), 8–15, HOIS; *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 20, 1913. On the African Civilization Society, see August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto* (repr., New York, 1976), 152, 174. Sarah Tillman's profession is, curiously enough, listed as "Intelligence" in *Trow's New York City Directory, Volume LXXIX For the Year Ending May 1, 1866* (New York, 1866), New York Public Library. In October 1870, Tillman left New York. The same year, the orphanage appointed William F. Johnson as superintendent. Johnson was said to "grope" his way about numerous towns and villages, spending wakeful nights out in the cold when denied accommodations, scouring churches and other institutions for aid. In 1884, the institution moved to a newly erected, larger complex at the corner of Dean Street and Troy Avenue in Brooklyn. The names of the pre-1902 officers and managers occur in the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Howard Colored Orphan Asylum of*

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The orphanage teetered perennially on the verge of financial crisis, as its annual reports to the New York State Board of Charities revealed.[24] Prevailing stereotypes of black financial ineptitude, together with the departure of Johnson after a conflict with the managers in 1902, prompted a directive from the New York City comptroller under which the board transformed itself into an all male, part white body aided by a women's auxiliary.[25] It was this body that reinvented the orphanage from a community service vehicle run predominantly by black women for black women into a northern industrial school and farm on the Tuskegee model.[26] In 1911, with the blessings of the New York State Board of Charities, the HOIS moved to a 600-acre property in King's Park, Long Island. There it adopted the cottage system: separate small buildings within a pastoral setting designed to foster the individuality thought to be central to family life. The move entailed a financial crisis, which amid intrablack friction prompted a further whitening of Howard's Board in 1913 under the Presidency of L. Hollingsworth Wood, a white Quaker lawyer. Secretary of the National League of Urban Conditions Among Colored People, Wood was well-connected with the heads of southern black industrial schools like "Tuskegee Wizard" Booker T. Washington. He sought and received carte blanche in picking his board of managers. Its white members included bankers, lawyers, and corporate executives with ties to benevolent and civil rights organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), while the black managers consisted of ministers and physicians well respected in the world of African-American philanthropy. Thus in the course of ten years, the social profile of Howard's supervisors changed in favor of those with influence in the charity establishment but less entrenched in the realities of working-class black life.[27]

the City of Brooklyn, Dean Street, near Troy Avenue, For the Year Ending September 30, 1885, New York Public Library. Information on three of the officers' professions is available in *Trow's New York City Directory Volume XCVIII For the Year Ending May 1, 1885* (New York, 1885), New York Public Library. In 1885, the organization's First Directress, Mrs. L. A. Cooper, was listed in the directory simply as "widow," while both its Second Directress H. E. Thompson, a single woman, and its Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary Augusta Johnson, a married woman, were classified as laundresses.

[24] One white minister complained that Howard's policy of keeping its board of managers all black alienated white donors. In 1896 for instance, the white-run Colored Orphan Asylum reported total receipts of over $47,000, while the HOIS could claim only $17,666. See Annual Report of the Howard Colored Orphan Asylum—Brooklyn to the State Board of Charities, Albany, New York, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1896; Annual Report of the Colored Orphan Asylum and Association for Benefit of Colored Children, New York to the State Board for the same year, both in *Annual Reports of Orphan Asylums and Homes for the Friendless, 1873–1896*, Records of the State Board of Charities, in New York State Archives.

[25] On stereotypes of black incompetence in benevolence management, see O' Donnell, "The Care of Dependent African-American Children in Chicago," 769.

[26] The new board of managers that took over in 1902 consisted of eleven gentlemen representing six black churches and five white ones. The Women's Auxiliary established in 1904 visited, sewed for, and provisioned the children in various ways. Josephine W. Whitlatch, a sixty-year-old white widow and member of the Dutch Reformed Church, led the auxiliary. See *Review*, 7–19.

[27] For evidence about Wood's relationship with Booker T. Washington, see Washington to Wood, August 5, October 1 and 20, 1913; November 13 and 18, 1913; May 17, 1915; Wood to Washington, November 18, 1913; Wood to C. M. Pratt, December 31, 1913, all in HOIS. Ida Tarbell refused to let the orphanage use her name as one of its patrons at its 1915 annual benefit on the ground that she had "found it necessary to make the rule not to give my name to any cause which I have not personally investigated." See Tarbell to Wood, March 19, 1915. On the role of the State Board of Charities in prompting the switch to a "cottage system" at King's Park, see "Workers' Facts," a one-page printed

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The managers' position at the crossroads of the sometimes incompatible worlds of child welfare reform and civil rights shaped a welfare vision informed by civic nationalism and an administrative style committed to efficiency. They were lone stewards of a cause that attracted little public sympathy or financial support. Progressive America's preference for "scientific charity" over voluntarism coupled with social welfare professionals' lack of confidence in African-American managerial skills and financial acumen impeded the efforts of black voluntary associations to win public support for their projects. The prevailing opinion overwhelmingly favored shifting black dependent children from black-operated institutions to public care. These factors lent successive generations of Howard's managers an aspect of "subalternity" in relation to the larger charitable world of which they were a part.[28]

Like colonized elites in other parts of the world, these interracial Progressives couched their mission in the exceptionalist language and institutional forms of the dominant culture. The first contingent declared in 1906, "all the colored people ask for is the *opportunity* to fit themselves by industrial, moral and intellectual training for self support and . . . useful citizenship . . . or as our President Roosevelt puts it, 'a square deal.'"[29] The managers' language of color-blind nationalism was matched by structural changes in the organization of the institution, embodied in its adoption of the cottage system in 1911. In general, reformers believed that the "homelike" quality of the cottage model would help Americanize European immigrant children by individualizing child care.[30] For Howard's black elites and

sheet in HOIS. *The Amsterdam News*, March 28, 1913, contained information on the following members of Howard's new board of managers: whites included Wood; Clinton Rossiter, Vice President of the Brooklyn Trust Company, banker and philanthropist; Alfred Whitman of the banking firm of Knauth, Nachod and Kuhne, a trustee of Manassas School for Colored Youth and member of the NAACP; Willard Bayliss, lawyer and real estate expert; Mansfield B. Snevily, manager of the Oil Seed Company; Edgar McDonald, president of the Nassau Bank; and Carolena M. Wood, the president's sister and First Directress of the New York Colored Orphan Asylum at Riverdale-on-Hudson. The black managers included W. H. Brooks, pastor of St. Marks Methodist Episcopal Church; W. M. Moss, pastor of Concord Baptist Church; E. P. Roberts, a physician and examining doctor for the Board of Education; S. W. Simms, pastor of Holy Trinity Church; and O. M. Waller, physician.The HOIS records contain stray references to the friction among the institution's African-American trustees on the eve of as well as on the occasion of the change in management in 1913, yet they are silent on the details of the dispute. A letter written by Mary Gordon, who became Howard's matron in 1902 and its superintendent in 1914, to Wood is an example: "I tried to treat Mr. Trotman (a black real estate broker and later Howard manager) with courtesy even when he spoke as he did concerning the past efforts of the Institution. I knew he did not know what he was talking about . . . I do know that many of the best people of both races have worked for the institution. In both races there are jealousies and disgruntled factions who pull apart. There is no such thing as perfect union and harmony among all of the people—we can only hope to blend certain ones as certain notes in a chord." (Mary Gordon to Wood, April 16, 1914, HOIS). The Report of General Inspection of the HOIS by the Bureau of Institutional Inspection, Department of Public Charities of the City of New York (hereafter City Inspection Report), February 1917, HOIS stated that the farm consisted of 31 cows, 12 horses, 19 sheep, approximately 100 pigs, and 300 chickens of various breeds. The main building, 8 cottages, a school, an infirmary, artisan workshops and barns clustered near the center of the grounds, with the detention house situated about one mile from the rest of the buildings. (p. 16–17).

[28] O'Donnell, "The Care of Dependent African-American Children in Chicago," 763. An anonymous reader for the *AHR* drew my attention to the "subalternity," if you will, of the white directors themselves in relation to a hostile world with no faith in black voluntarism.

[29] *Annual Report of the Board of Managers and Trustees of the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum, October 1905 to October 1906*, New York Public Library, 19.

[30] As Michael Katz has written, the movement against institutions was inspired in part by

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their white allies, however, the cottage ideal's promise of individual regeneration carried a racial connotation. For they saw in it a device to counter the "depersonalization" of blacks inherent in racial "othering" by erasing the premise of "whiteness" underlying American identity. In other words, it facilitated their enterprise to shape African-American *subjects* by signifying the capacity of black children to "Americanize" just like white children. It encoded their civic nationalist ideal of individual "sameness." Declaring that "What is true of the white race is true of the colored race. Knowledge ... elevates, while ignorance ... degrades," Howard's managers sought to demonstrate the importance of environment by rearing their charges in clean and airy cottages under the "personal supervision" of devout housemothers, by teaching young women "the domestic sciences" and men agriculture, carpentry, and shoemaking, and by requiring them all to go to church.[31]

As black migration to the urban North gained momentum under the pressures of southern racism and the promise of northern economic opportunity, the HOIS projected itself forcefully as a vehicle for acculturating, urbanizing, and training the children of destitute southerners for productive labor and citizenship in their new environment.[32] This endeavor explicitly recalled the Americanization programs of

developments in evolutionary biology and child psychology combined with technological advances and the availability of cheap immigrant labor. These factors led to the cultural invention of childhood as a distinct stage in the life cycle, and of children as emotionally valuable persons (rather than economic assets) who deserved to be nurtured in private families by mothers who stayed home. The cottage system was designed to replace the congregate living associated with institutions with the virtues of private family life, including more individualized child care. See Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 118–119.

[31] *Review*, 51–52.

[32] On the black migration and/or urban experience in the North, see Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York, 1966); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago, 1989); Nell Irvin Painter, *Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction* (New York, 1976); James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion and Folklore in the City, 1850–1970* (Urbana, Ill., 1980); David A. Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line, 1860–1915* (Urbana, Ill., 1976); Peter Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916–1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1987); Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (New York, 1983); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family From Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985), 152–95; Kenneth Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870–1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1976); William Joe Trotter, Jr., *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–1945* (Urbana, Ill., 1985); Trotter, ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class and Gender* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991); Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1880–1920* (Chicago, 1967); Carole Marks, *We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989); Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How it Changed America* (New York, 1991); Gretchen Lemke Santangelo, *Abiding Courage: African American Migrant Women and the East Bay Community* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Kimberley Phillips, *Alabama North: African-American Migrants, Community, and Working Class Activism in Cleveland, 1915–1945* (Urbana, Ill., 1999); Lillian S. Williams *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: The Creation of an African American Community, Buffalo, New York, 1900–1940* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999); Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000); Milton Sernett, *Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration* (Durham, N.C., 1997); and Craig Steven Wilder, *A Covenant With Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn* (New York, 2000). Most African-American women secured work in domestic service. On this point, see Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, "'This Work Had a End': African-American Domestic Workers in Washington, D.C., 1910–1940," in Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, eds., *"To Toil the Livelong Day": America's Women at Work, 1780–1980* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987) and *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestics in Washington, D.C., 1900–1940* (Washington D.C., 1994); Sharon Harley, "For the Good of the Race: Gender, Work, and Domestic Roles in the Black Community, 1880–1930," *Signs* 15 (Winter 1990): 336–49; Mary Romero, *Made in the USA* (New York, 1992); Bonnie Thornton

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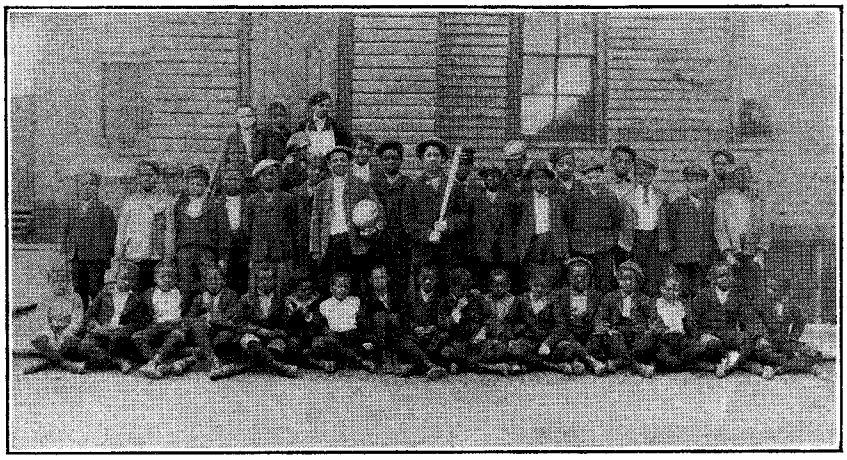
schools and factories directed at European immigrants. At the same time, it contained the implicit promise of defusing a potentially explosive racial situation captured by the *New York Times'* report of a "Negro Invasion."[33] The orphanage's promotional literature had long conveyed the mutability of social identities and the dynamics of individual subject formation implied by its project of acculturation. One early flyer, for instance, represented the prospect of black embourgeoisment with the help of a pictorial logo. The logo juxtaposed two images positioned on either side of an inscription that read "Where Does Your Money Go?" The one labeled "undeveloped" depicted a diffident looking sharecropper from the rural South with drooping shoulders, sparse clothing, and bare feet, looking almost as though poised to perform a "Jim Crow" routine. The other figure, labeled "developed," was a portly, obviously urban success story, handsomely attired in a jacket tie, trousers, breeches, and boots, standing erect with his paunch jutting out—the very picture of confidence. The official identity of the uninitiated Howard orphan thus took on the character of a malleable rural southern-born black child as capable of transfiguring into urban respectability as one originating in a Russian Pale shtetl or the southern Italian peasantry. (See Figure 1). The managers used a similar language of "individual sameness," embodying the logic of racial integration, at public gatherings commemorating national heroes. At such events they celebrated the black Booker T. Washington and the white Abraham Lincoln as twin models of the quintessentially "American" traits of initiative and self-reliance whose humble origins mirrored the inmates' own.[34]

Dill, *Across the Boundaries of Race and Class: An Exploration of Work and Family Among Black Female Domestic Servants* (New York, 1994).

[33] *New York Times*, March 29, 1917.

[34] The pictorial logo juxtaposing "the undeveloped" with "the developed" adorned pledge cards of the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum in HOIS. Information on public events such as concerts and fairs may be found in flyers announcing programs on November 19 (no year); April 27, 1913; the Yule-Tide Bazaar on December 15–19, 1913; Spring Bazaar on April 22–25, 1913; see also Mary Gordon to Wood, February 23, 1915, and *The New York Age*, January 6, 1916, all in HOIS. Although the official sectional identity of the Howard orphan took on a rural, southern cast, census records present a more complicated picture. They do suggest that the proportion of children born in New York dropped by over half between 1880 and 1910. Yet, the greatest change in this thirty-year period consisted in a twenty-fold increase in the percentage of those whose birthplaces were unknown. These figures indicate the possibility that the ratio of children admitted voluntarily by living parents to those entering the institution by judicial commitment may have gone down with the passage of time, especially after the orphanage passed from the exclusive control of black women in 1902. There is little evidence on the circumstances under which children entered the institution in the nineteenth century. We have more information for the twentieth century. The HOIS's 1912 report to the State Board of Charities reveals that of the 234 children (132 boys and 102 girls) remaining on September 30, 1912, the largest number (114) were dispatched by poor law officials, while the second largest group (72) entered under judicial commitment for "improper guardianship" and 16 for destitution. Relatively few (32) were admitted by parents or guardians themselves. Thirty were listed as orphans, 95 as half-orphans (that is, those with one parent each), 51 had both parents living, while the parentage of 58 was unknown. This information may be found in the Summary and Verification of Schedule D. of the Homes For Children Report filled out by the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School for the New York State Board of Charities, 1912, HOIS. Demographic figures for the year 1914 suggest that nearly half of the inmates were between the ages of five and eleven (122 out of 248) and the largest number hailed from New York City (116 out of 224). See Report of General Inspection of HOIS by State Board of Charities, September 1914, HOIS, 4–5. (Hereafter State Inspection Report). While a majority of parents who committed their children to Howard undoubtedly did so for economic reasons, others sought the institution's help to discipline and educate their charges, and on occasion to provide them with male role models. One single mother, prompted by concern for her fatherless son's future, was

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The Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum

1550 Dean St. — Brooklyn, N.Y.

Where Does Your Money Go?

To feed and clothe the Orphan
To educate and develop them
To instil Christian principles
To train their hands
To make them useful citizens



The Undeveloped

I promise to pay, God helping me, for the support of the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum, $. per year.



The Developed

Name.....

Address.....

.....

I have promised to pay to the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum $.....per year to support the work.

Signature.....

Date.....

FIGURE 1: Front of pledge card; Howard Orphanage and Industrial School Records, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Reproduced with kind permission of the New York Public Library.

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The managers' vision of civic nationalism interacted with their mandate as child welfare reformers to promote a "rational" style of administration within what some subalternists might describe as the hegemonic bounds of Progressive thought. The post-1913 board sought to combat Progressive pressures against black voluntarism by adopting Progressive measures to advance efficiency and economy in the running of the institution. In an attempt to introduce a spirit of personal responsibility and sensitivity to the profit incentive among the children, Mansfield Snevily, originally vice-president, later treasurer, promised handsome pictures as a reward to the cottage with the best record in discipline, neatness, and lack of breakage.[35] Moreover, he suggested that "free wards"—those admitted by destitute parents and supported at institutional expense—be replaced with "city children" committed by the public authorities so that they would bring in appropriations from the public purse.[36] The managers also sought to enforce the rules regarding parental support of "half-orphans" more vigorously. To ensure regular payment by living parents of Howard children, they devised a standardized form permitting the employers of domestic servants to remit the fee of $12 per child per month directly to the institution from the mother's wages. Those who could not afford that sum were now advised to apply directly to the Department of Charities to admit their children, so as to get that body to defray part of the expenses.[37]

These rules floundered, however, when the mostly white board, in its role as arbitrator with the officialdom of child welfare, confronted differing perspectives of race, gender, and class within the HOIS. The resultant dynamic illustrates the operation of subalternism as a multilayered grid of power relations underpinned by shifting identities colluding and colliding with dominant beliefs according to circumstances. Through much of its brief but best-known twentieth-century existence, the Howard Orphanage reared its young "clients" under the fiercely protective maternal wing of Mary Gordon, matron of the institution during her

prepared to not only suffer the emotional trauma of sending her son away to school but to make what would clearly have amounted to a substantial financial commitment as well. Her letter suggests the wrenching sense of loss that some mothers experienced at the prospect of parting with their offspring. She wrote the orphanage that she had been trying "for months" to admit her only son to a "suitable training school." She described the child as "silly and childish" as he had "never known a father" and went on to acknowledge, "it will almost break my heart to part with him but I loves him [sic] and want him to become a real man, so I have to leave myself out for a while and think of his future when I will be no more." Nor was she expecting to abdicate her financial responsibility for her son's upbringing to the school: "last but greatest I'll like to know how much you charges [sic], and whether it is paid in advance, monthly or weekly" (see A. G. to Wood, September 10, 1920, HOIS). A few guardians saw the orphanage as a potential adoption agency to help ensure a brighter future for their children than they were able to provide. One woman, forced by her husband's sudden death to enter domestic service, placed her mother in a home for the aged and sought Howard's aid in "get(ting) my two little girls into a good home" (see G. B. to the Superintendent, November 21, 1913; and J. H. to Wood, January 29, 1914, both in HOIS). Another woman wished to admit her twelve-year-old niece whom she described as "inclined to disobey and very obstinate"(see A. F. R. to Wood, October 5, 1918, HOIS). One Howard child was born in British Antigua out of wedlock to a destitute black mother and a white father who refused to provide for the child "owing to it being colored." She found her way to King's Park through the intercession of her mother's network of friends, which extended to New York City as well as the Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (see Thomas F. Moore, Assistant Superintendent, New York SPCC to Wood, June 4, 1914, HOIS).

[35] Report of the Superintendent to the Board of Managers, April 23, 1914, HOIS.

[36] Snevily to Wood, December 29, 1913, HOIS.

[37] Wood to Eversley Childs, March 31 and May 10, 1917, HOIS.

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husband James Gordon's tenure as superintendent between 1902 and 1914. Upon the death of her husband of twenty-nine years in March 1914, the fifty-year-old Pennsylvania native succeeded him as superintendent and remained in that position until February 1917.[38] Gordon presents a revealing case of the multipositional subaltern whose numerous "locations" shaped her complex approach to race, reform, and American identities. A light-skinned African-American married woman, her middle-class sensibilities placed her in sympathy with the managers' larger mission of broadening the definition of American nationhood to include people of color. Publicly, she fully endorsed the cottage system with its goal of promoting "individuality." Moreover, she shared her white supervisors' attachment to what Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham calls the "politics of respectability,"[39]—conformity to Victorian morality as a means of countering negative stereotypes of the black female character, thereby challenging the color figuration of "true" American womanhood. For instance, Gordon threatened to dismiss a custodian for kissing a teacher within sight of the children, and a teacher for allegedly borrowing money from men.[40]

Gordon's consciousness of the scope of African-American need, combined with her experience as a staff member on the ground forced to grapple with the day-to-day problems of running a large institution with few resources, fostered a management style frequently at odds with the "efficient" approach of Howard's managers, as well as with the standards set by the State Board of Charities. Such friction represented the points at which the civic nationalist discourse of "individual sameness" dissolved in a clash of different hierarchies rooted in the identities of gender, race, class, and professional experience. For instance, Gordon explicitly invoked both her domestic authority as a woman, and her professional credentials as a ground-level administrator in an argument over Wood's proposal to save money by eliminating the offices of housekeeper and matron. She wrote that she was at first surprised, but that "when I remember you are a man and have had no experience in running a small house much less an institution of this kind, I can understand. I am sure your sister [Carolena Wood, also a board member] will understand that it would be utterly impossible for one person to get along here with a farm of this proportion, 11 homes to look after, 350 children and more than forty employees to supervise. It is not even to be thought of."[41] The superintendent boldly chastised board members for usurping her power to appoint and especially to dismiss staff members. She argued that such interference encouraged insubordination on the part of unsatisfactory employees, especially male ones. These instances suggest the ways in which intra-institutional subaltern hierarchies, that is, the orphanage's own pecking order, could collide with the tiered power structure of

[38] *Review*, 17; City Inspection Report, 1917, 50, "Workers' Facts," all in HOIS. Mary Gordon and both her parents were born in Pennsylvania. James Gordon hailed from Virginia. Their demographic details are available in the *Thirteenth Census of the United States* (1910) for the Borough of Brooklyn.

[39] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 185–229.

[40] Gordon to Wood, October 16, 1914, HOIS. Howard's promotional literature stressed the centrality of propriety in the children's training. The institution tried to avoid placing its young women in families with young men because as Gordon's husband and predecessor explained, "the Negro girl is exposed to all kinds of indignities and frequently destroyed by her employer" (see James Gordon to Reverend Olin B. Coit, May 7, 1912, HOIS).

[41] Gordon to Wood, September 26, 1914, HOIS.

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the child welfare establishment, challenging established orderings of not just gender, but those of race as well.[42]

These collisions, together with ruptures in the "sameness" paradigm that they spawned, emerge even more clearly in reports of inspection conducted under the auspices of New York City's Department of Public Charities and the State Board of Charities between 1913 and 1917. These reports, read in the context of evidence of the nature of interpersonal relationships that prevailed at the orphanage, suggest that under Gordon's direction at King's Park, the children were nurtured in a cooperative world that often functioned more like an informal and affectionate extended family with its own hierarchies than an institution. The HOIS's living arrangements, modes of socialization, and economic system followed a communitarian, black Christian model of organization based on flexible conceptions of time and space and porous boundaries between education and work, institution and family, and the individual and the community. Several inspection reports juxtaposed complaints about the inadequacy of the institution's frame cottages, hot water supply, heating and lighting facilities, the poor equipment of its kitchens and work rooms, and its failure to observe the rules of individual property ownership with observations about the affectionate relations evident between children and staff. One inspector noted disapprovingly that the orphans ate at long dining tables seating up to fifteen and recommended cutting them into smaller units.[43] Government inspectors were also unenthusiastic about the apparent neglect of private property ownership among the children. One lamented the lack of individual ownership of toys as well as the absence of "individual bins and lockers for the children's clothes" which lay unmarked, "jumbled together" in a closet. Another, perhaps as concerned about hygiene as about individual property ownership, observed, "the toothbrushes and combs were not marked but the cottage mothers could identify each child's brush by its appearance." Nor was he pleased to learn that the infirmary and detention houses were used as bedrooms by some of the

[42] The orphanage's pre-1913 constitution and by-laws had conferred sweeping powers on the superintendent. Article 7 of that document gave the superintendent under "the advice and direction of the several standing committees," "full direction and control of the asylum" including the power to appoint staff, edit the annual report, and keep all books and records "required by law or the Board of Managers and Trustees." Snevily urged that the superintendent's duties "be changed in such a way that [he] shall perform such duties as he may be instructed in . . . by the Board of Managers . . . That he shall have no power to purchase or sell property of the Society" without the direction of a relevant standing committee. "That he may employ such persons only as may be authorized by the Board of Managers" (Snevily to Wood, April 2, 1913). See also "Suggestions, Change, By-Laws, etc., March 31, 1913," typed manuscript, HOIS. Mary Gordon smarted at the Board's appropriation of her authority to hire and fire orphanage staff: "I would much prefer engaging the bookkeeper and other employees simply upon the authority of superintendent . . . since they are to be directed by me and under my supervision, they must feel they are amenable to me and that I have power to employ and *discharge*, otherwise my authority is weakened . . . I will add that I feel perfectly competent to judge the competency of help I may have to have" (Gordon to Wood, April 2, 1914, HOIS). She dismissed a custodian for what she deemed promiscuous behavior but reinstated him at the request of his fiancée, a teacher at the institution. She explained her action to Wood thus: "I think the main thing Mr. Taylor (the custodian) had to learn was that I am not a figurehead here—Miss Campbell (the teacher) said in talking to me last Monday, 'Oh! Mrs. Gordon, Mr. Taylor did not understand you had such authority . . ., he thought . . . you can't discharge him, he is Mr. Snevily's man.'" Thus, Gordon added, her action had demonstrated that employees could not flout institutional standards in disregard of her authority (Gordon to Wood, October 16, 1914, HOIS).

[43] City Inspection Report, 1917, 10–48; and State Inspection Report, 1914, both in HOIS.

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children and that two young women shared a bed in the superintendent's cottage.[44] Recommendations by the State Board of Charities simultaneously upheld hygiene standards and struck against the communitarian principle of ownership and living: "number all toilet articles and provide a definite place to keep them; provide a locker or bin for each child's wardrobe; number all the face towels; cut the tables into smaller units, each to seat 6–8 children," and so forth.[45]

The communal features displayed by Howard may have existed in some white institutions,[46] but what gave them a different meaning at the black orphanage was the context of the familial nature of relationships existing between the staff and their charges. One state inspector reported: "Conversation is permitted in the dining rooms . . . One notable feature of the home (is) the spirit of cordial relationship and friendliness evident between staff and children . . . Nothing resembling military discipline prevails at the institution; the children freely go about their work and play."[47] Along a similar vein, Booker T. Washington wrote Wood after a visit to the farm, "the thing that pleased me perhaps most was to note the natural bearing of the children, they had nothing of the 'institutional' atmosphere. A natural relation seemed to exist between them and their instructors."[48] Self-government—"participatory democracy"—governed the orphanage's method of discipline. A child accused of a misdemeanor was tried by a jury of his/her peers drawn from the student body. The chief form of punishment consisted of extra work.[49]

Washington's observations about the "natural relations" existing between Howard staff and their charges are borne out in part by the intimate ways in which residents addressed Gordon in their letters—often as "dearest mother." Gordon, on her part, went beyond the bounds of ordinary institutional duty to protect the interests of her charges long after they had left her care. When a Howard alumnus (I will call him Thomas Marshall), a hall boy employed by the Brooklyn Hospital, was arrested for alleged theft, she pleaded earnestly with Wood to intervene in Marshall's behalf with all the anguish of a concerned mother: "he (Marshall) has fallen into temptation . . . but he is so sorry . . . my poor heart is aching . . . I am his mother in love, trust and purpose . . . I have labored so hard . . . to raise him as a Christian gentleman . . . I will do anything, anything to save him." Marshall was discharged to Wood's care, and Gordon arranged for "her boy" to live with her brother, Reverend George E. Stevens of St. Louis, Missouri. There Marshall prospered, eventually becoming an independent farmer. He received permission to take Gordon's last name, referring to her as "his mother" in his letters to Wood. It

[44] City Inspection Report, 1917, 40–41, 48, 54, HOIS.

[45] City Inspection Report, 1917, 10, HOIS.

[46] See, for instance, Rudolph R. Reeder, *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn* (New York, 1909); Brown and McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us*; Friedman, *These are Our Children*; W.J. Doherty, *A Study of the Results of Institutional Care* (New York, 1915); L. Ashby, *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890–1917* (Philadelphia, 1984).

[47] City Inspection Report, 1917, 48, 50–51, HOIS.

[48] Washington to Wood, November 18, 1913, HOIS. Washington's words were especially high praise coming from a man who disapproved of orphanages, as is quite evident from his remarks before the 1909 White House conference on dependent children. Of course such disapproval must be evaluated in the context of Washington's view that black dependence was a peculiar pathology of migration to the urban North. He urged whites to help African Americans remain in their southern homes.

[49] State Inspection Report, January 1916, 22 and December 1916, 25, both in HOIS.

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appears that, in Marshall's case at least, the child savers' concern that institutions stymied the emotional development of dependent children and robbed them of support networks to help them in their careers proved unfounded.[50]

Gordon's relationship with her wards suggests that although other (non-black) orphanages displayed some of the same group-oriented modes of living as the HOIS, communitarianism carried an entirely different meaning in the context of a black institution. Progressive-era reformers concerned about dependent children opposed all those features (like long dining tables) that they felt made orphanages seem less like a private family and more like an institution.[51] Certainly, there is much evidence to suggest that at predominantly "white" orphanages, congregate living spelled "total institution," with features that bothered child welfare advocates of all faiths. As Reena Sigman Friedman has shown, even at turn-of-the-century-Jewish orphanages—arguably some of the most enlightened of their kind[52]—children were identified by number rather than by name, had their hair cropped short, wore uniforms, and "marched to their various activities in silent rows to the clanging of a bell."[53] These institutions liberalized their policies a great deal in the twentieth century, yet their staff-inmate relations were often marked by a certain degree of formality. For instance, alumni of the Jewish Foster Home of Philadelphia remembered their superintendent Aaron Faber as a "disciplinarian" who expected the children to greet him in a "military-like manner."[54] Hymen Bogan, an alumnus of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, has written that the institution's early twentieth-century superintendent Solomon Lowenstein was reputed to be "kind and gentle," but even so, did not address the children by their first names.[55] Likewise, a chronicler of the Rochester Jewish Children's Home has recorded that the "best the alumni could say (about the matrons of the institution) is that they 'told us what was right and wrong . . . encouraged us to be neat and clean' . . . 'there was no hugging stuff in the Baby Cottage. Whatever hugs I got came from elsewhere.' "[56]

The level of intimacy between custodians and their charges distinguished Howard's brand of communitarianism from that of some Catholic orphanages as well. According to Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, when the Catholic

[50] Thomas Marshall's real initials were W.C. His case may be pieced together from the following pieces of correspondence: Amos Peaslee to Wood, May 1, 1915: George E. Stevens to Wood, May 13 and June 30, 1915; Wood to George E. Stevens, May 22, 1915; Wood to Gordon, May 25, 1915; Gordon to Wood, May 28 and June 3, 1915; Wood to Thomas J. Cuff, Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Brooklyn, February 7, 1916; Wood to W.C., March 10, 1917; W.C. to Wood, July 13 and October 17, 1915, and April 1, 1917; Wood to W.G. Nealy, April 4, 1917, all in HOIS. On the child savers' reservations about institutions, see Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 118.

[51] On reformers' views on orphanages, see "Letter to the President of the United States Embodying the Conclusions of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 1909," reprinted in Robert Bremner, *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History* 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 2: 365.

[52] For instance, as Friedman has reported, as early as 1869, a *New York Times* observer commented on "homelike" character of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum when compared with other orphanages. See Friedman, *These are Our Children*, 51. Bogen suggests the following reasons for the superiority of Jewish institutions over their Gentile counterparts: they were built later and thus benefited from the mistakes of those who had gone before them; and they were often better funded because they enjoyed the united support of their communities. See Bogen, *Luckiest Orphans*, 170.

[53] Friedman, *These are Our Children*, 43, 38.

[54] Friedman, *These are Our Children*, 71–72

[55] Bogen, *Luckiest Orphans*, 161–62.

[56] Goldstein, *House on Gorham Street*, 128.

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social worker Mary Anne Kennedy visited St. Paul's Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum in Pittsburgh in 1919, she found some of the same *physical* elements of group living that abounded at the HOIS: children sat at long tables, clothing "was not marked for individual use," and the same hairbrush served several children. Yet what separated the Pittsburgh institution from Howard was Kennedy's finding that "no semblance of homelikeness" prevailed. At dinner, a whistle sounded after grace was said, signaling that it was time to eat. Kennedy was especially critical of the distance between the living standards of the superintendent on the one hand and that of the children on the other: "In his own study, he [the superintendent] shows a commendable appreciation of what a homelike room should be; books, pictures and some fine plants are strongly in evidence. And yet, not in one place throughout the building, has there been any attempt made to provide a homelike atmosphere for the children." Kennedy complained that the superintendent cared more about his "prize ferns," which he left in the custody of an expert gardener when he went abroad, even as he neglected the broken arm of one of his charges, an Italian boy named Gregory.[57]

The foregoing discussion suggests that based on their observations of a majority of orphanages, Progressives had reason to regard group living as the antithesis of that ostensible bastion of emotional security, the nuclear family. The historical experiences of African Americans, however, made congregate living perfectly compatible with family life. Surrogate kin networks that adapted African consanguineal traditions to New World exigencies were common not only in slavery but also helped black migrants withstand the harshest challenges of urban living both before and after emancipation. Notwithstanding its adoption of the "cottage system," the HOIS retained features that might be considered "institutional" in the context of non-black orphanages because they undermined "individuality," but in the context of a black establishment merely reified the tradition of group solidarity central to African-American family life. Recall that one state inspector noted that although the brushes assigned to Howard children were not labeled, cottage mothers could tell their owners by their appearance. Thus, a black style of benevolence management that obscured the lines between (extended) family and "institution"—as evident not primarily in practices such as the communal ownership of toys and the use of long tables but in the nature of staff-client relationships—was rooted in the historic conditions of black life in America. [58]

[57] Brown and McKeown, *Poor Belong to Us*, 100–101.

[58] The literature on the African-American family in slavery and freedom is rich and voluminous. On the adaptation of the African tradition of consanguineal families to New World exigencies see Christine Farnham, "Sapphire? The Issue of Dominance in the Slave Family, 1830–1865," in Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, eds., *"To Toil the Livelong Day"*, 68–83. On the slave family see also John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1972); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (New York, 1976); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*; Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman*; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988); Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*. The inmate case histories of the nation's first juvenile reformatory, the New York House of Refuge, are filled with examples of extended surrogate families among African Americans in nineteenth-century New York. See Gunja SenGupta, "Black and 'Dangerous'? African-American Working Poor Perspectives on Juvenile Reform and Welfare in Victorian New York, 1840–1890," *Journal of Negro History* LXXXVI (Spring 2001): 99–131.

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The familiar black cultural model of family organization upheld by Gordon was reinforced by the children's frequent interaction with black churches and civic organizations in New York City. Several African-American religious institutions in Brooklyn participated in the orphanage's fund-raising festivals and bazaars, setting up tables for ice cream, lemonade, clothes, toilet articles, etc. Howard's alumni came to these affairs, making them significant not so much because they raised a great deal of money but more as forums for socializing and community organizing.[59] These cultural affairs, combined with the children's labor pressures, interrupted their academic schedules in a way that confounded the lines among school, work, and community, in stark contrast with the much more regimented routines characteristic of most non-black orphanages. Public inspections suggested that regular cooking classes were suspended in order to manufacture articles for the annual fair, or to practice for public concerts. Work schedules sometimes got in the way of punctuality in school attendance, since the older children provided much of the labor on the farm and in the cottages. The 1917 report noted, "when girls were found carrying buckets of coal to the kitchen . . . and ironing clothes, and the boys cleaning the stables, carting away manure, and killing chickens during school hours, it was explained by the Superintendent that this was part of their vocational training. Under the guise of vocational or industrial training as it is called at the institution, the work of the home is performed."[60] These practices violated prevailing concepts of childhood that opposed child labor and emphasized the importance of nurturing and educating children at home and in school in order to prepare them for responsibilities of family and citizenship. No wonder then, that state inspectors disapproved of the practices described above as infringements of board standards intended to safeguard the health and welfare of dependent children.

From the perspective of Howard's staff, however, the institution was reconciling its financial constraints with the needs of a growing community of indigent African Americans in ways that made creative use of scarce resources. Rather than turn needy children away, it accommodated the overflow in the infirmary and detention houses, occasionally allowing more than one person to share a bed (as in the case of two young women in the superintendent's cottage). Given the shortage of clothing and toys, common ownership ensured variety. A flexible definition of time seemed necessary in a situation where, unable to afford outside labor, the orphanage was forced to let its charges combine study with household and farm chores. Vocational instructors doubled as the mechanics of the institution, while the school Principal also served as the resident minister.[61] From the vantage point of the white managers, Gordon's supervisory style made Howard vulnerable to stereotypes of black mismanagement. Yet the fact that state inspectors found overcrowding and other violations a few years *after* the HOIS board had enacted the efficiency-driven reforms mentioned earlier suggests that Howard's black staff may have resisted the letter of the new laws rather frequently.

[59] State Inspection Report, 1915, 26, 28–29; Gordon to Wood, December 14, 1915; Superintendent's Report to the Board of Managers, March 1915, 2; flyers advertising Easter Bazaar, March 22–26, 1915, Yuletide Bazaar, December 15–19, 1913, and Spring Bazaar, April 22–25, 1913, all in HOIS.

[60] City Inspection Report, 1917, 60; and State Inspection Report, 1915, 23–24, HOIS.

[61] City Inspection Report, 1917, 1–8 HOIS.

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Through her style of benevolence management, Gordon and her staff devised an oppositional community identity rooted in black historical experiences—a communitarian universe permeating the physical structure of the ostensibly individualistic "cottage" system. They questioned their white supervisors' commitment to the virtues of "individuality," order, and economic efficiency when the practical needs of working poor African Americans were at stake. This disruption of the HOIS managers' world view of color-blind "sameness" injected a race-conscious vision of pluralism into the mix of black American identity formation. At the same time, however, Gordan's communitarianism was complicated by subaltern hierarchies of class, color, and professional positioning.[62] For working poor African-American guardians, having a voice in their children's lives and labor constituted a vital element of familial self-determination. Any institution's appropriation of a child's custody smacked of slavery's disregard for family ties. For Gordon, however, the children's access to equal opportunity sometimes entailed the unfortunate but necessary step of separation from their "unrefined" and often destitute kin, an attitude that injected more than a hint of condescension in her dealings with the relatives of her "boys and girls." One formerly homeless mother, Mrs. S., tried repeatedly to discharge her son from the orphanage when she returned to work. Gordon refused, referring Wood (who tried to intervene in Mrs. S.'s behalf) to an outdated report by the Commissioners of the Poor: "Father in prison. Mother and child homeless, staying with old neighbors . . . Mother's physical condition does not warrant her caring for more than one child." Gordon wrote Wood," . . . some of *these people* make one very weary of them, even when you *try to be kind*" [my italics]. The superintendent's words clearly reflected her sense of alienation from the likes of Mrs. S.,—not simply in terms of class, but also as a welfare "bureaucrat"—despite their shared racial identity. Wood, however took Mrs. S.'s side, reminding Gordon that the mother's position had changed since the commissioners had issued their report.[63]

[62] For recent examples of work on social inequalities within the black community, see essays by Elizabeth Dale, Beth Tompkins Bates, and Kevin Gaines in *AHA Forum*, *American Historical Review* 102 (April 1997): 311–387.

[63] Wood to Gordon, July 30, 1915 and August 5, 1915; Gordon to Wood, August 4, 1915, HOIS. Italics in second quote are mine. Color and gender differences also contributed to intra-black hierarchies, especially under the watch of J. H. N. Waring, who succeeded Gordon in 1917. Waring was a "nearly white" medical doctor educated at Howard Medical School, Johns Hopkins University, and Hampton Institute, had served as a school principal in Baltimore, and sat on Howard University's Board of Trustees. Ann Smith, an aspiring Howard instructor and graduate of Washington University, Seattle, alleged that Waring, upon seeing that she was "rather dark – He and his family and the other teachers [were] nearly white . . . at once told her she could not teach – but must be housemother and cook, etc., for 30 boys." Ironically enough, Smith fought her private battle against the tyranny of whiteness perpetrated by a member of her own "race" by appealing to liberal white patrons to find her a teaching position elsewhere (see George W. Andrews to William Pickens, September 15, 1917, HOIS). It is possible that gender in addition to color shaped Waring's situational dominance through the "othering" of Smith. Interestingly enough, the home's promotional literature dating to the post-Gordon era reflected a shift in attitude toward the sexual division of labor among Howard staff that was apparently linked to an attempt to organize cottage life on the farm within the framework of a heterosexual two-parent model of family life. A printed sheet of information on the home entitled "Workers' Facts" circulated among patrons during the Waring administration declared that each cottage at King's Park was placed in charge of "a teacher and *his* wife"—a departure from the Gordon era reign of single cottage mothers and predominantly female teachers. Contrast the "Workers' Facts" with the profile of the employees including teachers in typed ms. entitled "Employees of the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School," March 24, 1913. This list (compiled while Gordon was still matron),

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GORDON'S DIALECTICAL APPROACH TO BENEVOLENCE, racial solidarity, and national identity was mirrored in a variety of cultural "texts," the most significant of which was a series of pantomimes. These materials were apparently crafted by Howard's staff—arguably members of an emerging black bourgeoisie drawn from such southern institutions as Fisk and Howard Universities, and Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, as well as northeastern normal colleges such as those at Danbury, Connecticut, Collingswood, New Jersey, and Cheney, Pennsylvania.[64] The pantomime scripts elucidate important processes of subaltern subject formation through the appropriation and subversion of hegemonic narratives. On one level, they were designed to publicize the school's mission and usefulness in the context of a turbulent, protean society's search for order and harmony in the classic Progressive tradition. Yet, the plays also destabilized the insignia of racial nationalism to question the place of African Americans in American society. Their simultaneous appeal to white and black patrons stemmed from their multilayered interpretive potential—from their engagement with the tensions within American exceptionalism, and from their simultaneous acquiescence in, and opposition to, Progressive reform ideology. When used in conjunction with letters written by former inmates of the orphanage, they offer a basis for analyzing the ways in which the didactic values they conveyed may have shaped the children's aspirations and sense of self.[65]

The story lines of the pantomimes revolved around the same moral refrain: the value of equal opportunity in a fluid, ultimately just society that rewarded personal integrity and industry, irrespective of race. Such a conception of the nature of American society and the individual's relationship with it accorded well with the ethos of self-reliance, individualism, and racial harmony upheld by the institution's civic nationalist management. Yet, subtexts woven into the scripts' narrative fabric suggested not only an awareness of pervasive institutional racism that thwarted the color-blind promise of civic nationalism but also a consciousness of racial solidarity as the path to black success. Moreover, in an inversion of the terms of black-white relations, the black adult often emerged as a heroic savior of the very whites who had oppressed his or her race.

The script of one pantomime offers a good example of these themes. It opens with the protagonist, a newsboy named Restus shooting craps in a crowded street, surrounded by scenes of "drunkenness, street fights and disorder." Arrested presumably for disorderly conduct, he is sent to the Children's Society, where white

suggests that the institution's employees were predominantly women (including all its teachers, clerk, and agent). The State Inspection Report of 1915 listed the teachers as follows: Mrs. F. A. Taylor, graduate of Teacher's Training School at Cheney, Pa.; Miss W. Smith, graduate of Public School #2 of Washington D.C.; Miss H. Sturgis, graduate of Training School at Collingswood, N.J.; Miss G. Frank, graduate of Fisk University, Nashville; Miss V. Saunders, graduate of kindergarten course of Boston Normal School; Miss E. Adair, graduate of Normal College at Danbury, Conn.; and Miss C. Berguin, enrollee in a summer school for teachers at Columbia University, New York. It seems likely that the principal listed in this report, A. W. Reason, a graduate of Oberlin Academy and Howard University, was male. In her November 1915 report to the managers, however, Gordon identified the principal as Miss Francis Gunner of Howard University. See Superintendent's Annual Report to the Society of the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School, November 1915, 1, HOIS.

[64] On the background of Howard's teachers, see Superintendent's Report to the Board of Managers For the Year Ending October 31, 1914, 2–3; and State Inspection Report, 1915, 22–23, both in HOIS.

[65] Typewritten pantomime scripts, no date, HOIS. The scripts are untitled, simply labeled "Scenario I," "Scenario II," and so forth.

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children mock his friendly overtures. When he attempts to save a white girl from a white male tormentor, he is severely reprimanded and locked in a room by himself. Whites who visit the society to adopt children shrink from him in disgust, so that he is "more lonely than ever before." His journey to salvation begins when a young white visitor, Elsie Watson, persuades her gentleman father to admit him to the Howard Orphanage. Subsequent scenes depict Restus mature from a troubled youth into a well-adjusted and productive adult. Eventually the young man becomes a school teacher in the very southern town where his old benefactor Mr. Watson resides. Walking in the woods one day, Restus notices a trinket which he recognizes as belonging to Elsie. He follows hoof tracks into the woods and discovers Elsie lying at the bottom of a precipice where she has been thrown by her horse. He carries her back to her home and rings for a doctor while her family and servants panic. The doctor felicitates Restus with words capitalized in the script, "YOUNG MAN, YOU SAVED HER LIFE," whereupon Restus reminds Watson of the favor he did the young man of color a long time ago.

This script encoded a number of ideas that reflected Howard's appeal to potential white donors and its staff's conception of racial identity and vision of welfare. The notion that the school would rehabilitate through education and religious influence southern immigrants led astray by the pernicious influences of New York's mean streets was in keeping with the institution's official mission. Moreover, the central role of a white child as a mediator between the black boy and the instrument of his salvation—the Howard School—contained an obvious appeal for white patrons. Furthermore, Restus's saving of Elsie may have been interpreted as an act of gratitude reinforcing the loyal black image in the white mind. At the same time, the contrast between Restus's experiences in the white Children's Society and the black Howard Orphanage underscored the obduracy of structural racism, the wisdom of raising black children among their own kind, and black children's potential not simply for spiritual redemption but for productive citizenship as well.

Most important, however, the script challenged the myth of the black rapist by portraying the black male as a white woman's savior on two occasions, during one of which the black protector was punished for daring to raise a hand against a white male offender in defense of a white woman's honor. By turning black Restus into white Elsie's protector rather than violator, the pantomime undercut the rationale of that ultimate and very public expression of white racial nationalism: lynching. As Grace Elizabeth Hale has argued, ritualized lynchings of black men accused of dishonoring white women, "conjured whiteness . . . through their spectacle of a violent African-American otherness as much as through the narratives of [white communal] unity they generated." As black southerners used the culture of segregation to carve autonomous spaces for themselves in their own churches, businesses, and homes, lynch mobs inverted the practice of racial separation to consolidate white dominance, to remind black people that there was *no* space they could call their own, and that even their bodies "were subject to invasion by whites." The technology of mass consumer culture commodified the imagery of this very public message by marketing souvenirs, photographs, even human "leather" goods

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generated by lynchings.[66] Through their own performance of public resistance—however small scale—the authors and actors of Restus's story implicitly exposed lynching as a link between white supremacy and savagery, thereby draining whiteness of its monopolistic signification of civilization.

Another pantomime "scenario" begins in a one-room tenement home, which although sparsely furnished, manifests "a general air of cleanliness." It is home to Lulu, "a comely modest negro girl in hat and jacket." She works as a maid to support her four-year-old sister Mary, who sports "well-brushed" curls and a "clean gingham dress." Lulu kisses Mary goodbye and leaves for work. Upon her return, she discovers that Mary has managed to unlock herself out of their home and pilfered ginger cookies and bananas on the streets. Lulu then secures her mistress's permission to take her sister to work. Ellen and Mary become playmates, despite Mary's rueful longing for Ellen's finery and Ellen's occasional lapses into "aristocratic" indifference to Mary's material deprivation. When Ellen, on her birthday, flaunts her beautiful cake and her many costly presents, including a gold locket, Mary gives into the temptation to steal a similarly flashy pendant from a pawnbroker's shop. Her theft is discovered, and Lulu is persuaded by her mistress to dispatch her little sister to the Howard Orphanage. At the orphanage, Mary thrives; she learns to "rub clothes" and iron. More important, the "selfishness and envy of her manner with Ellen has departed." Years later, she serves as a maid at Ellen's wedding, showing "great respect for Lulu's directions" in the kitchen. When one of the other maids steals Ellen's string of pearls, reducing the bride to tears, it is Mary who discovers the culprit and through her impressive powers of persuasion and faith is able to induce the transgressor to repent and return the stolen goods to their rightful owner. A grateful Ellen writes Mary, "My dear dear Mary, we are ten thousand times obliged to you . . . Walter says that a detective would have cost three or four times as much and would have made lots of talk and trouble in the papers . . . Your very grateful friend, Ellen."

This pantomime shared certain thematic parallels with the story of Restus: the danger of exposing unattended children to the streets, and the black child's potential for salvation realized at Howard through the mediation of a white patron. Yet the script also emphasized the role of white material flamboyance and condescension in Mary's fall from virtue. In addition, the figure of Lulu, who despite her modest means maintained a clean, wholesome home and a well-groomed sister, suggested that black women conformed to Victorian ideals of domesticity under far more adverse material circumstances than their middle-class white sisters. Yet, in recognition of Lulu's need to work for wages, the script also conveyed the need for adequate day-care facilities for black children. In this context, the Howard Orphanage assumed the role of not just a refuge for parentless children, or a safeguard against disorder on the streets, but also an essential social service agency for working-class women of color. Moreover, while the script did not challenge the traditional racial and gender identities of black women—every black woman played a maid—Mary's part in saving Ellen's jewelry suggested that Howard had vested this inmate with the power of faith and persuasion to protect a white

[66] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 228, 229.

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woman's property, if not her person. Even if the terms of black-white social relations had not changed, the roles of white as paternalist/maternalist-civilizer and black as the beneficiary of protection had been reversed in this script.

Other scripts forcefully projected an environmentalist view of crime by contrasting the fate of youth left to their own devices with the success stories of their siblings unfolding under the protective care of the Howard Orphanage. The various themes interlaced in these narratives—racial solidarity, a challenge of racial stereotypes, black children's potential for not just moral uplift but professional success through education, wage-earning women's daycare needs, the sanctity of feminine virtue, and the environmental interpretation of the roots of poverty and crime—informed the welfare vision of Howard's black staff. On one level, this outlook celebrated equal opportunity, asserted the power of environment in molding the personal traits necessary for individual success, and embraced the trimmings of Victorian morality in accord with the white managers' civic nationalist template of "sameness." It shaped the black subject as individual, a project furthered by the pantomimes' subversion of the icons of white supremacy. As we have seen, the emblems of white racial nationalism—the fiction of the black rapist, the discourse of mobility, the rhetoric of internalized self-discipline, and the "cult of true womanhood"—functioned as hegemonic markers in flux. For they were appropriated, recontextualized, robbed of their racial meaning, and fashioned into an argument *against* racial nationalism. On another level, however, the pantomimes manifested a sense of institutional racism and promoted black solidarity in concord with the communitarian spirit suffusing Howard's cottages and farms.

How did a Howard upbringing—the children's lifestyle and interpersonal relationships at the orphanage combined with their exposure to ideas encoded in the institution's cultural productions—mediate the orphans' *own* negotiations of personal, racial, and national identities? In other words, how did the children express themselves as surrogate daughters and sons, workers and consumers, aspiring professionals and lovers, and as black and American? And how did these roles interact with each other, as well as with hegemonic structures, to form multidimensional subaltern subjects? Letters addressed to Superintendent Gordon and Board President Wood by and about former inmates, mostly women placed by the orphanage in domestic service, provide valuable clues to these questions.[67]

These documents show that the managers' emphasis on "individuality," thrift, order, self-reliance, and feminine virtue supplied a civic nationalist prism through which the children navigated the fractious terrain of American exceptionalism. In this context the letters framed the themes of respectability and decorum, professional aspirations and consumption patterns, and control over work and sex in terms of the discourse of individual "sameness." At the same time, however, the African-American welfare vision, informed by a sense of responsibility for the

[67] In this context, it is important to note that the Waring era proved very brief. The State Commissioner of Charities closed down the institution in 1918. Thus, Gordon had a far more enduring influence than Waring on the young lives she touched. See Wood to Chester A. Allen, Vice-President, King's County Trust Company, May 13, 1947, HOIS; Mabee, "Charity in Travail," 74–75.

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"race" and profound faith in black youth's potential for success, also textured the children's quest for empowerment. From their various situations defined by a plethora of social experiences, the orphans manipulated the paradoxes of American identity constructs to write a multivocal African-American experience into a national narrative premised upon a unidimensional construct of black dependence. By disrupting supposedly immutable identities defined by "natural" difference, the alumni sought not only to advance their personal autonomy but also to challenge the racial meaning of Americanism. The informal, surrogate family ethos that governed staff-inmate relations at Howard may well have endowed the children with the emotional confidence to make assertive claims to freedom and equality. It is manifested in the familiar ways in which alumnae addressed Mary Gordon. Common salutations included "My darling Mother," "My dearest Mother," and "My own sweet mother." Many strove to win her approval by describing themselves as efficient workers and devoted Christians, striving for temporal and spiritual self-improvement in ways that validated the institution's plea for equal opportunity. One wrote: "Mrs. Swartz (her employer) broke her arm a few weeks ago and I had to jump right in like a little woman and help all I could. No one can dress her or comb her hair like I can. She says she don't know [sic] what she'd do without me. I had all Dr. H's bills to make out and checks too." She stressed her own observance of public decorum: "P. (a friend from the orphanage) tickles me at times. She talks so loud on the streets and I am not used to that and remind her often where she is."[68] This missive reveals interlocking identities at work, knitting together dimensions of individual self-consciousness with race. For its author was a surrogate daughter seeking a parent's favor by embracing her values *and* a black woman de-racializing the canon of "true womanhood" by representing "respectability" as an individual attribute as likely to be found among African Americans as among whites.

Similarly, the hallowed American ideal of occupational mobility was integral to the alumni's sense of personal security as well as their conception of American identity. The HOIS's emphasis on its charges' potential for success created several ambitious young aspirants for careers loftier than the menial service to which the dominant society bound their identity as a race. For the girls, black women in key positions of authority at Howard—whether as superintendent, matrons, or teachers—must have served as role models of professional achievement.[69] Thus, work became an important motif in their articulation of racially egalitarian "sameness." A night watchman for the City and Suburban Homes Company declared that he was "still fighting to become an able man. Even if I am married which stops many a career."[70] One young woman assured her "own sweet matron" that "Some day you may have just cause to be proud of us, for I know I don't intend to spend the rest of my days in the kitchen."[71] Young women who had their sights set upon careers in nursing or teaching fared badly in the kitchen and parlor, whether by natural ability or design. Mary Jackson's mistress described her as "slow" with "absolutely

[68] L. to Gordon, October 3, 1913, HOIS.

[69] See note #64 for the prominent presence of women among the orphanage's staff during the Gordon era.

[70] R. C. D. to Gordon, n.d., HOIS.

[71] R. to Gordon, June 23, 1913, HOIS.

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no initiative." Yet Jackson enthusiastically sought and filled out an application for nurse's training at the Lincoln Hospital and Home, explaining: "My reason to be a nurse is to try and help somebody. There are so many nobodys [sic] that I'm so anxious to do my part it may be very small but its helping just a little. If I am accepted I will try and do my best."[72] Another woman left her employer when the latter refused to give her the music lessons she had been promised.[73] Thus Ann Smith, whose tale of frustrated ambitions opened this essay, was not unique in her refusal to resign herself to the status of eternal servility prescribed by her location at the intersection of a "triple jeopardy" of race, class, and gender.

As noted before, the link between Smith's professional and sartorial aspirations was not accidental. Fancy clothing was not only a significant element in the emergence of a working-class youth culture in turn-of-the-century New York but represented for African Americans a conspicuous mode of rejecting the racial premises of American consumer culture. Kathy Peiss has argued that New York women strained the "boundaries of immigrant, working class life" by frequenting public spaces dressed flamboyantly. For some New Yorkers, "putting on style" became a way of expressing a variety of sentiments, from aspirations to upward mobility to the drive for romance and autonomy, while others adopted distinctive clothing as a badge of union membership.[74] According to Elizabeth Ewen, for the "new immigrants" from Europe, participation in the consumer economy served as a tool of acculturation to "American" values. Ready-made clothing became a visible symbol of national identity.[75]

Yet, the culture of mass consumption was by no means color blind. Hale has argued that national advertisers purveyed images of blackness to sell a variety of articles to consumers constructed as white. For instance, the smiling face of Aunt Jemima—repository of mammy's culinary expertise and penchant for service—drew self-consciously white consumers of pancakes. At the same time, the caricatures in trade cards of African Americans in ridiculously mismatched clothing or as inept users of durable consumer goods conveyed the sense that no amount of spending would raise blacks above "their place," that their innate racial shortcomings would surface in their mishandling of manufactured goods.[76] As Hale has shown in the context of the South, however, the spaces of consumption could also become sites for transgressing traditional racial hierarchies, as stores courted black customers and well-dressed mulattoes jostled whites in railway compartments. In the cities of the North perhaps more than anywhere else, consumer culture became an arena for straining the boundaries between blackness and whiteness, a theater for contesting the national advertisers' invention of *legitimate* consumers, capable of attaining

[72] Mary Jackson's real initials were W. H. See W. H. to Wood, October 1919, HOIS. On African-American women in the professions, see Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989); Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago, 1996); Gloria Moldow, *Women Doctors in Gilded Age Washington: Gender, Race, and Professionalization* (Urbana, Ill., 1987).

[73] Mrs. John Meitar to Waring, n.d., HOIS.

[74] See chapter three in Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.

[75] Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890–1925* (New York, 1985), 15, 25–26.

[76] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 121–197.

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cultural capital though spending, as white. Howard women's penchant for fashion encoded a struggle to assert their dual identities as consumers and Americans—as black consumers and black Americans. It connoted their defiance of the idea that to wear the visible symbols of national identity and social mobility—such as ready-made clothing—was the prerogative of "whiteness" alone. This contest for equal opportunity thus symbolically invoked Howard guardians' civic nationalist premise of individual "sameness," even as it contravened their strictures against material extravagance.

A similar dynamic is evident in the women's endeavors to flout etiquettes of class relations, as well as those of race, by violating dress and behavioral codes for maids. Fannie Moore's mistress complained that when the family had visitors, Moore refused to leave the room and joined in the conversation and moreover, refused to wear an apron or any dress that was not "dressy": "she refuses to wear anything but silk stockings, silk shirt waists and white skirts when she gets up in the morning and when I call she just takes her own good time to dress and comes out of her room after I have the breakfast ready to serve." To her mistress's horror, Moore spent $1.25 for a pair of stockings. "I told her 50 cent stockings were nicer, but she said *no sir not on me*," complained the employer. "She seems to think she must have everything my daughter has, and go with her everywhere we go, so in some way will you please try to influence her not to forget her place and try to dress for her work, as it has been commented on around the Lake about her working in high heeled shoes and silk stockings, and my daughter and I wearing khaki skirts."[77] Some Howard women combined their appeal to the American "ode to upward mobility"—whether through business training or stylish apparel—with gestures of patriotism. Ann Smith, for example, invested in liberty bonds when the United States entered World War I.[78] Through her particular configuration of spending, this black woman, like other Howard alumnae, was testing both the promise of civic nationalism and the limits of her keepers' enforcement of the rules of personal economy.

Commercialized leisure presented opportunities to subvert racial hierarchies and assert individual "sameness" through consumption even more fundamentally, because it facilitated inter racial mingling. Yet the infractions it prompted may also be interpreted as the rebellion of youth against all authority. Movies and amusement parks cast their spell on several of Howard's first-generation black New Yorkers, much to the distress of their guardians, as institutional entries on visits to children placed out suggest. One Brooklyn employer, Mrs. Williamson, complained about her charge's propensity to visit Coney Island in violation of her curfew: "Telling [Juliet] to do or not to do is like putting water in a colander you just put it in but it runs right out." Williamson reported that Juliet in company with another

[77] Florence Caruthers to Ms. Marks, August 7, 1917, HOIS. Fannie Moore is a pseudonym for E.

[78] M. J. to Wood, April 28, 1918. The HOIS launched a conference on the movement to increase food supply during the war and apparently conceived of a plan "whereby each child will have a garden of his own, in order to learn practical truck gardening" (unidentified newsclipping; Wood to Francis L. Holmes, April 11, 1917, both in HOIS). In response to reports "emanating from the South that Germans were plotting Negro insurrection," Wood declared that African Americans were "a splendid example of devotion to a country which has done them both good and ill" (*The New York Evening Post*, April 5, 1917).

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Howard woman was "meeting white boys in secluded places"—a transgression the girls admitted to when told that they were under police surveillance.[79] Their actions bespoke many roles: black women breaching racial norms in accord with the managers' logic of individualism, and teenaged girls violating the discipline regimen and gender expectations of their custodians.

As workers and spenders, Howard women articulated an economic self-image that invoked rights to profit and property to question their dependent status at the margins of the national narrative. In this instance, their rhetoric of "sameness" drew on their common claim (with whites) to the mantle of the rational, freely acting individual motivated by enlightened self-interest. Although the managers embraced the same rhetoric in their calls for equal opportunity, their charges' appropriation of this stance often conflicted with the institution's parallel mission to encourage frugality. The managers required that the wages of each charge be held in a savings account in trust for the child until she reached the age of 18. However well meaning, the women saw this decree as infringing upon their control over their own earnings in what amounted to a violation of the fundamental American right to private property. Rosa Johnson invoked this sense of proprietorship when she wrote Superintendent Waring: "let me have my money as I am owner of it." When informed that she could not have her money until she reached the age of eighteen years, she angrily retorted to President Wood, "The home has been telling me that (I am not 18 yet) for the past five years . . . Will you please look my age up. You know I have worked for the money and can take good care of it . . . I also will be more than satisfied to give the home which took the place of any *mother*. I would not feel right if I didn't"[80] To Johnson, the power to dispose of her wages as she wished was inalienable from her elemental right as a worker to the ownership of the cash proceeds of her labor, and did not conflict with her sense of loyalty to the institution she called "home" and likened to "any mother." Indeed, she was willing to donate some of her savings to the home, provided that she (rather than a trustee) reserved the right to make that decision.

Other former residents negotiated their appeal for control over their wages within a framework of hallowed American values such as financial prudence and economic self-sufficiency to which they knew the managers to be attached. One woman pleaded, "I am 18 years old now . . . I think I'm old enough to know the value of money . . . *I think I could be responsible for something. What kind of woman do you think I'll make if depended on someone else all the time*. I promise you I won't touch a cent in the bank. I'll try and save all I can."[81] Many others advanced plausible grounds for taking charge of their savings: economic need, the sickness of

[79] Mrs. C. M. Williamson to Mrs. Marks, May 6, 1917. Juliet is a pseudonym for E. See also entries in lined notebook containing information on children "placed out," such as that for R. B. dated November 27, 1916. Examples of works that explore the image and role of consumption as an instrument of assimilation include Jenna Weissmann Joselit, *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture, 1880–1950* (New York, 1994), and Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1992). On attempts to regulate working class adolescent female sexuality, see Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Ruth Alexander, *The "Girl Problem": Female Sexual Delinquency in New York, 1900–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

[80] G. O. to Waring, May 9, 1918; G. O. to Wood, May 17, 1918, HOIS.

[81] My italics. W. H. to Wood, November 23, 1919, HOIS.

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loved ones, the desire to invest in liberty bonds, to buy Christmas presents for relatives, or to replace broken articles belonging to others. Dorothy Benedict declared tersely, "Mr. Wood, I worked very hard for the money and I think I deserve some of it now because I need it . . . the money I make (in my present place of employment) goes to my Grandmother. She is very sick in bed."[82] In negotiating the terms of her life with her "benefactor," this young woman resorted to an all-American laissez-faire argument that, while consistent with the ideals of Howard's trustees, also advanced her own search for self-determination.

Finally, from their locations as consensual lovers, Howard women occasionally engaged the dialectics of sexual politics in ways that interrupted conventional configurations of female respectability, race relations, and national identity from within the cultural universe prescribed by their guardians. For the orphans, interracial dating may have served both as a symbol of personal independence as well as a challenge to the logic of whiteness. However, preserving and protecting female black sexual purity was pivotal to the Howard managers' mission of creating a respectable black citizenry, and to the staff's attempts to combat the historic traditions of black women's sexual exploitation and the stigma of their alleged licentiousness. For African-American leaders and their white sympathizers, it represented a significant tool for undermining the color fabrication of "true" American womanhood. This concern surfaced with new urgency in 1918, when sixteen-year-old Frances Carter conceived a child as a result of an affair with an Italian named Frank Fuccillo. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children got wind of the situation and had Fuccillo arrested for rape in the second degree. His lawyers sought Wood's permission for Carter's marriage to Fuccillo. Their client, they argued, was not only a citizen, but a patriot: "was lately on his way to camp as a soldier when the armistice was signed . . . he has purchased from his savings one hundred dollars in Liberty Bonds." Wood, in consultation with Carter's mistress Bertha Blackman, and the Brooklyn SPCC, refused on the ground that Fuccillo's offer of marriage was no more than a device to circumvent the law. Fuccillo went to jail, and Carter returned to the Blackmans, where she had her child.

The case of Frances Carter combined a centuries-old theme of seduction with new concerns shaping the consciousness of a wartime America suspicious of alien radicalism. These concerns included the specter of female sexuality run riot embodied in the formulation of the alleged "girl problem," the emergence of white ethnic males as the new urban sexual predator against which to protect and preserve female honor, and the role of professional social welfare agencies as arbiters of these new social alignments and conflicts. For Carter's black well-wishers, Fuccillo became a stand-in for the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant males who had long engaged in the sexual exploitation of black women. For her white guardians, he not only symbolized the decrepitude of the ethnic white but also raised the alarming specter of an alliance between marginal groups. Where did Carter herself stand in this controversy? She allegedly expressed great distaste for Fuccillo in her letters to Wood and the SPCC and showed no inclination to marry him. She expressed

[82] Dorothy Benedict's real initials were F. G. See F. G. to Wood, May 8 and May 20, 1918. See also E. R. to Wood, July 23, 1920 and A. S. to Wood, n.d., HOIS.

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support of her guardians' characterization of Fuccillo as one who displayed "an awful temper when out of sorts . . . and licentious feelings toward young girls." Under the circumstances, all agreed that although marriage offered the advantage of "legitimizing" Carter's child, it would bring the young mother a "life of misery and unhappiness" while depriving her of the chance to marry another. Yet, while Carter's protectors took comfort from her apparent remorse and rejection of an unworthy suitor, she may actually have won a battle for sexual autonomy against them—premarital sex without the compulsion to marry—albeit within the parameters of moral and social values set by them.[83] Thus Carter may have balanced her multiple roles as lover, "single girl about town," and obedient ward (imbued with a renewed sense of domesticity) in ways that furthered her pursuit of personal freedom. On a more symbolic level, however, her act of sexual rebellion, of miscegenation, represented the ultimate "sameness" discourse. It perforated the heart of the whiteness mythology premised upon "absolute racial difference" that defined the national culture of segregation. Frances Carter literally infused life into the figure of the tragic mulatta who traversed the works of black writers and artists as the most powerful signifier of segregation's contradictions, the living embodiment of the "American dilemma."

BY THE TIME THE CARTER-FUCCILLO AFFAIR reached its final outcome, the HOIS had been forced into an ignominious demise. In January 1918, a severe winter destroyed the plumbing and central heating system at King's Park. Several children suffered frostbite, two so severely that they had to have their feet amputated. This tragic incident prompted an order by the State Commissioner of Charities to close down the HOIS. The premature demise of the Howard experiment suggested the tremendous odds against which black voluntary associations had to labor. In an age marked by the professionalization of social welfare, prejudice against the management competence, policy preferences, and financial skills of African Americans kept white donors from contributing money to institutions run even partially by blacks. Wood recalled being told that if only he had a "white person in charge," the school would have survived, suggesting that the directors had themselves been engaged in something of a dialectic of accommodation and opposition with the larger society of which they were a part.[84]

Yet the history of the Howard Orphanage and Industrial School, however brief,

[83] Carter's real initials were F. M., and Fuccillo's F. B. See Bertha Blackman to Wood, September 3, 6, November 1, 5 and December 18, 1918; January 7 and March 25, 1919; Wood to Arthur W. Towne, November 4, 1918; Wood to Elizabeth Lawrence, November 4, 1918; Wood to W. B. Codling, November 6, 1918; Nathan O. Petty to Wood, November 23, 1918; Wood to Petty, December 2, 1918; Towne to Wood, December 17, 1918; Wood to Towne, December 18, 1918; Benjamin Blackman to Wood, November 1, 1918; Wood to Bertha Blackman, March 31, November 11, December 18, 1918, Ibid. On the "girl problem," see Alexander, *The "Girl Problem."*

[84] When the institution closed, the mortgage on the King's Park property was foreclosed, and the children were distributed among various asylums, the majority being sent to the New York Colored Orphan Asylum at Riverdale. Thereafter the trustees of the school devoted all donations to the higher education of young African Americans from Brooklyn. On the demise of the HOIS, see Mabee, "Charity in Travail," 74–75. On black self-help as a casualty of social welfare professionalism, see O'Donnell, "The Care of Dependent African-American Children in Chicago."

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sheds light on the relationship between individual identities, racial formation, and imaginings of the nation on the most local of levels. From their myriad positions rooted in particular constellations of race, class, gender, age, color, work, and familial and romantic allegiances, HOIS figures seized through image, word, and action the language and institutions of a paradoxical exceptionalism to redefine subalterns as actors and American identity as pluralistic. In this regard, their actions and politics of representation paralleled those of subjugated peoples on other continents who turned the tools of imperial or statist domination into strategies for sabotaging the barricades between rulers and ruled. Howard's middle-class black and white dispensers of social welfare cast the democratic capitalist tenets of individualism and equal opportunity into a civic nationalist language of "sameness" that contradicted the assumption of inherent difference embedded in the discourse of "whiteness." The institution's black staff devised cultural productions, most notably the pantomimes, that recontextualized the symbols of white supremacy—the metaphor of rape, the imagery of feminine respectability, the notion of internalized self-discipline, the ethos of upward mobility—in order to unmake the racial nationalist premises underlying notions of American civilization and citizenship. At the same time however, the peculiar experiences of race—manifested in a combination of black client needs, the institution's scarce resources, and African-American historical experiences—interrupted the managers' civic nationalist discourse of inclusion. They shaped, under Mary Gordon, an alternative community identity grounded in an informal, extended familial, black Christian, participatory democratic style of management that sometimes clashed with the white trustees' campaign to introduce a spirit of individuality, economy, and "efficiency" in Howard's operation.

By no means, however, was this race-based community monolithic in identity or interest. The variables of class, color, gender, and age invested the concepts of "freedom" and "equality" with sharply different tenors and textures in practical, everyday terms. These nuances emerge in the dialectical interplay of the orphans' own aspirations and consciousness as individuals and subaltern group members with the norms and expectations of their interracial caretakers. Howard alumnae configured the race consciousness of their black stewards with elements of the managers' outlook of individualism, economic self-sufficiency, and Victorian womanhood into everyday tactics of engagement with the worlds they inhabited. Their tactics shook the coherence of established identities of the white "self" and the black "other" pivotal to racial nationalism in ways that defied the orphans' personal dependence, racial subordination, and occasionally the authority of their custodians as well in a variety of circumstances. As surrogate daughters, Howard women pleaded allegiance to the "politics of respectability," thus challenging the racial meaning of feminine virtue. As aspiring professionals, they questioned the racial boundaries of occupational mobility. As shoppers, they foiled the national advertisers' color fabrication of consumer culture as a tool of racialized Americanization. As sexual rebels, they quite literally hybridized a population divided between "whiteness and its others." As workers and spenders, Howard's young men and women negotiated their pursuit of autonomy in the very language of self-sufficiency central to the liberal creed that their "benefactors" promoted. Their everyday

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attempts to inject a rainbow of colors into a national narrative laden with the promise of equal opportunity and individual freedom, but premised upon whiteness, exposed hegemony as a dialectical arena of accommodation and struggle on the most immediate and intimate of levels—a crucible for the negotiation of individual, racial, and national senses of self.

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Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945

SELÇUK ESENBEL

MOST PEOPLE AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY have forgotten that there was a time in Japan before World War II when Japanese nationalists showed an Asianist face to the world's Muslims, whom they wanted to befriend as allies in the construction of a new Asia under Japanese domination. The rise of Japan was a destabilizing factor that attracted Muslim activists who wanted to cooperate with the "Rising Star of the East" against the Western empires, accelerating contacts between Japan and the world of Islam from vast regions of Eurasia and North Africa. When Muslim newspapers celebrated Japan's defeat of Russia in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War as the victory of the downtrodden Eastern peoples over the invincible West, a Turkish nationalist feminist, Halide Edip, like many other women, named her son Togo. Egyptian, Turkish, and Persian poets wrote odes to the Japanese nation and the emperor.[1] In the Islamic movement of Aceh,

I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewers of this article whose careful commentary and detailed contributions have helped me greatly. The article is a product of research on different facets of the history of Japan and the world of Islam that I began about a decade ago in Turkey and have continued in Japan and the United States. I decided to write it after the terrible shock of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, which increased awareness of how timely the topic is. Portions of the article were presented at the 1998 meeting of the Association for Asian Studies and in a series of talks at New York University, Columbia University, and Harvard University during 2000.

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[1] Muslim celebration of Japan's victory was part of global enthusiasm for Japan by all those oppressed under Romanov Russia or any kind of authoritarian power. See Marius Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Stanford, Calif., 1954), for Chinese nationalists and Japan; Ben-Ami Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese: The Successful Outsiders* (Rutland, Vt., 1991), 143–50, for Jewish support; Ewa Palasz Rutkowska, "Major Fukushima and His Influence on the Japanese Perception of Poland at the

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the staunch Muslim area of Sumatra that was forcibly brought under control through a Dutch pacification campaign in 1903, the Japanese example of "the Awakening of the East" in 1905 engendered the topic of eager conversation to be the "speedy expulsion of the Dutch."[2]

During the years 1900–1945, the question that motivated Muslims and some Japanese was whether Japan could be the "Savior of Islam" against Western imperialism and colonialism if this meant collaboration with Japanese imperialism. Even during the 1930s, when there was little hope left for prospects of democracy and liberalism in Japan (for that matter in Europe as well), the vision of a "Muslim Japan" was so compelling to many Muslims in Asia and beyond, even among black Muslims of Harlem, as a means for emancipation from Western hegemony/colonial reality that it justified cooperation with Japanese intelligence overseas. Ōkawa Shūmei, the major intellectual figure of Pan-Asianism, the "mastermind of Japanese fascism" in the Tokyo trials, who justified Japan's mission to liberate Asia from Western colonialism by war if necessary, saw Islam as the means. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the relationship transformed into a major Japanese military strategy as the Japanese government began to implement its Islamic policy by mobilizing Muslim forces against the United Kingdom, Holland, China and Russia in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.[3]

In this essay, therefore, I am particularly interested in exploring the role of Islam in Japan's global claim to Asia in order to shed light on a number of themes, personalities, and events that connect Japanese history to that of the world of Islam. Despite the major role Islam came to play in Japan's Pan-Asianist international policy, especially during World War II, Japanese-Muslim relations have not been studied extensively because of the boundaries in the intellectual concerns of each field. Studies of Japan that remain focused on Japan's relations with the West and China have eluded the subject.[4] Japanese scholars of the Middle East are also

Turn of the Century," in Bert Edström, ed. *The Japanese and Europe: Images and Perceptions* (Richmond Surrey, 2000), 125–34, for Polish patriots collaborating with Japan; Olave K. Falt and Antti Kujula, eds. *Akashi Motojiro Rakka Ryusui: Colonel Akashi's Report on His Secret Cooperation with the Russian Revolutionary Parties during the Russo-Japanese War*, translated by Inaba Chiharu (Helsinki, 1988), 177–97, for the Finnish underground; Renee Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions: Japan as Archetype for Ottoman Modernity, 1876–1918," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2001, 31, for the Muslim enthusiasms.

[2] Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 356. For seminal work on this subject, see Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (The Hague, 1958), 4–21, on Dutch obsession with Islamic awakening and the effect of the Middle East, Japanese impact among rebel Aceh groups, and Japan as an inspiration; Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900–1942* (Kuala Lumpur, 1978), 28–29, for Aceh quotation.

[3] See George Lipsitz, "'Frantic to Join . . . the Japanese Army': Black Soldiers and Civilians Confront the Asia Pacific War," in T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)* (Durham, N.C., 2001), 347–77, for the Japan connection to African-American antiracist and antiwar movements in the United States. Harald Fuess, ed., *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy* (Munich, 1998), 10, for "if necessary by war"; Hiroshi Shimizu, "The Japanese Trade Contact with the Middle East: Lessons from the Pre-oil Period," in Kaoru Sugihara and J. A. Allan, eds., *Japan in the Contemporary Middle East* (London, 1993), 27–54, on prewar Japanese relations with the Middle East.

[4] See Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York, 2000), 25–59, for area studies as dinosaur. Hence the subject of Japan and Islam is corrective of the distortion in the field of Japanese studies that posits itself within the binary opposites of Japan and the West.

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ambivalent.[5] With some exceptions, most choose to concentrate on the study of the "Orient in Western regions" and ignore Japan's historic connections to the world of Islam. Although I must admit there is a certain "cloak and dagger" character to the narrative, the subject invites our attention, for it opens a window onto an alternative, ambivalent arena of international relations between these so-called "Non-Western regions" in modern history, parallel to the interstate relations forged by the formal treaties and diplomacy dominated by the Western Powers. Yet these connections were significant in the formulation of ideas and policies throughout the twentieth century, especially as the colonized sought to emancipate themselves from Western imperialist domination with Japan's help as a world power. Japan's relations with Muslims unfold as an enigmatic history of mostly informal contacts, transnational alliances between Japanese Pan-Asianist agents, intellectuals, diplomats and military officers, and their Muslim counterparts on a global platform: a transnational history of nationalisms that connected Japanese Pan-Asianism with Pan-Islamic currents and Muslim nationalisms.[6]

The central argument of this essay is that some figures in the Japanese military and civilian elite with an Asianist agenda and their Muslim friends formed an "Islam circle" in Japan in the late Meiji period and had long years of interaction through personal contacts, advocating closer relations between Japan and the peoples of the Islamic world who were suffering under the yoke of Western hegemony. In favor of an "Islam policy," or *kaikyō seisaku*, they argued for the need to gain a better understanding of Islam as a civilization belittled by Western

[5] Kawamura Mitsuo, "*Sen zen nihon no isuramu chūtō kenkyū shoshi: Shōwa san jūnendai o chushin ni*" (The Short History of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies in Japan as Case of the 1930s), *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 2 [hereafter AJMES] (1987): 409–39, for criticism. Postwar secondary sources on the subject remain few. For basic treatment of the history of Japan and Islam by an insider who served in Inner Mongolia, see Komura Fujiō, *Nihon isuramu shi* (Tokyo, 1988); for the prewar account, Wakabayashi Nakaba (Han), *Kaikyō sekai to nihon* (The World of Islam and Japan) (Tokyo, 1938); for recent work on cultural perspectives, Sugita Hideaki, *Nihon jin no chūtō hakken gyaku enkinhō no naka no kikaku bunkashi* (Japanese Discovery of the Middle East Reciprocal Comparative Cultural History) (Tokyo, 1995); for an engaging popular account, Tazawa Takuya, *Musurimu Nippon* (Tokyo, 1998); Nakamura Kōjirō, "Early Japanese Pilgrims to Mecca," *Orient* 22 (1986): 47–57; Selçuk Esenbel, "Japanese Interest in the Ottoman Empire," in Edström, *The Japanese and Europe*, 95–124, especially 96–101; and Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu, eds., *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent: New Perspectives on the History of Japanese-Turkish Relations* (Istanbul, 2003); Hee-Soo Lee, *İslam ve Türk Kültürünün Uzak Doğu'ya Yayılması* (The Spreading of Islam and Turkish Culture to the Far East) (Ankara, 1988). Also noteworthy are Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions"; Cemil Aydın, "The Politics of Civilizational Identitites: Asia, West and Islam in the Pan-Asianist Thought of Ōkawa Shūmei," Ph.D. disseration, Harvard University, 2002; Nadir Özbek, "Abdürreşid Ibrahim (1857–1944): The Life and Thought of a Muslim Activist," M.A. thesis, Bogazici University, 1994; and Hüseyin Özkaya, "The Use of a Novel as a Source for the Study of Turkish-Japanese Relations: Shiba Shirō's Kajin no Kigu (Chance Meeting with Beautiful Women)," M. A. thesis, Bogazici University, 2004.

[6] Japanese sources for this essay are primarily from the Diplomatic Record Office (Gaikōshiryōkan) of the Japanese Foreign Ministry (Gaimushō) dealing with religious and missionary activities in the home country and abroad: Gaikōshiryōkan, Tokyo, *Honna ni okeru shūkyō oyobi fukyō zakken* (Miscellaneous documents on religious and missionary activities in the home country), 1.2.1.0.1. 1–2 (hereafter *Honna*), and *Kakkoku ni okeru shūkyō oyobi fukyō kankei zakken* (Miscellaneous documents on religious and missionary activities abroad in other countries) 1.2.1.0.2. 2–5 (hereafter *Kaku*). Primary sources in English are mainly from the National Archives, Washington, D.C., microfilm version in the Library of Congress. Office of Strategic Services, R&A reports no. 890, Japanese Infiltration among Muslims Throughout the World (May 1943); no. 890.1, Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China (May 1944); no. 890.2, Japanese Attempts at Infiltration among Muslims in Russia and Her Borderlands (August 1944) (hereafter OSS with number).

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opinion, which view had also been adopted by the new, Western-oriented Japanese government. This article argues that this long-term interaction bore fruit in the end as the Japanese government, using the informal contacts and know-how of previous years, adopted Islam-oriented policies on the eve of World War II.

Japan's pattern of involvement with the political activities of Muslim groups in Asia reflects twentieth-century world power behavior that ultimately may have been party to the emergence of political Islam, possibly even in its militant forms in some areas. It has global implications that are relevant for us today. In the postwar era, the United States as a new world power had also formed close relations with Islamic currents through a global strategy of "Islam as a green belt against communism," which is seen today as having led to a "blowback" in Chalmers Johnson's terms: the ominous consequences of the September 11, 2001, attack by Al Qaeda, which led to the battle between United States-led coalition forces and the global terrorism of radical Islamic organizations.[7] Yet the phenomenon of radical Islam is frequently reduced to an issue simply of cultural incompatibility with the West, as in Samuel Huntington's reductionist notion of the "clash of civilizations." A recent addition is the Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit accusation of "Occidentalism" on the part of political Islamists, which unites the case of prewar Japanese nationalism with that of today's radical Islam, both interpreted as being similarly against modernity.[8] By focusing on the actual historical relationship between Japanese nationalism and political Islam, through the eyes of some Pan-Islamists between 1900 and 1945 and their Japanese Pan-Asianist friends, I hope to show that simple applications of ideological explanations such as Occidentalism or Orientalism do not sufficiently explain the emergence of conflictual movements against the West and that we need to recognize how the transnational character of Pan-Islamism tied in with the behavior of world powers during the twentieth century in this matter.

I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS FIRST what I mean by transnationality, which I interpret as an intellectual agenda in a geopolitical context, the "history of the international relations of nationalism," that we frequently omit from analysis.[9] Turn-of-the-

[7] The postwar involvement of the United States in using the forces of political Islam and its Pan-Islamist themes against the Soviet Union as a "green belt" against communism has been shown to have been a dangerous liason. In particular, the use of radical Muslims as an armed force to resist the Soviet invasion of Afganistan in 1979 triggered the militarization of transnational Islamism. See Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), and Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York, 2000).

[8] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Summer 1993): 22–49; Avishai Margalit and Ian Buruma, "Occidentalism," *New York Review of Books*, January 17, 2002.

[9] For transnational and global Islamism as history of international relations that fits my understanding, see Anthony Best, Jussi M. Hanhimaki, Joseph A. Maiolo, and Kirsten E. Schulze, *International History of the Twentieth Century* (London, 2003), 438–39; for transnational nationalism, Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1996), 3; for conflict with the nationalism of nation-states, Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900–1945," *AHR* 102 (October, 1997): 1030–51, esp. 1030. Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism: A Study of Irredentism* (Hamden, 1981), 1–7, 176–90, discusses the failure of Pan-Turkism in the nation-state. My article sees the significance of the movement as part of global history or international history outside of the nation-state but within world power strategies. Pan-Turkism grew from the intellectual movements of Turkic Russia Muslims in Central Asia at the turn of the century that challenged Pan-Slavism. Émigré Pan-Turkist intellectuals had been the source

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century nationalist movements actually began in many cases as a transnational history of diaspora actors forced to live in many countries and cities away from the homeland of the perceived territory of the nation. Indian nationalists agitated against Britain in San Francisco and Berlin. Young Turks plotted against the despot Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II in Paris. Forced into exile and hounded by the Western colonial governments or the authoritarian regimes of Romanov Russia and Ottoman Turkey, Pan-Islamic actors stand out as transnational diaspora actors who hoped for a global Muslim awakening against Western domination that would consequently aid their own cause of national liberation. The Egyptian Pan-Islamists who opposed British rule and the Pan-Turkists and Pan-Islamists of Russia who defied the autocrat tsar met in Istanbul, Kabul, and even in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Muslim circles in the cities of the Ottoman and Romanov empires, or British Egypt and India, or Afghanistan provided niches for the global network of Muslim transnational activists in anticolonial activities.[10] During the early twentieth century, Muslim activists also found Tokyo to be a conducive site for their activities. The discussion of Japanese Pan-Asianist encounters with Muslim activists shows us how the transnational history of many a twentieth-century nationalism is "interlaced" with intelligence strategies and the clandestine politics of world powers: both interact on a global scale. The history of nationalism in this scenario serves as a "watering hole" where intellectual history meets with intelligence. Diaspora nationalists who share the same intellectual discourse or ideological motives with the representatives of world powers could also rationalize collaboration against common enemies.

Prasenjit Duara has extensively discussed the transnational intellectual concerns of early nationalisms in a way that helps to explain how Japanese Pan-Asianists and Muslim activists could initially engage in dialogue, for they shared an intellectual debate about modernity. This is so especially for those Muslim intellectuals whose nationalist objectives were integrated into a Pan-Islamist agenda for the global emancipation and awakening of Muslims, therefore enabling them to sympathize with the global Asianist message of Japanese Pan-Asianism.[11] Both intellectual movements emerged with a vision to construct an alternative transnational spiritual world that would counter the existing one dominated by the Western powers. Ōkakura Tenshin, the intellectual founder of Pan-Asianism in Japan, constructed the ideal of "Asia as One," a common spiritual civilization that paralleled the West.

for the emergence of Turkish nationalism in the late Ottoman period, but after the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the regime of Kemal Atatürk discouraged Pan-Turkist activities as being incompatible not only with the good relations Ankara had formed with the Soviet Union but also with the Anatolian-based concept of Turkish citizenship. For a discussion of transnationality in its greater social and economic contexts see Linda Basch, N. G. Schiller, and C. S. Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Luxembourg, 1994), and Duara, "Transnationalism," 1031.

[10] Selim Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991): 343–59. Indonesian students from Ottoman schools claimed they were "white Europeans" back in the Dutch Indies because they had Ottoman passports. The Ottoman Empire had been recognized as essentially a "European power" with the Treaty of Paris after the Crimean War. Indian nationalists lived in Istanbul while on the run from British intelligence and contacted German intelligence to move on to Berlin.

[11] For transnational nationalism as intellectual discourse and transcendental vision, see Duara, *Rescuing History*, 1–3.

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While sharing the general consensus about Meiji Japan's imperial destiny, Japanese Asianists saw the 1868 Meiji Restoration as a great Asian awakening against backward regimes and colonialism. Similarly, Pan-Islamist intellectuals in Romanov Russia, Ottoman Turkey, Egypt, India, and Iran hoped to revive the universality of Islamic civilization and construct a modernity that was suitable for Islam, an "awakening" of Muslims.[12] Like many other anti-imperialists and anticolonialists of the age, Japanese Asianists and Muslim political actors saw the West in its imperialist hegemonic form as their opponent "other."[13] Hence, it was not the founders of the new Japanese government after the 1868 Meiji Restoration but the Japanese Pan-Asianists, a rival circle also rooted in the Meiji Restoration but skeptical of the early Meiji enamor with the West for *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment), who "discovered" Islam. It was, as Sun Ge aptly comments, Japanese Asianism's paradox, containing both a sense of solidarity and a desire to expand, harboring a genuine sense of crisis and an antagonism against the presence of the European and American powers, that made Japanese Asianist arguments appealing to Muslim nationalists.[14] This intellectual common ground also explains why right-wing organizations such as the Kokuryūkai, the Amur River society popularly known as the Black Dragons, and the Genyōsha (Great Ocean Society), who were vanguards of Asianism in Meiji Japan and militant advocates of Japan's rights in Asia, pioneered contacts with Muslims. Another important institution for collaboration between Japan and the Muslim world was the Tōa Dōbunkai, the newly established school for cultural understanding and friendship between China and Japan founded by Prince Konoe Atsumarō that also functioned as a training center for Japanese intelligence agents against Russia.[15]

Both Japanese Pan-Asianists and Muslim intellectuals were concerned with the existential issue of how to be part of the modern world and benefit from its assets

[12] For Pan-Asianism in Japan, see Christopher W. A. Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia: Okawa Shumei and Japanese Asianism," in Harald Fuess, ed., *The Japanese Empire in East Asia*, 49–64. Pan-Islamism in the form of reformist and modernist movements debated utopian and nationalist objectives in the nineteenth century and took the form of transnational movements against Western imperialism and colonialism at the turn of the twentieth century. The late nineteenth-century pioneers were Jamal al-Din al-Afgani (1839–1897) of Iran and Muhammed Rashid Rida (1865–1935) and Muhammad Abdu (1849–1905) of Egypt. See Anthony Black *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2001); J. M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islamism: Ideology and Organisation* (Oxford, 1990); Azmi Özcan, *Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain (1877–1924)* (Leiden, 1997), 23–40; and Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1964).

[13] See Tetsuo Najita and Harry Harootunian, "Japanese Revolt against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century," in Peter Duus, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 6: *The Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1995), 714; Su Ge, "How Does Asia Mean? (Part I)," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1 (2000): 13–47, especially 15–17, 20–21, 27.

[14] Su Ge, "How Does Asia Mean," 14.

[15] The Kokuryūkai was founded in 1901 by Uchida Ryōhei and was connected with the Genyōsha. Tōyama Mitsuru was its spiritual leader. The Kokuryūkai subscribed to ideas of harmony between East and West, revival of the martial spirit, educational reform, and overseas expansion. Its members had relations with the military and some civilian businessmen and worked in close contact with the army as intelligence agents and interpreters. They were involved in the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. Some had considerable influence over Japan's China policy. After World War I, the society became involved in the suppression of labor and socialist movements. It was accused of militarism and fascism by the U.S. occupation government and purged in 1946. For the Kokuryūkai and Genyōsha, see E. H. Norman "The Genyosha: A Study in the Origins of Japanese Imperialism," *Pacific Affairs* 17 (September 1944): 261–84.

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while preserving native cultures. Like Japanese Asianists who were profoundly critical of the imitation of European culture for its own sake, many nineteenth-century Muslim intellectuals, especially Pan-Islamists, were critical of the extreme Europeanization of Muslim societies, and Japan's reforms looked like a suitable model of modernity for the Islamic world because the Japanese seemed able to manage Westernization without giving up their traditions or converting wholesale to Christianity. Pan-Islamist arguments of the Ottoman intellectual Mehmed Akif as well as the Young Turk Abdullah Cevdet stressed Japan's preservation of a spiritual culture in harmony with modern reforms that did not bow to Western imperialism. The Pan-Islamist and Pan-Turkist Tatar intelligentsia of Romanov Russia shared these ideas. The devout even wanted to convert the Japanese to strengthen the world of Islam.[16] The Arab world joined this sympathy toward Japan. Mustafa Kamil, Ahmad Fadzli, and many other Pan-Islamist intellectuals in Egypt published popular books on Japan as the rising star of the East that became integral to their anti-British nationalist discourse.[17]

However, compared to our image of Japanese Pan-Asianism as anti-Western propaganda during World War II, or today's anti-Western militant Muslim rhetoric, prewar Japanese Pan-Asianism and the Muslim enthusiasm for Japan combined ideas of nationalism and liberalism that were not exclusive. Muslim admiration for Japan, whether couched in strongly nationalist or in Pan-Islamist terms, praised Japan's nationalist goal of using Western civilization to counter European imperialism, and its steps toward becoming the first constitutional monarchy of Asia. For many Muslim intellectuals, Japan's victory over Russia was "the triumph of constitutionalism over Tsarist despotism," and the Meiji Constitution of 1889 was the reason for Japan's swift progress against Western imperialism.[18] The ardent Egyptian nationalist Pan-Islamist and admirer of the Meiji Constitution, Mustafa Kamil, proclaimed "we are amazed by Japan because it is the first Eastern government to utilize Western civilization to resist the shield of European imperialism in Asia."[19] For both intellectual worlds, constitutionalism was still the litmus test of modernity, linking nationalism to universal ideals of human liberty and emancipation.[20] Like Mustafa Kamil, Tokutomi Sōho, a leading liberal in the Meiji era with Asianist views who was to befriend Muslim activists visiting Japan,

[16] After the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese military authorities perceived the Muslim world's enthusiasm for Japan's victory against Russia as potentially helpful in advancing Japan's interests. See Deringil, "Ottoman Japanese Relations in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Esenbel, *Rising Sun*, 42–48. The Ottoman governor and the Sixth Army in Baghdad reported to the Istanbul authorities that Japanese officers and some intellectual figures were sounding out pro-Japanese local opinion in Iraq for the commercial and political interests of Japan; for conversion propaganda, see Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 99. The Japanese may have encouraged the propagation of the image of the "Rising Sun," or the "Rising Star of the East," in the publications of the Islamic world, even spreading the popular rumor that the Japanese emperor might convert to Islam. For Young Turks Abdullah Cevdet, Ahmet Riza, and Japan, see Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 203–17.

[17] See Sugita, *Nihon jin*, 220–24; Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 34–38 especially.

[18] See Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 36–37, for constitution.

[19] See Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 34, for Western civilization as a method against Western imperialism.

[20] For an Arab critical view of how Japan misused this liberal Pan-Asianism for its own expansionist designs, see Bassam Sibi, *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Enquiry* (New York, 1971), 261, cited in Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 38.

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supported a Western-style parliamentary government, although later he became an ultranationalist serving military governments.[21]

Ottoman records note that the Japanese authorities "responded" to this Muslim intellectual admiration for Japan, and especially the Muslim jubilation over Japan's victory in 1905, in order to make use of it for Japanese imperial interests.[22] Japan was on its way to becoming a significant power after its military victories in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War and the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Diplomatic recognition of Japan as a world power with European status came with the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance.[23] But Japan as a global newcomer could not establish direct diplomatic relations with the multiethnic population of about 100 million Muslims in vast regions of Eurasia and Africa, most of whom were colonized or under the hegemony of Russia, Great Britain, France, or Holland. Even Qing China, though a weak power, traditionally dominated the Chinese Muslim Huei and Turkic Uighur minorities.[24] Only Ottoman Turkey, the seat of the Sunna Caliphate, remained as the sole Muslim world power that, although weak, had some influence in global politics. But with porous borders vulnerable to crossings and intelligence activities, the Ottoman, Iranian, and Afghan Muslim polities were politically compromised states, surviving between the interests of the Russian and British empires. Stifled under the constraints of the "unequal treaty" regimes dictated by Western international law, this was a world of twilight diplomacy where relations were conducted informally in order to avoid signing new treaties entailing further compromises to foreign interests.[25] Despite Ottoman public empathy after the Japanese victory in 1905, Sultan Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman ministers treated the Japanese who visited Istanbul generously in the name of "Asian solidarity" but practiced twilight diplomacy to the hilt by firmly refusing the persistent requests of the Meiji government to sign a treaty of unequal privilege.[26] Thus Japan's relations with the world of Islam began as transnational contacts and clandestine activities through the informal meetings of individual diplomats, visitors, intellectuals,

[21] John D. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sōho 1863–1957: A Journalist for Modern Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 11, 76, 106–14.

[22] Deringil, "Ottoman," 47.

[23] W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945* (Oxford, 1987), 69–85.

[24] Shimizu in Sugihara, *Japan*, 32–33. Japan's diplomatic relations with Turkey began in 1924, resulting in the only Japanese embassy in the Middle East during the interwar period. Afghanistan, Iran, and Egypt had to wait as late as the mid-1930s. In the case of Western mandates such as Egypt and Lebanon, the Japanese legations had to work within their administration. Japan's relations with Pakistan and Indonesian Islam had to wait for the end of the British and Dutch colonial empires in the postwar period.

[25] See Best, *International History*, 80–106 for an overview of Western imperialism and colonialism. I prefer the term "politically compromised," for I do not think the popular term "semi-colony," referring to the hegemony of the Western powers over Iranian, Ottoman, or Chinese empires that reduced them to a vulnerable and weak state, sufficiently explains the autonomy of inner circles of political power elites in these noncolonized polities. The weak governments may have bowed to Western pressure and intervention on numerous occasions but while they lasted, their political elite acted as the decisionmakers of their modern experience, unlike the Western colonial governments that dictated the framework of the colonial modern experience.

[26] The Ottoman government treated Japanese diplomatic overtures politely, greeting Meiji aristocrats with profuse expressions of Asian solidarity and generous doses of royal medals. The late nineteenth-century Sultan Abdülhamid II even sent an imperial frigate to exchange good will messages with the Meiji emperor. See Worringer, "Comparing Perceptions," 47–114; Selçuk Esenbel, "A Fin de Siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajjrō and His Toruko Gakan," *Bulletin of SOAS* 59 (1996): 237–52.

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military men, and agents, frequently with Pan-Asianist agendas, and Muslim sympathizers.

THE LIFE OF ABDÜRREŞID IBRAHIM (1853–1944), a Russian Tatar journalist and opposition political activist who became a well-known and respected Ottoman Pan-Islamist intellectual, represents the multifaceted, transnational nature of this Muslim-Japanese rapprochement.[27] Ibrahim's life-long collaboration with Japanese Pan-Asianists also had a direct bearing on the global Muslim political agenda of alliance with Japan against the hegemony of the West and possibly encouraged the Japanese along this line. A religious cleric (*imam*) and judge (*kadi*), Abdürreşid Ibrahim became a major figure in the political and intellectual activities of the Kazan region, the center for nationalist and reformist currents among Muslim Turkic subjects of the late Romanov empire. Pursuing nationalist aims at home, Ibrahim advocated Pan-Islamism abroad and the formation of a global network of Islamic peoples to oppose the Western empires. This "fiery religious preacher," in the words of later OSS reports, became a close friend of the Japanese military attaché Colonel Akashi Motojirō, mastermind of Japanese intelligence in Europe during the Russo-Japanese War. Ibrahim's "fated marriage" with Japan began with a visit to Tokyo in late 1908. He stayed for about five months and formed a close alliance with the Kokuryūkai, which was already involved in Sun Yat-sen's revolution and other Asian nationalist movements. [28]

Ibrahim's publications reveal Tokyo in 1908 to have been a haven for Muslim activists seeking collaboration with Japan against Western powers. Besides Ibrahim, there was the Egyptian nationalist army officer Ahmad Fadzli Beg (1874-?), who was exiled in Tokyo after leaving Egypt because of his anti-British activities. Among the Indian émigrés, Mouvli Barakatullah (1856–1927), the well-known Pan-Islamist anti-imperialist, was teaching Urdu at Tokyo University. The three men collaborated in an English-language paper, *Islamic Fraternity*, which espoused Pan-Islamist and Asianist ideas and was later stopped by the Japanese authorities under British pressure.

[27] Ibrahim's career is typical of this generation of "revolutionary globe trotters," roaming from city to city in search of collaboration and networking. Although he published mostly in Ottoman Turkish or Tatar and Russian, Ibrahim argued that publishing in classical Arabic made it possible for Muslims as far away as China, Indonesia, Russia, and the Middle East, who did not share a common ethnic language, to participate in the debate on the contemporary issues and problems of Islam. This is an important idea that the Japanese authorities also adopted during the 1930s when they started an active pro-Japanese propaganda effort toward the Muslim world. See Mahmud Tahir, "Abdurrasid Ibrahim 1857–1944," *Central Asian Survey* 7 (1988): 135–40. For biography, recent groundbreaking research on Ibrahim has been done by Esenbel, Nadir Özbek, Ismail Türkoğlu, Hayrettin Kaya, Ahmet Uçar, and François Georgeon. See also special file Özel Dosya Abdürreşid Ibrahim (1), *Toplumsal Tarih* 4 (July 1995): 6–29; and (2) *Toplumsal Tarih* 5 (August 1995): 6–23; Özbek, "Abdurresid Ibrahim." For Ibrahim and Pan-Turkist Zeki Velidi as Volga Tatar identity in transformation through an Islamic political formula, see Şerif Mardin, "An Islamic Political Formula in Transformation: Islam, Identity, and Nationalism in the History of the Volga Tatars," in Charles E. Butterworth and I. William Zartman, eds., *Between the State and Islam* (Cambridge, 2001), 59–58; OSS, R&A 890.2, 15–16, 25–26, appendix 63, 80.

[28] See Kokuryūkai, *Kokuryūkai sanjūnen jireki* (The Thirty-Year Record of the Kokuryūkai) (Tokyo, 1930), 17, 21 for references to Ibrahim and his son Munir; Jansen, *Japanese*, for the close connections between Sun and Kokuryūkai.

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Ibrahim and Barakatullah's activities show us that there were Japanese Asianists interested in spreading the message of Japan in Muslim Asia. Ibrahim translated *Asia in Danger*, a pamphlet by Hasan Hatano Uho (1882–1936), one of the pioneer Japanese Pan-Asianists who adopted a Muslim name. Widely distributed in the Islamic world, it had disturbingly vivid photos of beheadings, tortures, and massacres conducted by Western imperialist forces in Asia. A graduate of Tōa Dobūnkai, Hatano argued that Japan and the Ottomans, the two sentinels of the Asian continent, could prevent European imperialist activities in Asia. Ahmed Ariga Bunyarō (1868–1946) made an interesting synthesis between pure Shinto and Islam, seeing a similarity in the Shinto belief in the originator god and the Islamic concept of Allah. [29] In 1909, Ibrahim returned to Istanbul with Kokuryūkai support, visiting Muslim communities in China and British and Dutch colonies to spread the message that Japan would be the future savior of Islam. In his Istanbul-based editorials, the *Java Letters*, Ibrahim assured an Indonesian friend, a notable *ulema* of Borneo, that in ten years Japan would come to liberate Muslims from the Dutch yoke. His friend replied that he had helped Ibrahim's Japanese friends purchase 26,000 hectares of land in the areas under Dutch rule.[30]

Ibrahim's activities were the seeds of training Japanese agents to be sent to the Muslim countries under Muslim identity, a tactic that the military authorities were to use during World War II. On his way back to Istanbul in 1909, Ibrahim met Yamaoka Kōtarō (1880–1959), a member of the Kokuryūkai in Bombay, whom he claims to have converted en route to Istanbul. The two comrades visited Mecca and Medina, where "Omar" Yamaoka became the first Japanese pilgrim to visit the holy lands and formed contacts with Arab leaders on behalf of the Japanese Empire. With Ibrahim's help, Omar gave conferences in Istanbul, especially to Pan-Islamist Tatar students on Japan's pro-Islam message and the Ajia Gikai (Asian Rewakening Society), Japan's new pro-Islam organization. Yamaoka continued networking among Chinese Muslims and trained future Muslim Japanese agents such as Hadji Nur Tanaka Ippei. Yamaoka's account of his experiences, *Arabia jūdanki*, is the first Japanese account of the Arabian Islamic world detailing the Japanese Pan-Asianist rationalization for an Islamic orientation combining Asianism, patriotism, and anti-imperialism. As the first Japanese Muslim pilgrim, he advocated that the government adopt *kaikyō seisaku*. Yamaoka justified his conversion to Islam, as would Japanese Pan-Asianist agents of the future, as a patriotic duty to the emperor. He recommended that "young Japanese. . . go out in the world and exert the pioneer spirit of the Japanese warrior ethos to help the pitiful people of the Orient and the Occident and to turn their gaze toward the region of western Asia." Yamaoka lamented the frivolous demoralizing and superficial Westernism of the

[29] See El Mostafa Rezrazi, "Dai Ajiashugi to nihon isuramukyō: Hatano Uho no chōhōkara isuramu e no tabi" ("Pan-Asianism and the Japanese Islam: The Journey of Hatano Uho from Intelligence to Islam"), AJMES, 12 (March 1997): 89–112, for Barakatullah, Hatanō, and Ariga; Worringer "Comparative Perceptions," 144–45, for translation of *Asia in Danger* into Ottoman Turkish (*Asya Tehlikede*). Bogazici University (former Robert College) Library collection has a copy. For Tōa Dōbunkai see Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 210–71, for details. There is a reference to a Hatanō Yōsaku, based in Urumchi (Tihua) between 1905 and 1907.

[30] For Java letters, see Ahmet Uçar, *Toplumsal Tarih* 20 (August 1995): 15–17.

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Meiji era, by now a scapegoat. His daring journey in the Arabian desert was part of his duty to perfect the mission of the Empire of the Rising Sun.[31]

IBRAHIM'S EARLY ARGUMENT FOR AN ALLIANCE between Japan and the Muslim world negotiated with this Asianist agenda. In an interview he gave to the Foreign Affairs Editorial Committee in the Japanese Foreign Ministry on March 21, 1909, Ibrahim argued for the need to liberate "Tataristan" from Russia. Japan, he said, was a model of modernity from which to learn. Stressing that nearly 100 million Muslims living in Russia, China, India, and Turkey offered Japan a potent social base, he introduced the demographic argument for Japan's Islam policy that was later used by Japanese Pan-Asianists. Even though he used the term *wakonyosai* (Japanese spirit Western technology) to describe the Japanese model, like Mustafa Kamil, Ibrahim praised Japan for its constitution and liberty that, unlike the despotism of Russia, made Japan a progressive and modern country. Among the works that Ibrahim published in Istanbul in 1910–1911, the book *Alem-i Islam ve Japonya'da Intisari Islamiyet* (The World of Islam and the Spreading of Islam in Japan) details the Muslim argument for Pan-Islamism's rapprochement with Pan-Asianism.[32] Ibrahim advocated a concerted missionary effort to convert the Japanese to Islam, which would guarantee Japan's new role as the savior of Islam. In contrast with Yamaoka's justification of conversion for empire, Ibrahim's desire to convert the Japanese was theologically in keeping with Islamic tradition, especially the Sunna orthodox sect's claim that the leader of the Islamic world would protect against "the land of war," meaning the lands of infidel Christians. His argument was that if the Japanese converted in large enough numbers, they would help liberate Muslims from Western oppression. Equally striking, however, is his pragmatic argument that a rapprochement between Japanese and Chinese Muslims would enable Japan to penetrate the Chinese market, bringing solid economic gains. According to Ibrahim,

> China is Japan's natural market, but there is undeniably great hatred between the Chinese and the Japanese. The only way for Japan to successfully penetrate the Chinese market is for her to establish close connections with the Chinese Muslims. Their economic constraint will cause the Japanese to incline towards Islam. If the Japanese converted to Islam, they will conquer a third of Asia . . . If our *ulema* can guide the Japanese down this path, there is no doubt that there is great talent among them for potentially accepting Islam. But if we simply invite them to salvation we may be sure that no one will be convinced.[33]

[31] Yamaoka Kōtarō, *Sekai no shimpikyō Arabia jūdanki* (Mystery of the World: The Record of the Pilgrimage to Arabia) (Tokyo, 1912), 1–2; for Yamaoka Kotarō, see Nakamura Kōjirō, "Early Japanese," 47–57; Sakatomo Tsutomu, "The First Japanese Hadji Yamaoka Kōtarō and Abdürreşid Ibrahim" in Esenbel, *Rising Sun*, 105–21.

[32] Gaimushō, *Gaikōjihō* 137, 1909, *Tatarujin dokuritsu no kibō*, 26–33, for interview; Abdürreşid Ibrahim, *Alem-i Islam ve Japonya'da Intisarı Islamiyet* (The World of Islam and the Spreading of Islam in Japan) 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1910–1911); Japanese translation by Komatsu Kaori and Komatsu Hisao, *Caponya* (Tokyo, 1991; modern Turkish version, Mehmet Paksu, ed., *Yirminci Asrın Baslarında Islam Dünyasıve Japonya'da Islamiyet* (The World of Islam at the Turn of the Twentieth Century and Islam in Japan) (Istanbul, 1987).

[33] Ibrahim, *Alem*, 319–21, for conversion.

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As a Pan-Islamist, Ibrahim was concerned with the reform of contemporary Muslim culture to recapture the ideal Islam in a modernity compatible with Islamic values. Here, Ibrahim presented an ideal image of Japan as a model for Muslim reform that was even more "modern" than the Christian Romanovs and the Muslim Ottomans. With great enthusiasm he introduced Japan's modern institutions to the readers: the Historical Society of Tokyo University (engaging in scientific history), women's schools (educating modern wives devoted to family and country), the Japanese postal service (much better than the Russian one), Kabuki (the epitome of a national tradition in theater), even Cintan pills (very good for digestion). Ibrahim did not see the Japanese as "pagan-infidels"; rather Japanese men and women were clean, studious, moral, and upright folk who would be perfect Muslims if they converted to Islam. The emphasis was not on preserving the old but rather on renovating custom to construct a nation.[34] However, Ibrahim's text on modernity, Japan, and Islam also reveals the overlooked connection between the realm of ideas and military intelligence that we encounter frequently in the twentieth century: here transnationalism meets with intelligence. He describes a seven-hour meeting about prospects for the unification of the East, held on a night in 1909 with Japanese military officers who spoke excellent Russian. Ibrahim claims that he proposed a forty-one-article program of collaboration with Muslims around the world, including those in China, Java, and India.[35] What was significant for the future was Ibrahim's claim that his exchange of ideas with Japanese Asianists resulted in a blueprint for Islam policy, *kaikyōron* or *kaikyō seisaku*, a term already used by Yamaoka in his book. There is a photograph in Ibrahim's book taken in a girl's school where the slogan *kaikyorōn* is already visible on posters hung behind the podium from which he speaks. So far, neither in Ibrahim's text nor that of Yamaoka, does *kaikyō seisaku* refer to a formal foreign policy of the Gaimushō (Japanese Foreign Ministry), but to the hope for a future policy. The term is used to express the need for a desirable Japanese sympathy toward the plight of Muslims suffering under Western imperialism and colonialism and the consequent need to contact Muslims with this agenda.[36]

The Japanese figures surrounding Ibrahim in 1909 were to form an "Islam circle" in the 1930s, a lobby of those in favor of encouraging close relations between Japan and the Muslim peoples. This lobby included the Pan-Asianist intellectual Tokutomi Sōho (1863–1957), Uchida Ryōhei (1874–1937), and Tōyama Mitsuru (1855–1944), founders of the nationalist organization Kokuryūkai, Ibrahim's host in Japan, and other military and intelligence figures associated with the Tōa Dōbunkai. Count Okuma Shigenobu (1838–1922) and Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932), two liberal parliamentarians who were vehement opponents of Meiji oligarchs, were surprising members. Although they are better known as advocates of parliamentary democracy, both politicians upheld an Asianist perspective in foreign relations and, as we can glean from Ibrahim's memoir, were part of the

[34] Ibrahim, *Alem*, 248, 358, 370, for Ibrahim's enthusiastic endorsement of the Japanese as an ideal people for conversion and the adaptation of the Japanese mode for modernity, the *wakonyosai* (Japanese spirit Western technology) for Islamic modernity in the case of women's education, electric lights, postal service, historical society, and medicine.

[35] Ibrahim, *Alem*, 354–64, 359, 366–67, 392–94, 401, 413, and 427 for meeting.

[36] Ibrahim, *Alem*, for photograph with *Kaikyō seisaku* slogan.

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Kokuryūkai network within the political and military elite. Both continued to support the cause of Muslim émigrés and helped Ibrahim and other political activists throughout their lives.[37]

The climax of Ibrahim's memoir is his account of a ceremony marking the founding in 1909 of the Ajia Gikai (Asian Reawakening Society), which was to be the propaganda arm of Japan in the Islamic world. The society accepted the deed to a mosque in Tokyo in the office of Toa Dōbunkai, whereupon the Japanese and Muslim participants signed the scroll of an oath pledging commitment to the Pan-Asianist Islamic cause.[38] During World War II, the OSS was to term this oath the "Muslim Oath" that proved Japan's long-term conspiracy of infiltration among world Muslims to incite a revolt against the West. In hindsight, the claim that the oath represented a Japanese "conspiracy" reflects the war psychology of the OSS; nevertheless, the oath enables us to trace the links between the rise of Asianism in the late Meiji era and its subsequent revival in the late 1930s, in the militarist context of the period. Japanese collaboration with the Muslims of Asia was hardly a "secret conspiracy"—at least not to the turn-of-the-century educated public in the Ottoman and Romanov worlds who had access to Ibrahim's popular book.[39]

The participants who signed the 1909 scroll were members or close associates of the Kokuryūkai, who were active in Japanese nationalism and imperialism. Ōhara Būkeiji (1865–1933) was a lieutenant colonel in the army who had been active in China during the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, in the 1911 Chinese revolution, and in Manchuria; he died in 1933, organizing a Chinese rebellion. Tōyama Mitsuru (1855–1944), the spiritual head of the Kokuryūkai, was the *éminence grise* of the Japanese ultranationalist movement and continued to be a major covert figure in the nationalist and militarist politics of prewar Japan. Nakano Tsunetarō and Nakayama Yasuzō were Kokuryūkai activists. Among three Chinese Muslims who signed the oath, Wang Hao-jan was the founder of the Chinese Muslim Mutual Progress Association in 1912 and later continued supporting Japanese interests. The 1909 oath appeared in Japanese for the first time in 1938 when Wakabayashi Nakaba, an Islam expert who served the military policies of the late 1930s, published it in his book *Kaikyō sekai to nihon* (Japan and the World of Islam). Wakabayashi presented the story of the oath as part of a propaganda narrative claiming that Japan's ties to Islam went back to the Meiji period. The photograph of the oath scroll published in his book shows the additional signatures of the liberal politician Inukai Tsuyoshi, Captain Aoyanagi Katsutoshi, Yamada Kinosuke, and Kōno Hironaka, of the Kokuryūkai.[40] (See Figure 1).

[37] Ibrahim, *Alem*, 201–204, 265, and 327 for Ōkuma and Inukai.

[38] Ibrahim, *Alem*, 200, for oath and signers. Indian Muslims were present but did not sign. Forthcoming Modern Middle East Sourcebook Project (MMESP) has a section on Pan-Asianism, and Renee Worringer has translated Ajia Gikai's statement of purpose as it appeared in an Ottoman journal; see Worringer, "Comparative Perceptions," 143–44. The society would strive to arm and protect Asians whose morality was sound, whose customs were admirable, whose nature was peaceful, and whose thinking was correct. Ajia Gikai claims to have funded the education of Ibrahim's son Münir and two other Ottoman youths in Tokyo, but the Kokuryūkai claims it funded Münir's education in Waseda University.

[39] See the following sources for versions: Ibrahim, *Alem*, photograph; Kokuryūkai, *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden* (Biographies of Pioneer Patriots of East Asia) (Tokyo, 1936), 351–52; Wakabayashi, *Kaikyō sekai*, photograph; OSS, R&A, 890.2, 3.

[40] The identification of names from the 1909 oath in Ibrahim's *Alem* and later Japanese versions in

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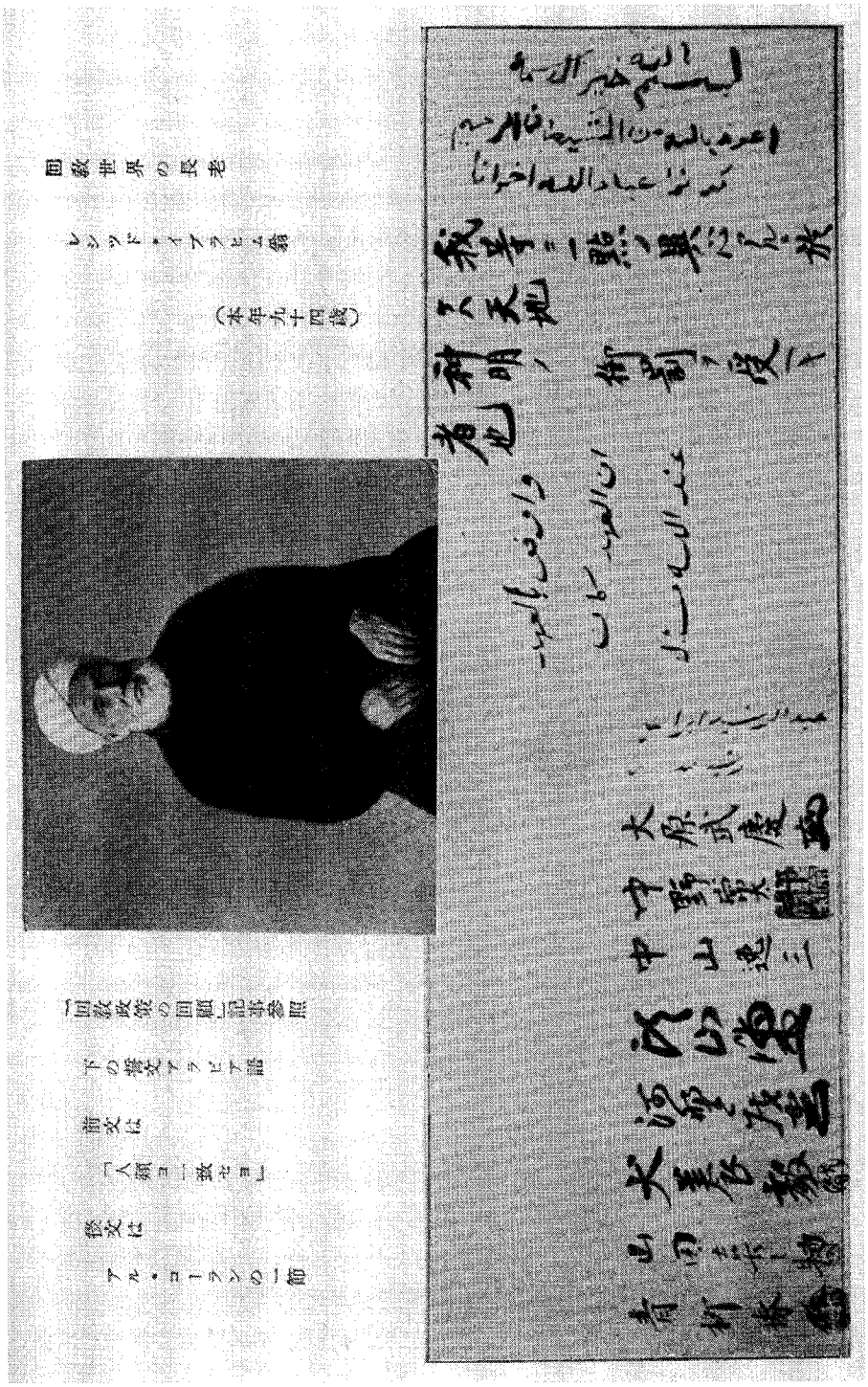


FIGURE 1: Ibrahim and the "Muslim Oath" of 1909 on the occasion of the founding of Ajia Gikai. Signed by Ibrahim, Tōyama Mitsuru, Nakano Tsunetarō, Nakayama Yasuzō, Inukai Tsuyoshi, Ohara Būkeiji, Aoyanagi Katsutoshi, Yamada Kinosuke, Kono Hironaka. Courtesy of Wakabayashi Nakaba, *Kaikyō sekai to nihon* (Tokyo, 1938), unpaginated.

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The Kokuryūkai publication *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden* (Biographies of Pioneer Patriots of East Asia), which was published in 1936 to record the careers of hundreds of Kokuryūkai "patriots" who worked for the Asianist cause of the Japanese Empire following the Restoration, adds drama to the story. It cites an article in *Tokyo Asahi* newspaper that reported that members of the Kokuryūkai had helped build a temple on Zhon Jiang mountain in Antung prefecture in Manchuria, in which they deposited the 1909 oath. The version cited here begins with Ibrahim's calligraphy of the Koranic saying, "O humankind unite." Nakano Tsunetarō wrote: "If we have a speck of treachery in our hearts, may all the gods of heaven and earth punish us with their sacred wrath." Ibrahim added another line from the Koran: "We pledge not to waver from our promise in the eyes of God." The text is the perfect aesthetic amalgam of Islam and Japan, combining Arabic and Japanese calligraphy.[41] The different versions of the oath, which were presumably signed in 1909 during Ibrahim's visit, represent the Pan-Asianist vision of Japan's global claim to Asia through Islamic activism that was already widespread in the Muslim world. The texts enable us to trace the links between individual actors and ideas in the world of Islam and the Japanese Asianist world.

THE SECOND PHASE OF JAPAN'S RELATIONS with the world of Islam can be recognized in the period after World War I and the 1917 (October) Revolution, when the Japanese authorities made use of previous contacts between Japanese Pan-Asianist figures and Muslims, in addition to new ones, to practice its Islam policy politically and militarily in a more systematic manner. Crowley notes that the October 1917 Revolution elicited a virulent anticommunist reaction among Japanese military authorities.[42] The Pan-Asianist and Muslim platform acquired a military-oriented anticommunist right-wing character unlike the Meiji dialogue between Pan-Asianism and Pan-Islam, which had argued for a liberal and nationalist Asian awakening. Practiced as a parallel, somewhat clandestine strategy, Islam policy developed as part of the Asianist foreign policy orientation within the political and military elite that was rival and coeval to the Gaimushō's "internationist" foreign policy adhering to Japan's rights within the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and various treaty agreements with the Anglo-American powers.[43] Those with vested interests in Manchuria, particularly the South Manchurian Railway, and elements of the Kwantung Army were the first to start thinking of Islam as a "citadel" in Central and Northeast Asia against Soviet communism—a prewar Japanese version of the later Cold War strategy of the CIA in which Islam constituted a "green belt" against

Wakabayashi, *Kaikyō sekai*, and Kokuryūkai, *Tōa senkaku,* is gleaned from the biographies in OSS, R&A 890.2, appendix.

[41] *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden*, 351–52.

[42] See James Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy: National Security and Foreign Policy 1930–1938* (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 111. Crowley explains that the operations division of the general staff, especially Generals Araki Sadao and Hata Shunroku, loathed communism. By 1931, the operations division was convinced that Japanese-Soviet conflict was inevitable.

[43] See Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War 1941–45* (Cambridge, 1981), 2, for internationalism of Gaimushō; Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Cambridge, 1999), 44–49 for the Asian orientation of the military-civilian elite.

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communism. The "citadel policy" is first ascribed to Matsuoka Yōsuke (1880–1946), the foreign minister who was responsible for Japan's Axis alliance during World War II. Matsuoka is thought to have developed this policy as a result of his early contacts with Russian Tatar Muslim émigrés who settled in Manchuria during the 1920s, when he was president of Mantetsu, the South Manchurian Railway.[44]

One component of this citadel idea was the "our Altaic brothers" argument, recognizing a special historic link between the Japanese and North Asian peoples speaking Altaic languages, which formed the ideological frame that brought together Japanese military elements and Muslim collaborators, the image of the "Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent" as future partners. Imaoka Jutarō, a specialist on Central Asia and Islam in the Gaimushō, reported the discussion of this strategy in the Foreign Ministry in 1937 and spelled out the argument, which became one of the major geopolitical strategies against Soviet power. Imaoka argued that the Soviet Union was doomed in the face of the "nationality problem" of the Turkic populations of the Kazak, Ozbek, Turkmeni, and the Uigur. These people constituted a geographical crescent of Altaic Muslims, organized to resist the communist threat from Manchuria to the hinterland of Central Asia via Northwest China and Inner Asia.[45] The intellectual roots of this policy perspective are traceable to the Asianist and historiographic discourses of Shiratori Kurakichi, who argued in the late Meiji period that there was a historic connection between the Japanese people and the Altaic culture of North Asian nomads.[46] The Altaic argument had surfaced during Ibrahim's visit when Tokutomi Sōho, the liberal Asianist journalist and editor of the paper *Kokumin*, introduced him to Japanese readers as "our Tatar elder brother from Russia," and the politician Hayashita, who had just returned from Mongolia, introduced him in the Japanese Diet as "our Tatar brother of Genghis Khan descent."[47]

A full-fledged version of the "citadel" perspective surfaced much later, in 1939, when the bond between Asianism and Islam against communism and the Soviet Union was discussed during the debate in the Diet over a proposed new Religion Law (shūkyō hō). All parties agreed that Islam should be incorporated in the spirit of the law; the question was whether it should be listed as one of the official religions of Japan, along with Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity. General Araki

[44] Shimano Saburō denki kankōkai, *Shimano Saburō: Mantetsu sōren jōhō katsudō ka no shōgai* (The Lives of Soviet Intelligence Experts of Mantetsu) (Tokyo, 1984), 463–64; Matsuoka Yōsuke denki kankōkai, *Matsuoka Yōsuke sono hito to shōgai* (Matsuoka Yōsuke, the Person and his Life) (Tokyo, 1974), 719–20 for a discussion of Matsuoka's Islam policy and relations with Tatar émigrés.

[45] *Honna*, 1937, 12 month, 6–13 day, Kaikyō kinkyūkai, Imaoka Jūichirō, 472–99, report on Soviet and Shinese Xinjiang Muslims as pro-Japanese.

[46] I have drawn on Stephan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 88. Tanaka shows that Japanese historiography at the turn of the twentieth century debated the special bonds between the Japanese and the Altaic peoples. Shiratori Kurakichi, the founder of the field of *tōyō-shi*, Oriental history, advocated the view that Japanese history was distinct and separate from both Western history (*seiyō shi*) and Oriental history, which encompassed the Sinocentric world. Shiratori also argued that Japan's historical roots were North Asian and therefore distinct from the southern cultural zone of China; Japan had a special link with the Altaic nomadic cultures of Inner and Central Asia.

[47] Ibrahim, *Alem*, 216, 317. Ibrahim's 1911 memoir itself presents the Altaic argument for his Turkish-reading audience as he narrates how the Tatars are similar to the Japanese, who also sit on the floor and eat around a hearth fire and who hold festivals similar to the traditional Central Asian Sabantoy spring celebration, and so on.

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Sadao, the Minister of State and Education—the major figure in the military upheaval of the early 1930s—was responsible for defending the government's position, which acknowledged Islam but did not favor citing it in the law. Araki and others in the cabinet were apparently concerned that listing Islam as a religion of Japan would alarm the Soviets even more than they already were over Japanese outreach among Central Asian Muslims. The right-wing Baron Hiranuma cabinet pushed for an active pro-Islamic government policy that would officially recognize Islam-oriented agencies but wanted only a general reference to "religions other than Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity" in the new law. Some opposed the suitability of Islam as a religion. Even those arguing in favor of an Islamic factor in government policy used a political argument, avoiding the religious issue. The popular defense was the demographic argument that the 300 million Muslims of the world were potential allies in achieving Japan's destiny, the familiar refrain of Ibrahim. For the debaters, Muslims constituted "an anti-Communist block the same as us," and the Muslims along China's border with the Soviet Union constituted "the first line of our common defence against Russia." Araki acknowledged that "Islam is a religion which is very necessary for our national policy in today's mainland." He noted that "with respect to the use of religion as an international policy against the Soviet Union, Islam in the mainland constitutes the base from which to form an international movement." Rather than theology or civilizational issues, the crucial concept was that of Islam as an international movement that could contain communism.[48]

Japanese Pan-Asianist interaction with the world of Islam illustrates the way exiles can provide the fertile transnational environment for integrating diaspora political and intellectual concerns with world power interests. Alexandre A. Benningson and S. Enders Wimbush note that while the revolution destroyed any hopes for a liberal or even leftist Pan-Islamic agenda in Russia, some of the survivors of Leninist and Stalinist oppression became right-wing anticommunists in diaspora.[49] Japanese empire-building in Manchuria provided a haven for many émigrés from the former Romanov and Ottoman empires. Rejected by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey, Muslim Tatars, former Young Turk officers and intelligence men, even Ottoman loyalists joined the diaspora of Pan-Islamists and Pan-Turkists under Japanese protection. Some had been involved in the Basmaci uprising of the Turkic populations in Central Asia in 1922, led by the exiled Young Turk leader Enver Pasha. Most were from the Kazan and Bashkir regions near the Volga river, where Tatars such as Ibrahim had lived. Together with the 100,000

[48] Shakai mondai shiryōkenkyūkai, *Teikoku gikaishi* (Records of the Imperial Diet) Dai ikki Dai 34 maki (Tokyo, 1978). 74th session of the Diet, 1939 Kizokuin (House of Peers) and Shūgiin (House of Representatives) meetings summary, 216–17; *Kampō*,Dai ikki Dai 37 maki, Showa 14 (1939) February nineteenth day Kizokuin debate, 381; *Kampō*, Dai ikki Dai 37 maki, Showa 14 (1939) February 24 day Shūgiin debate, 64–68.

[49] See Alexandre A. Benningson and S. Enders Wimbush, *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union: A Revolutionary Strategy for the Colonial World* (Chicago, 1979), 20–30, for leftist and liberal Pan-Islam in Russia and the shift to right after 1918. Sultan Galiev was from the same Kazan region as Ibrahim and was a major leftist revolutionary who strove to found a Marxist Islamic Soviet in Tataristan. Japan was his inspiration, reflecting the legacy of the Ibrahim generation of Tatar intellectuals. The project was crushed by V. I. Lenin. Later Galiev was exterminated by Joseph Stalin during the purges of Central Asian party leadership in 1934.

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White Russian émigrés, around 10,000 Tatars settled in the Far East. During the 1920s and 1930s, close to 1,000 relocated to Japan. Joining Muslims from British India and the Dutch Indies, the Tatar émigrés formed the bulk of the Muslim community of Japan.[50]

For the Japanese military in Manchuria, this émigré population was the "fertile ground" from which to launch army strategies with respect to Islam policy in Northwest China and Inner Asia, thus actualizing some of the discussions held during Ibrahim's visit. Nishihara Masao, an intelligence officer during the 1930s, explained the military view of the matter in his 1980 account of intelligence operations out of Harbin. He stated that "from 1931 and 1932 on, the army developed a deep interest in the Islam question and thought that if we could ride the religious communal solidarity of these people, it would promise a very beneficial agitation and operational strength. Thinking this way, since there was a very large population of Russian Muslim émigrés in Manchuria, they could be used in anti-Soviet intelligence."[51]

The career of M. G. Kurban Galiev (1892–1972) (Muhammed Abdülhay Kurban Ali, in Turkish), a Turkic-speaking Bashkir militia leader and imam of Tatar émigrés in Manchuria, succinctly represents the role of the Muslim diaspora as "our Altaic brothers" in the implementation of Japanese military and intelligence strategy in North Asia against the Soviet Union and China. Komura notes that Kurban was quite successful in using this argument to start a dialogue about Japanese origins in North Asia with the Imperial Way officers, the *kōdō* faction, young officers grouped around Generals Araki Sadao and Mazaki Jinzaburō who regarded Russia as Japan's main enemy.[52] (See Figure 2). Shimano Saburō, a Russia expert and an agent of Mantetsu, provides us with an account of Kurban Ali's introduction to Kita Ikki, the Japanese nationalist intellectual who was central to the radical nationalist revolution views of the Imperial Way. Shimano claims that Kita was enthusiastic about the prospects of an independent state in North Asia that would liberate the Muslims of the Soviet Union and encouraged Kurban to take the lead. Kurban continued his activities in Japan with the support of the

[50] Kamozawa Iwao, "Zai nichi tataru jin ni tsuite" (On Tatars in Japan), 1, *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters Hōsei University* no. 28 (1982): 27–56; *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters Hōsei University, 2:29 (1986): 223–302, 228–29.*

[51] Nishihara Masao, *Zenkiroku Harubin tokumukan: Kanto gun jōhōbu no kiseki* (The Complete Record of the Harbin Special Agency: The Footsteps of the Kwantung Army Intelligence Division) (Tokyo, 1980), 23.

[52] Kurban Ali was a commander of the Bashkir militia that fought near Yekaterinburg, where the Romanov royal family was murdered after the October Revolution. After leading his community across the Central Asian highlands via the Trans-Siberian railway, Kurban Ali collaborated briefly with White Russian forces in the Far East. An advocate of the "Altaic brothers" argument justifying cooperation between Japan and the Turks of Central Asia, he represented a collage of Bashkir, Muslim, Turkoman, and Turkish identities, interchangeable and complementary at the same time. Shimano notes he reported the details of the murder to Matsuoka. A letter written, in Russian, by Kurban Ali in September 1922 to unidentified Japanese authorities churns out the "Altaic brothers" argument; see M.T. 1.2.1.1 numbers 03676–03694, September 1922. Miscellaneous documents relating to the foreign policy of various countries: Persia, China, Afghanistan, Turkey. Reel 35. Library of Congress Microfilms on Japanese Government Documents; Komura, *Nihon* 71. That Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō, the famous coup plotter of the 1930s and founder of the *Sakurakai* group of Imperial Way young officers to debate the Showa Restoration, had become an admirer of Kemal Atatürk as a revolutionary military leader while he was a military attaché in Ankara might have reinforced this "Turkish factor."

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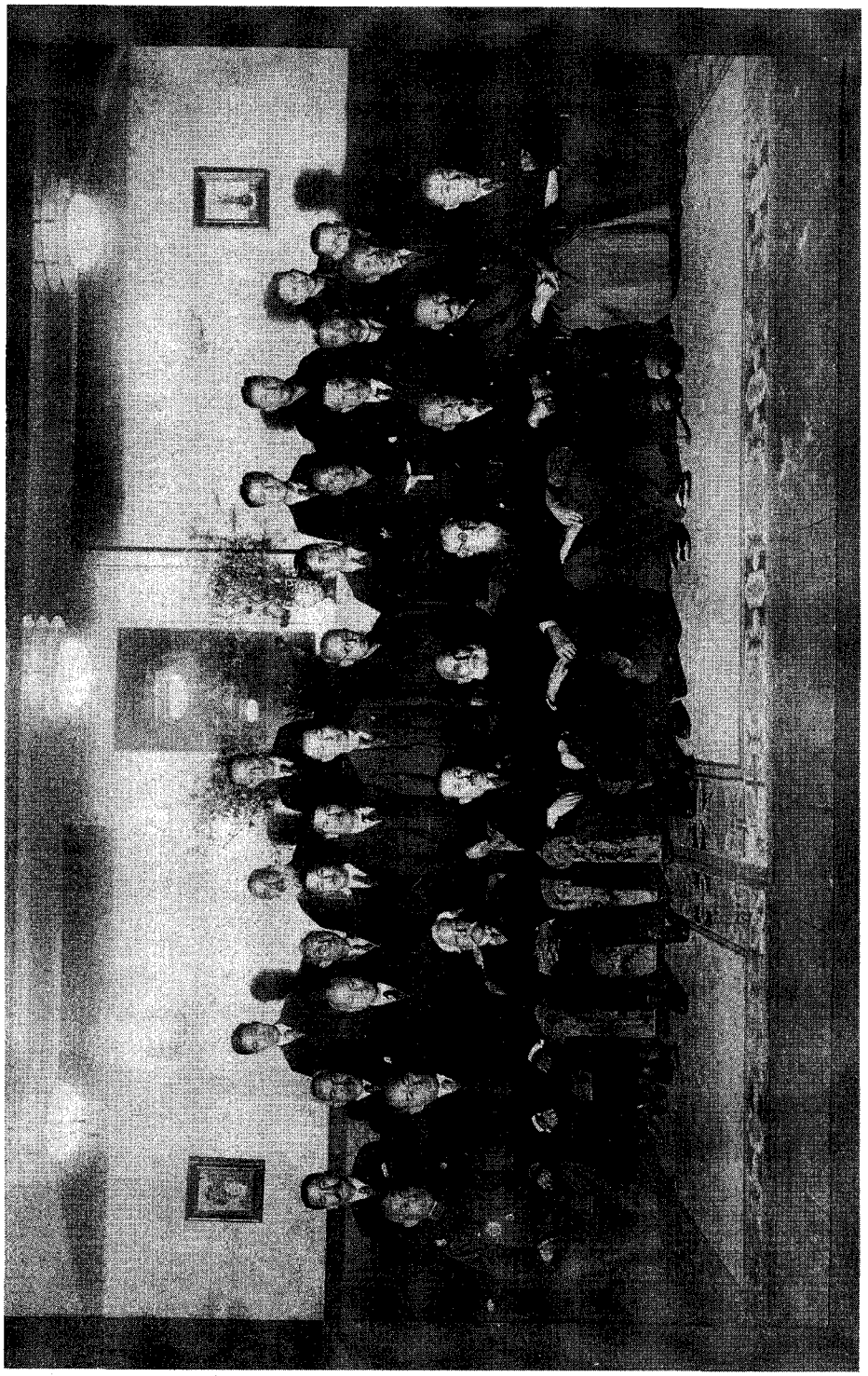


FIGURE 2: Ibrahim and Kurban Ali with members of the Japanese Army, Foreign Ministry, Kokuryūkai (Black Dragons) in Tokyo, probably in 1933. Reproduced with kind permission of Müge Isker Özbalkan.

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Imperial Way circle, which was subsequently responsible for the coup attempt of 1935 and the February 26, 1936, uprising. The Kokuryūkai again protected the Tatar Muslim émigrés, for whom it was the protection of a "cornered bird that flies into one's bosom."[53] During the Manchurian invasion of 1931, Kurban Ali networked among Muslim minorities, mostly Chinese Muslims in Manchuria and China whom the Japanese targeted as a potential pro-Japanese group to counter anti-Japanese Chinese nationalism. Hadji Nur Tanaka Ippei (1882–1934), who had been trained by Omar Yamaoka as an Islam expert agent, was his close partner. Another was Chang Te-ch'un, a mainland Muslim from Manchuria who collaborated with the Japanese and became imam of the modern mosque in Mukden that was constructed with Japanese support. Kurban Ali also worked for the Japanese authorities in anti-Soviet intelligence, primarily as a propaganda and language expert in Russian and Turkish. He launched the Tokyo Mohammedan Printing House in 1927 and pioneered the Tokyo Mosque project, which was completed in 1938 with Japanese support.[54] (See Figure 3).

THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1931 MANCHURIAN INVASION, engineered by the members of the Kwantung Army, was a turning point in Islam policy strategies, which became visible as Japan's Asianist foreign policy accelerated with the crumbling of relations with the Anglo-American powers. Muslims from many parts of the world flocked to Japan in 1933. Ibrahim, claiming to have been invited by his Japanese friends, returned to Japan from Turkey. Another arrival was Ayaz Ishaki, a well-known Pan-Turkist literary figure and political activist with secular, nationalist views. Ayaz Ishaki immediately organized a new Tatar émigré organization named the Idil Ural Society of Japan. The connection to Ottoman loyalists and Pan-Turkists was represented by Muhsin Çapanoğlu, an anti-Kemalist figure who was part of the

[53] Shimano, *Shimano Saburō*, 439–45, 460–67, for Kurban, Matsuoka, and Imperial Way officers; Matsunaga Akira, "Ayaz Ishaki and the Turko-Tatars in the East," in Esenbel, *Rising Sun*, 197–215, for Kurban's close relations with General Shitennō Nobutaka, the pro-German head of Harbin intelligence, and Vice-Admiral Ogasawara Chōse, who was part of the right-wing circle in the Navy. Komura, *Nihon*, 59–60, for Muslims with Ōkuma and Inukai and comment *"kyūchō futokoro ni haireba"* (cornered bird that enters bosom). For general treatment of military factions in Japan, see Richard Storry, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism* (Boston, 1957); George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki 1883–1937* (Cambridge, 1969); Ben-Ami Shillony, *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident* (Princeton, N.J., 1973).

[54] Backed by Asianist politicians and military supporters, in 1927 Kurban Ali founded the Tokyo Mohammedan School (*Tokyo kaikyō gakkō*) in Sendagaya Yoyogi-Uehara, next to the Tokyo Mosque, serving Tatar émigré children. In 1928, he became president of an official Federation of Muslims of Japan (*Nihon Kaikyō zoku renmei*), and in 1929 he set up the Tokyo Mohammedan Press (*Tokyo kaikyō insatsusho*), which continued to publish Japan-oriented Islamic texts until the end of World War II. Its most interesting publication in Turkish was the journal *News on New Japan* (*Yani Yapon Muhbiri*), which in 1933 began to provide news on Japanese society and culture for the Tatar émigré community in the Far East. The press published in Arabic as well, notably a beautifully printed and bound Koran that was disseminated to the Arabic reading public of the Islamic world as proof of Japan's support for Islam. Like Ibrahim, Kurban Ali argued that publishing in classical Arabic—the literary language of religious education in China, South East Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East—allowed for the global circulation of Pan-Asianist arguments in favor of Japanese cooperation with Islam in these regions. For information on Kurban Ali's career in Japan, see, OSS, R&A 890.1, 97; Komura, *Nihon*, 78; Shimano, *Shimano Saburō*, 63; *Honna* file, 1. S9210–3, Ōbei kyoku dai ikka tokugai-dai 6366, Showa 7 (1932), 12 month, 20 day, 20.

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FIGURE 3: The opening of the Tokyo Mosque, May 12, 1938. Present are Abdürreşid Ibrahim, in the center; seated next to him is Admiral Ogasawara Chōsei. Reproduced with kind permission of Müge Isker Özbalkan, great-granddaughter of Ibrahim.

Turkish diaspora after the founding of the republic, a friend of Kurban Ali's from Paris, who taught Turkish first in Manchuria and then in a Tokyo military school. Mehmed Rauf Kırkanahtar of the Turkish Secret Service also arrived in 1933 and began teaching Arabic and Turkish in Tokyo. Musa Carullah Bigiyef of Kazan, probably the best scholar of Islamic jurisprudence in his generation, ended up in Japan in 1938, invited by Ibrahim to help educate the Japanese and participate in missionary activities on their behalf in China and South East Asia.[55]

The collaboration between Japanese Asianists and Turkists in the world of Islam manifested itself for the first time in a concrete attempt to implement the "citadel against communism" in North Asia and drive a wedge between Manchuria and China by supporting the Uighur Muslim nationalist ferment for an independent

[55] Ibrahim became a member of the Young Turk Special Agency (Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa) during World War I. In line with his Pan-Asianist view, he organized the Asya Taburu (Asian Battallion) from the Romanov Army Tatar ex-prisoners of war, which fought on behalf of the Ottomans against the British. During the war, Ibrahim tried to forment rebellion against the British in Afghanistan. He also aided Tatar civilians, stuck between the Red Army and White forces in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, emigrate to Turkey. For Ibrahim's later career, see special file, Abdürreşid Ibrahim (1), *Toplumsal Tarih* 4 (July 1995), 6–29; also same in (2) *Toplumsal Tarih* 4 (August 1995), 6–23; for Ayaz Ishaki, see Komura, *Nihon*, 96; *Honna*, French paper *Tribune Libre* article on Çapanoğlu misspelled as Çobanoğlu, April 17, 1935, 284; Komura, *Nihon*, 90, for Kırkanahtar; Musa Carullah Bigiyef in Komura, *Nihon*, 96; Mehmet Görmez, *Musa Carullah Bigiyef* (Ankara, 1994), 47, for biography.

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Turkestan as a buffer zone against the Soviet Union and China. There was a plot to enthrone an exiled Ottoman prince, Abdül Kerim Efendi (1904–1935), as the head of an independent Muslim state in Inner Asia. Japanese newspapers reported that on May 20, 1933, the prince arrived in Japan from Singapore at the invitation of Lieutenant General Kikuchi Takeo and Prince Ichijō, both members of the House of Peers famous for their Asianist and ultranationalist views and their links with the Kwantung Army.[56] The Turkish and Soviet embassies immediately protested Kerim's arrival in Tokyo as a plot to establish a "Muslim Manchukuo"—another Japanese puppet regime in Inner Asia.[57] A Japanese Foreign Ministry account of the incident written in 1934 blamed the Kwantung Army *gunbu*, military elements, Kurban Ali supporters, the Kokuryūkai, and the Sanbōhombu (the General Staff), disassociating the Foreign Ministry from responsibility for the invitation. However, Foreign Minister Hirota Kōki gave verbal assurances to the Turkish embassy about the matter.[58]

The controversial scheme had hoped to incorporate the Turkic regions of East Turkestan (Xinjiang province of China) and the Chinese Muslim regions of the northwestern provinces of Gansu and Ningsha under a pro-Japanese regime. After the Manchurian invasion of 1931, Japan's defiant march out of the League of Nations in 1933 went hand in hand with the Kwantung Army's invasion of Jehol and North China in order to construct a buffer zone between Manchuria and the Soviet Union and China.[59] The same year, the rebellion of the Turkic Uighur population in Xinjiang, which had begun in 1931, culminated in the declaration of the Turkish Islamic State of East Turkestan (Şarki Türk Islam Cumhuriyeti). The Turkestan rebellion briefly united former Young Turks and Pan-Islamist figures from many countries who slipped into Xinjiang from Afghanistan to join the fight.[60] In the end, the project dissolved because of differences of opinion among the Japanese authorities, who gave up plans for a direct invasion of Inner Asia. But the Japanese did provide some arms and intelligence support during the rebellion.[61] During the summer of 1934, the Muslim rebellions were crushed under Soviet intervention. In

[56] *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* English version May 21, 1933; *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* Japanese version May 22, 1933.

[57] OSS, R&A 890.1, May 15, 1944, 114–19. The international press covered the prospects for the plan to enthrone the Turkish prince if the Muslim rebellions in Inner Asia were successful. While the Soviet papers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* attacked the Japanese conspiracy for a second "Muslim" Manchukuo in Inner Asia, *Filastin*, the Palestinian nationalist paper in British Palestine, claimed great interest in the eventuality. The journals *Oriento Moderno* in Italy, *Trans Pacific* in Tokyo, and *al-Mokattam* of Cairo offered mixed reports both confirming and denying the prince's prospects.

[58] *Honna*, Showa 9 (1934) *chosa, Zai honna kaikyōtō toruko tatarujin funsō mondai* (Research Concerning the Kurban Ali and Ayaz Ishaki Fight and the Problem of Prince Abdul Kerim's Visit to our Country), 59–67.

[59] See James William Morley, *The China Quagmire: Japan's Expansion on the Asian Continent 1933–1941: Selected translations from the Taiheiyō sensō e no michi: kaisen gaikō shi* (New York, 1983), 3–202, for a survey of the Jehol invasion, and the designs on North China.

[60] For the East Turkestan rebellion between 1931–1933, and later again in 1936, see Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia* (New York, 1975); Lars-Erik Nyman, *Great Britain and Chinese, Russian and Japanese Interests in Sinkiang, 1918–1934* (Malmo, 1977); Allen S. Whiting and General Sheng Shin-ts'ai, *Sinkiang: Pawn or Pivot?* (East Lansing, Mich., 1958); Andrew D. W. Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: Political History of Republican Sinkiang 1911–1949* (Cambridge and New York, 1986); and Komura, *Nihon* 80.

[61] Shimano, *Shimano Saburō*, 468.

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September, Prince Abdül Kerim arrived quietly in New York, where a year later he apparently committed suicide, an event still clouded in mystery.[62]

What is significant about this failed transnational plot is its "mutuality" and "interactive" nature; it was not just a case of Japanese machination, as Owen Lattimore thought at the time. Turkic rebels in Xinjiang and members of the Turkish and Tatar diaspora desperately tried to activate Japanese support for their cause when it seemed that Japanese military interests might lend a receptive ear. Muslims sought the help of Japan for the Xinjiang rebels and contacted Japanese military attachés in Ankara, Istanbul, Kabul, and Cairo. Like Ibrahim and Kurban Ali, visitors brought plans to topple the Soviet Union or Britain or both. In 1936 Tewfik Pasha of Saudi Arabia, who had fought in the Turkestan rebellion since 1931, gave two extensive interviews to the Foreign Ministry regarding a Pan-Islamist plan to overthrow British rule in Asia. The Japanese authorities may not have directly used the plans of such political figures, but an ample number of diaspora "advisors" helped flesh out Japanese military strategies of the future.[63]

THE PAN-ASIANIST ŌKAWA SHŪMEI (1886–1957), the most important intellectual advocate of prewar Japanese nationalism, emerges as the major figure in the "interactive" intellectual and political process that brought Islam to the attention of Japanese nationalism and militarism during the 1930s.[64] The "father" of Japanese Pan-Asianism, rival to Kita Ikki, Ōkawa Shūmei was an expert on Islam and translated the Koran during his postwar internment in Sugamo Prison and later in a mental ward, having studied classical Arabic under Ibrahim. The clinical description of his hallucinations while under psychiatric treatment attests to Okawa's unification of Islam and Pan-Asianism: Ōkawa saw "Mohammed dressed in a green mantle and white turban . . . he states there is only one God: and Mohammed, Christ, and Buddha are all prophets of the same God."[65] Ōkawa saw Islam as a critical factor in the realization of Pan-Asianism under Japanese aegis. The political challenge of Pan-Islamism and Muslim nationalisms to Western domination was a turning point in modern history because it destabilized the Western world order. For Ōkawa, modern history in Asia was that of European colonialism and Asiatic efforts to revive Asia. Seike Motoyoshi argues that Islam appealed to Ōkawa because it was a universal religion: it could become the basis for a global movement that did not depend on the nation-state in order to challenge the West in this conflict. Pan-Islamism constituted a supranational dynamic, an Islamic "international" that would shake the hegemony of the West.[66] Ōkawa's studies stand out because he perceived the dynamics of modernity in contemporary

[62] *New York Times*, August 4, 1935, 21.

[63] *Honna*, Vol. 1, *Kuwajima kyokushō ni tai suru Tewfikku no danwa yōshi*, Showa 11, 4 month, 16 day, 324; *Honna*, Vol. 1, Tewfikku el Sherifu no ken, Showa 11, 5 month, 21 day, 329.

[64] See Okawa Shūmei, *Kaikyō gairon* (Tokyo, 1943), for his perspective on Islam; Aydın, "Politics," for a study of the thought of Ōkawa on Asia and Islam.

[65] Awaya Kentarō, Yoshida Yutake, eds., *Kokusai kensatsu kyoku jimmon shirabe shō* (International Prosecution Section Interrogation Records) (Tokyo, 1993), Vol. 23, 373–74. Hereafter IPS.

[66] See IPS, Vol. 23, 304, 318, 409, 429 for interrogation; Seike Motoyoshi, *Senzen shōwa nashonarizumu no shōmondai* (Problematics of Prewar Japanese Nationalism) (Tokyo, 1995), 239–43, for Islam as a transnational ideology. For a succinct treatment of Ōkawa and Pan Asianism, see

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currents of the Islamic world, a view antithetical to the European Orientalist perspective, critically discussed by Edward Said, which characterized the Islamic world as a classical, premodern civilization that profoundly differed from the modern West.[67] In *Kaikyō gairon*, a collection of lectures published in 1943 to help the war effort, Ōkawa notes that Islamic civilization was part of the history of the Western world that had fallen into a state of stagnation and decline with the rise of the modern West, stressing, however, that the Muslim nationalisms and Pan-Islamism represented the new awakening of the Islamic world. Ōkawa argued that Japan should harness this force to challenge the West and construct modern Asia.[68] However, he also criticized the mistakes of the Young Turks and Kemalists and the Indian nationalists, who had allowed too much Europeanization which Japan should avoid.[69]

ŌKAWA'S INTELLECTUAL DISCOURSE is significant because it influenced Japanese government praxis concerning Islam policy in the late 1930s. He pioneered the establishment of Islamic area studies supported by the Army, Navy, and the Gaimushō in line with their Asianist interest in the Islamic world.[70] In 1938 he founded a special training school, the Zuikōryō, for young Japanese Asia experts, with the support of the Foreign Ministry's intelligence division. What Ōkawa put into practice were two divergent ideas for the education of Japanese youth that combined a policy of "pure Japaneseness" at home and Asianist education abroad. The school recruited about twenty young men "of intelligence from a provincial background" uncorrupted by the Westernized culture of Japan's cities. Inculcated in patriotism through devotion to the emperor and Japanese culture, those he recruited were to lead the country out of decadence. Discarding European cosmopolitanism, they were, however, to be Asian "internationalists" with a political agenda to work toward Asian liberation by fostering friendship for the sake

Christopher W. A. Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia: Ōkawa Shūmei and Japanese Asianism" in Harald Fuess, ed., *The Japanese Empire in East Asia*, 49–64.

[67] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

[68] Ōkawa Shūmei, *Kaikyō gairon* (Tokyo, 1943), 1–13. Ōkawa agreed with the British scholar Gibb, who also saw a historic link between the world of Islam and the West until the Renaissance.

[69] IPS, Vol. 23, 429.

[70] *Kaikyō gairon*, a collection of his lectures in the late 1930s, was published in 1943 to help the war effort. Ōkawa wrote in the introduction: "Now that the Great Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere includes a great number of Muslims, it is necessary for our nation to obtain knowledge of Islam." See Aydın, "Politics," 180–90, for Islamic studies; Kawamura, "Short History," 409–39. The first crop of Japan's specialists on Islam, Central Asia, and the Middle East began their careers in a feverish atmosphere of Islam policy discussions that were integrated into new Asian internationalism. Many continued to be eminent experts in Islamic studies in the postwar period. These scholars included Naitō Chishū (1886–1950), the foremost authority on Ottoman Turkish history in prewar Japan; Ōkubō Kōji (1888–1950), a Turkish-language expert specializing in Central Asian studies; Kobayashi Hajime (1904–1963), the first Japanese specialist in Arabic studies, who studied in the famous Al-Azhar University of Egypt with the support of Ōkawa; and Izutsu Toshihiko (1914–1993), Japan's foremost expert on Islamic philosophy, who later continued to teach at Keio University in Japan and McGill University in Canada. These men used their knowledge during the war years as language instructors, or preparing military reports, manuals, and propaganda materials, as well as working at such scholarly institutions as Kaikyo kenkyūjō, established under the auspices of the Foreign Ministry.

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of the Japanese Empire. During the war, Ōkawa lectured daily on colonial history and Islam at the Zuikōryō, which became known as Ōkawa's "spy school."[71]

The school's curriculum represented the perfect amalgam for inculcating Japanese youth in "pure Japaneseness" together with Islam policy as an Asianist strategy. Students received intensive training in European languages and in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic in addition to colonial history and modern Asian and Islamic studies. Experts such as Naitō Chishū, the first Ottomanist of Japan, Ōkubo Kōji, an expert on Central Asia and Turkic affairs, Kobayashi Hajime, the first Japanese student to study in Al Azhar of Egypt, and Izutsu Toshihiko, an eminent scholar of Islamic philosophy, provided the language training. The educational vision even extended to ethics and manners to counter corruptive cosmopolitanism. The aristocrat Tokugawa Yoshichika (1886–1976), who was a close associate of Ōkawa, an expert in Malay culture, and a friend of the anti-British sultans of that colony (and who later became governor of Singapore during the Japanese occupation), taught ethics and manners to the young provincial agents, grooming the new Japanese youth for their cause.[72]

DURING 1938, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT started to implement its Islam policy by creating the Dai Nippon Kaikyō Kyōkai (The Greater Japan Islamic League, hereafter DNKK) with the support of the Gaimushō, the Army, and the Navy. The DNKK was the official Islamic organization of Japan until the end of World War II. Its main purposes were the promotion of Islamic studies, the introduction of Japanese culture to the Muslim world, the development of mutual trade ties, cultural exchange, and policy research. The DNKK undertook propaganda work, organized an exhibition of Muslim culture in Matsuzakaya department store, and worked hard for the Diet's recognition of Islam. General Hayashi Senjurō, who had supported the Manchurian invasion, became president. The "everlasting" Ibrahim, whose photographs were used widely in Islam-oriented propaganda publications, became the Muslim leader.[73]

The Japanese government's adoption of an Islam policy as part of its Asianist foreign policy of Japan was symbolized by the Tokyo Mosque, a beautiful building in classical Central Asian architectural style that was opened in 1938 in Yoyogi-Uehara. A description of the opening ceremony, which was attended by the Japanese military-civilian elite and international guests, exposes Japan's Islam policy on the eve of World War II:

[71] Ōkawa Shūmei kenshōkai, *Ōkawa Shūmei nikki* (The Diary of Ōkawa Shūmei) (Tokyo, 1986), 521–22 for school.

[72] Ōkawa, *Nikki*, 521–22.

[73] *Dai nippon kaikyō kyōkai no shimei ni tsuite* (Concerning the mission of the Greater Japan Islamic League) (Tokyo, 1939); see also Aydın, "Politics," 192–98. Aydın sees the DNKK as different from Ōkawa because it advocated a pragmatic, policy-oriented perspective to obtain Muslim aid for Japan. But Ōkawa's argument for Japanese collaboration with Pan-Islamism as a global force provided the theoretical frame. Both also focused on Asian Islam on the Chinese mainland and under Britain and Holland rather than on the anticommunist line of the earlier years, which had targeted the Soviet Union. OSS reports treat Ibrahim as a figure of nemesis for this anti-Western quest but also describe him in a tone of respect with adjectives such as "venerable," "everlasting," and "fiery preacher."

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On 12 May 1938, the attention of the Muslim world was fixed on the capital of Japan. The occasion was the dedication of the mosque, the first of its kind to be opened in Tokyo. It was a notable occasion in more ways than one. A skilful build-up had commenced months in advance. Delegates had been invited from the various Islamic countries, with all expenses covered. Representative Japanese were in attendance to extend to the guests the official welcome of the Government. The date was bound to impress itself on the memory of many millions of Muslims all over the world, for it coincided with the birthday of Muhammad. Thus the birth of the Prophet and dawn of a new era for Islam under Japan had been brought into suggestive association.[74]

Those present at the ceremony were evidence of the coalition between the Japanese Asianists and Muslims that had begun with the 1905 Russo-Japanese War and had now become part of the Japanese claim to Asia. Abdürreşid Ibrahim conducted the prayers. Tōyama Mitsuru, the dark figure of Japanese nationalism from the Meiji era, cut the ribbon. In the ceremonial photograph taken, Admiral Ogasawara Chōsei, a familiar figure at such Asianist-Islam events, sat in the center with Ibrahim and Tōyama, the "elders," on either side. The crown prince of Yemen, Husain, was present, having recently arrived to appeal to the Japanese Diet for the recognition of Islam. Other envoys came from the holy city of Mecca. There were Chinese Muslims, Muslim émigrés from the Soviet Union, and the Italian ambassador. Beneath the ceremonial surface, the Japanese government's Islam policy reflected the interconnection between domestic political conflict and international affairs. Noteworthy was the absence of the Turkish envoy, a result of the quiet conflict over the Abdül Kerim incident that had threatened Ankara's republican secularism. In place of Kurban Ali, the pioneer of the mosque project, who was purged with the Imperial Way faction, Ibrahim, "Ōkawa's teacher," became the official *imam* of the Tokyo Mosque. He was the source of much Japanese propaganda toward Asian Muslims throughout the war years. Symbolically, the opening of the mosque represented the beginning of the final stage of Japan's global claim to Asia through Islam as a policy of war.[75]

IN HINDSIGHT, JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT among Muslims from the Meiji period through the Showa era reveals an alternative pattern of "international relations" not registered in treaties. Diplomacy was conducted through informal go-betweens. Japanese Asianist agents entered into the informal transnational network of Muslims across many different countries. Agents such as Yamaoka, Shimano, and Komura chose to live in the mosque compounds in the Muslim quarters of cities and villages in Russia, China, and Inner Mongolia, frequently in disguise. Japanese religious pilgrimages to Mecca served as a means of contact between the Japanese authorities and Muslims. Omar Yamaoka, Ibrahim's associate and the first Japanese convert to Islam, had begun this form of networking in 1910. Hadji Nur Tanaka Ippei, the expert on Chinese Islam and friend of Kurban Ali, had followed

[74] OSS, R&A 890, 1.

[75] Shimano, *Shimano Saburō*, 470–72. Identification of participants is from a photograph of the opening in the possession of Ibrahim's family; I am grateful to Ms. Müge İsker Özbalkan, the great-granddaughter of Ibrahim, who provided a copy for my use.

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Photographs of Japanese Muslim agents who joined the 1934 and 1936 pilgrimages. The figure on the upper left corner is Wakabayashi Kyūman, the brother of the author Wakabayashi Nakaba, who died during the journey. The figure on the upper right is Hadji Muhammad Saleh Suzuki Tsuyomi, who served in Indonesia and organized the Hezbollah. Lower left is Muhammad Abdul Muniam Hosokowa Susumu. Lower right is Muhammad Abduralis Kōri Shōzō. Courtesy of Wakabayashi Nakaba, *Kaikyō sekai to nihon* (Tokyo, 1938), unpaginated.

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this pattern with a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1924. During the pilgrimages to Mecca in 1934 and 1936, a new crop of Muslim Japanese agents had been initiated into the strategy of Islam policy. Many of this younger generation of agents who served in the Pacific War had been trained in Islam by that older generation. Others had received training in Ōkawa's "spy school." They wore Muslim attire and took appropriate Muslim names such as Muhammad Saleh Suzuki Tsuyomi, sometimes referred to as "Hadji Saleh." Others were Hadji Yamauchi, Muhammad Abdul Muniam Hosokawa Susumu, Muhammad Abduralis Kori Shozo, and Muhammad Nimet Enomoto Momotaro. All declared their entry into the faith in order to serve their country. Gaimushō telegrams show that Japanese agents in Muslim guise recruited Muslims in Mecca and Medina willing to work for Japan in future operations and arranged for their entry into Japan through the diplomatic legation in Cairo or Istanbul.[76] (See Figure 4).

The story of Japan and the world of Islam concludes with the Japanese military's use of Islam policy, derived from Ōkawa's vision, in the 1942 South Seas invasion of the Dutch Indies. Studies of the invasion and occupation of the Dutch Indies have discussed the use of Islam for the social and cultural mobilization of Indonesia as a wartime phenomenon. But this article shows that the long years of Japanese Pan-Asianist intellectual and military involvement with Islamic affairs bore fruit in the engagement against Western colonialism. In the field, Japanese Muslim agents organized the local Muslim leaders and communities to aid the initial entry of Japanese military forces. During the Japanese occupation, military authorities made extensive use of the local *ulema*, who had felt suppressed under the Dutch, in a drive to give an Islamic character to occupation policies. Even the "venerable fiery preacher," the ninety-year-old Ibrahim, broadcast war propaganda on behalf of Japan to the Indonesians, as he had in 1909. The June 14, 1942 *Shanghai Times* headline read "Japan Muslims Confident of Nippon Victory." Once the admirer of Japan's constitution and superiority to Romanov despotism, Ibrahim's rhetoric now was fully in keeping with a warlike interpretation of *Jihad*: "Japan's cause in the Greater East Asia War is a sacred one and in its austerity is comparable to the war carried out against the infidels by the Prophet Muhammad in the past." The Crescent and the Rising Sun, in Harry J. Benda's terms, became the core of Japan's occupation, which momentarily made it "acceptable" to Indonesians hoping for emancipation from Dutch colonialism. Many Japanese Islam organizations have survived in the postwar era as part of Indonesian Islam.[77]

[76] See Shimano, *Shimano Saburō*, 444–46, for himself and Yamaoka living together in Russia, mainly in Muslim quarters; Komura, *Nihon*, 111–16, for Inner Mongolia; Wakabayashi, *Kaikyō*, 121, for new Japanese Muslim agents; *Honna*, Showa 13 (1938) 3 month, 16 day [telegram from Consul General in Cairo to foreign minister Hirota Kōki on Turkestani pilgrims who joined the Suzuki's Japanese pilgrim group in Mecca and were to go to Japan with them], 163–64; *Honna*, *Nihon kaikyōtō no Arabiya ryōkō keiryaku ni kan suru ken* (Concerning the Arabia Journey Plan of the Japanese Muslim Group), Showa 11 (1936), 6 month, 25 day, telegram 331; *Kaku*, telegram 18, *Manshū koku jin Chō nyūkoku kyōka no yumu narabi ni Suzuki ichi gyō no Mekka jūnrei shuppatsu kijitsu toriawase no ken*, Showa 13 (1938), 1 month, 26 day, *Ki den 23 go ni kanshi kaikyōtō no honna tōrai ni kanshi jōryoku hō no ken* (Concerning Inquiry to Set the Date for the Departure of the Suzuki Group on a Pilgrimage to Mecca and whether Mr. Ch'ang of Manchukuo Citizenship will have Permit for Entry into the Country), 155–64. This might be the same Manchurian Muslim who was a close associate of Kurban Ali.

[77] For *ulema* and Islam as means of mobilization, see Aiko Kurasawa, "Mobilization and Control: A Study of Social Change in Rural Java 1942–1945," Ph.D. dissertation, 1988, Cornell University; for

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The question remains as to the effect of Islam policy in this quagmire. While Indonesian nationalist leaders were disillusioned with the Japanese colonial exploitation, nonetheless, Japan's dive into the militarist power politics of empire-building as a "rough player," in the words of John Dower, accelerated the destruction of the Western empires in Asia.[78] This effect can be traced directly in the case of Indonesia, where Hadji Saleh Suzuki and other Muslim Japanese agents acted as the vanguard of the invasion. Significantly, their point of entry was the staunch Muslim Aceh region of north Sumatra, occupied by the Dutch in 1903, admirer of Japan in 1905, and the center for radical Muslim agitation ever since. In 1945, Suzuki trained local Indonesian youths as a militia on the eve of surrender to ensure their capacity to fight against the imminent return of the colonial Dutch authorities. The name of Suzuki's guerrilla organization was Hezbollah, the faction of God—a name that stops us in our tracks.[79] The Hezbollah participated in the guerrilla fight during the Indonesian war for independence against the Dutch until 1949. This Japanese Asianist baptism of the politically engaged name Hezbollah reinforces the message that the militancy of twentieth-century Islam in Asia is not simply indigenous to the Islamic world. It had an interactive transnational history with Japanese Asianism.

Although Japanese Pan-Asianism and political Islam shared a critique of the West that helped create dialogue between them, in the end, Japan's use of Islam represents the same process as that of contemporary Western powers: linking intelligence strategies and cultural studies so that knowledge serves the interests of world power.[80] A major concern of this article has been the relevance of this historical experience for today. I suggest that Japanese involvement with political Islam helped implant world power intelligence networks within the transnational Muslim diaspora in Asia that influenced their politicization. Japanese Pan-Asianism collaborated with Muslim actors on the basis of an anticolonial stance against the Western empires. It helped to evict the Dutch at the end of the war and

cultural policies, Grant K. Goodman, *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia During World War Two* (New York, 1991). The seminal study of the Japanese use of Islam in Indonesia that discusses the history of Japan and Muslims in the Dutch Indies is Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (The Hague and Bandung, 1958). See Paul H. Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya: A Social and Economic History* (London, 1998), 135, for propaganda directed toward the Muslim community in Malaya by "Imam Abdarashid Ebrahim, patriarch of the Tokyo Mosque" and "the respected patriarch of the Muslim world"; *Honna* 1, 1100, for *Shanghai Times* June 14, 1942, headline.

[78] John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1993), 178.

[79] See M. A. Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague, 1955), 200–208; Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, eds., *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942–1945* (Athens, Ohio, 1986), 79–110, on Hadji Saleh Suzuki's Hezbollah, 239, 304; for Major Fujiwara Iwaichi's intelligence operation on the field in Sumatra and Inoue Tetsuro on the Aron rebellion in East Sumatra, 9–30.

[80] See Heng Teow, *Japan's Cultural Policy Toward China, 1918–1931* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). However, as See Heng Teow's study has shown, Japan's cultural policy toward China was significantly more visible, and it is the better remembered part of Japanese cultural imperialism today. Another comparison would be to the religious policy practiced by the Japanese authorities in Inner Mongolia, as shown by Li Narangoa in her painstaking study of Japanese religious policy in Mongolia; see Li Narangoa, *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932–1945: Reformbesttrebunden und Dialog zwischen japanischem und mongolishchem Buddhismus* (Wiesbaden, 1998). However, Islam did not have a religious connection to Japanese society, whereas Buddhism did. Hence the Japanese did not attempt to reform Islam as they attempted to reform Mongolian Lama Buddhism through the cooperation of Japanese Buddhist temples such as Nishi Honganji.

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bring Indonesian nationalists to power. Kurasawa argues the Japanese occupation accelerated the modern organizational potency of Islam in that country. Paramilitary training, or collaboration with the staunch Muslim Aceh rebels who are still the bastion of radicalism, perhaps incited awareness of their global significance. The Japanese Army's use of Islam in North Asia against Chinese nationalism ceased with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. But the Japanese Army's strategic policy to use Islam as a "citadel against communism" against the Soviet Union was a different matter. This prewar Japanese Army intelligence strategy of anticommunism heralded the postwar United States global strategy.[81]

The Japanese Empire's use of Islam for "Asian Awakening" or as a "citadel against communism" blurs the simplistic arguments of Huntington or Buruma for the clash of civilizations or antimodernism as the basis of both prewar Japanese nationalism and today's radical Islamic movements. Neither the Japanese Asianists nor the Pan-Islamists in this partnership were antimodern or crudely anti-Western. Not desiring a return to the past, they were part of new, dynamic transnational currents at the turn of the twentieth century that revolted against Western hegemony.

Later, when they lost their reformist and liberal vision, their object was to construct modern Asia anew, after destroying the colonial West. Ōkawa Shūmei's argument about the transnational political potential of the Islamic world for destabilizing Western interests was distinctly modern, though dangerous. Unlike Lawrence of Arabia, who served the British Empire by inciting the Arab revolt, and Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch expert on Islam for whom conversion represented an undesirable melting into the Orient, Japanese Pan-Asianist Muslim agents tactically justified religious conversion, some even claiming sincerity.[82] In the case of Ōkawa, Islam became integral to the Asianist invention of the modern self that rejected the Orientalist paradigm.

A FINAL NOTE. Edward Said, in an optimistic strain, once wrote about the émigré "whose consciousness is that of the intellectual and artist in exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages as the source of exilic energies which can articulate the predicaments that disfigure modernity." The Japanese experience with Islam, however, is an early twentieth-century example of how transnational diasporas, "wounded birds that fly into bosoms," can be inherently vulnerable to global power interests and as such is worthy of reflecting upon in this day and age.[83] Political actors such as Ibrahim, Kurban Ali, and Tewfik Pasha had voluntarily come to the doorstep of Japan when it was the rising star against the imperialist West. World power politics mutated their former intellectual vision of a reform and modernism suitable for Islam

[81] See Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), for the case in Afghanistan.

[82] On agents see Said, *Orientalism*, 210, 224–25, 241; Elizabeth Monroe, *Philby of Arabia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 151–62. One exception would be Kim Philby's father John Philby, who converted to Islam in 1931 and became Sheik Abdullah.

[83] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1994), 403.

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inspired by the Japanese experience. By 1941, the diaspora in search of a liberator had become an instrument of Japan's propaganda and intelligence in Asia. Away from his family, which was dispersed between Russia and Turkey, Ibrahim died in Tokyo in 1944 at the age of ninety-two, and was buried with an official ceremony attended by Japanese dignitaries and local Muslims. Kurban Ali, arrested by the Soviets in 1945, died in a Siberian prison camp in 1972. Some Tatars immigrated to Turkey, becoming Turkish citizens. Others went to the United States. Few chose to remain in Japan. But their identity as Tatars, Muslims, or Turks no longer fit the American orientation of postwar Japanese society, which developed amnesia about its prewar Asianist past. Japan and the world of Islam became a forgotten political legacy.[84]

[84] Roy James, who was a popular media figure in 1960s Japan, most likely would not have received such acclaim if it were known that his given name was Ramadan, the holiest of months in the Islamic calendar. James (who spoke stilted English but had the physical appearance of a Westerner) was the son of a religious cleric serving the Tokyo mosque who was a member of the émigré community from Russia.

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Review Essay

The Amateur in the Operating Room: History and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning

DAVID PACE

CONSIDER TWO LECTURERS. The first had access to state-of-the-art knowledge. This historian could draw upon complex interpretations of human behavior, sophisticated models of the manner in which different social groups form visions of reality, and well-defined methodologies for analyzing evidence. The lecture was part of a great collective enterprise in which the efforts of generations of scholars had been systematically combined to produce a greater understanding of the past. The second lecturer operated almost entirely in isolation. Except for chance encounters with folk beliefs about the subject, this historian had few resources to work with and, of necessity, had to base the presentation on knowledge that would have been unremarkable fifty years earlier. In comparison with the first lecture, the second was marked by a relatively simplistic understanding of human interactions, little sensitivity to the manner in which different groups experience the world, and a cursory and very impressionistic consideration of the evidence.

There are few historians who would not prefer to be in the situation of the first lecturer. Yet these were two aspects of the same lecture, and this strange juxtaposition of such dissimilar forms of knowledge occurs daily in history classrooms at virtually every college and university in the United States. Behind every act of teaching there are two different forms of knowledge: knowledge of the subject matter, and knowledge of how it may be taught and learned. Just as every act of researching the past depends on an understanding of the historical period, the secondary literature on the subject, and relevant methodologies, so every act of teaching history rests upon knowledge of the challenges posed by a particular subject matter, access to collective notions about how students learn, and an understanding of specific strategies to make teaching more effective. But the manner in which these two forms of knowledge are generated could not be more different, for the transition from amateur to expert that occurred long ago in the realm of research has not yet been completed in that of teaching.

The goal of this article is to examine efforts to bridge the chasm between these

I want to thank the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education, the Pew Charitable Trust, and Indiana University for giving me time and support to work on this article. I also want to express my thanks to Carlos Bakota, Alan Booth, Barbara Cambridge, Lendol Calder, Georg'ann Cattelona, Bill Cutler, Mary Taylor Huber, Pat Hutchings, Paul Hyland, T. Mills Kelly, Sherry Linkon, James Madison, Joan Middendorf, Craig Nelson, Lee Shulman, Michael Smith, and all of the fellows of the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning.

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two aspects of historical practice. It will seek to define what a scholarship of teaching and learning history might look like, and it will review the efforts of scholars to introduce into the realm of teaching history some of the rigor that marks our activities in the realm of research. Finally, it will consider arguments for and against this line of inquiry and suggest directions for future research in this area.

Ironically, the contrasts in the expectations of rigor in these two realms of historical knowledge have been made more disturbing by the growing sophistication of historical research. Our visions of historical actors have become much more complicated without this new complexity being reflected broadly in our knowledge about teaching and learning. Historians whose study of the past involves complex notions of the construction of self and other and of the relationship between knowledge and power often revert to a crude and naïve empiricism when they enter the realm of teaching, and this mismatch makes the inconsistencies between our knowledge about history and our knowledge about teaching history much more problematic than they were in earlier generations.

The asymmetry in our knowledge reflects the very different ways in which the practices of research and teaching have evolved within our profession. Historians have systematically worked together for more than a century to give researchers the tools that they need to do their jobs. Before they are asked to generate new knowledge about the past or even to share what has been learned with students, historians are provided with careful training, access to the writings of others in the field, and careful evaluation and feedback by peers. In the process, evidence is systematically collected, assumptions are carefully examined, and competing interpretations are weighed against one another. And the entire enterprise is infused with a commitment to rigor and collective responsibility.

Historians facing the challenges of *teaching* history are generally quite bereft of any of these advantages. Most of us care passionately about teaching and believe that it is vitally important that students be exposed to the kinds of reasoning and the knowledge of the past that members of our profession have developed. But until very recently it was believed that no formal training was necessary before historians began thinking about teaching and learning, no examination of the efforts of other scholars, no collective effort to ground knowledge as firmly as possible. Historians who devoted years to systematically collecting and evaluating evidence about the topics of their research were expected to base their teaching strategies on random impressions or oral folklore about what works in the classroom. Assumptions about learning were rarely examined, and traditional approaches to teaching were passed informally from generation to generation with little systematic evaluation of their effectiveness. Outside of this haphazardly shared folk wisdom, historians generally formed notions about teaching in isolation, and instructors were often totally ignorant of the pedagogical discoveries of colleagues teaching in the next classroom. In short, one might apply to most of our knowledge about teaching history Alan Booth's observation that our system for assessing student learning "is based on precedent rather than systematic reflection about the learning needs of history students."[1]

[1] Alan Booth, "Changing Assessment to Improve Learning," in Alan Booth and Paul Hyland, eds., *History in Higher Education: New Directions in Teaching and Learning* (Oxford, 1996), p. 261.

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The contrast between these two forms of knowledge raises major questions about the way that we prepare historians to respond to the challenges that they will face in the classroom. Is it fair to either the teacher or the student to deny to the realm of teaching the rigor and professionalism that we expect in the researcher? As Mariolina Rizzi Salvatori and Patricia Donahue have suggested, should we "apply to talking and writing about teaching the same standards of professional accountability that govern more traditional scholarship in the field ... [and reconfigure] teaching from an amateur to an expert activity?"[2]

This kind of question has been gaining increasing currency since 1990, when Ernest Boyer popularized the term "scholarship of teaching" in *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*.[3] Major foundations, including the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Pew Charitable Trust, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, as well as the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), the Association of American Colleges and Universities, the Council of Graduate Schools, and a number of professional organizations, have launched initiatives designed to help faculty members in all disciplines develop rigorous scholarship about teaching and learning in their disciplines. More than 200 campuses have participated in AAHE-sponsored programs in the scholarship of teaching and learning, well over 100 faculty fellows from a wide range of disciplines have launched research projects in this area as part of the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, and disciplinary societies, including the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, have strongly endorsed this effort. And, finally, graduate students on many campuses are now beginning their professional careers with a knowledge of the scholarly literature on teaching and learning because of the spread of Preparing Future Faculty programs.[4]

Two on-line journals have appeared in this new field, as have a number of programmatic essays that examine the directions the field might take in academia as a whole and in particular disciplines. Of interest are Mary Taylor Huber and Sherwyn P. Morreale's *Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning: Exploring Common Ground*, which includes an excellent article by historians Lendol Calder, William Cutler, and T. Mills Kelly, and Alan Booth's

[2] Marolina Rizzi Salvatori and Patricia Donahue, "English Studies in the Scholarship of Teaching," in Mary Taylor Huber and Sherwyn P. Morreale, eds., *Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning: Exploring Common Ground* (Washington, D.C, 2002), p. 83.

[3] Ernest L. Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* (New Jersey, 1990).

[4] For more information about the development of Preparing Future Faculty programs, see *http://www.preparing-faculty.org/*. Among the factors that have been suggested as contributing to the rapid development of this new field include the entry of new groups of non-elite students into higher education, the influence of powerful groups such as the National Science Foundation and the accrediting bodies in fields such as engineering and accounting, and the impact of new teaching technologies. For more information on the development of these trends, see see Marvin Lazerson, Ursula Wagener, and Nichole Sumanis, "Teaching and Learning in Higher Education, 1980–2000," *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning* 32: 3 (2000): 12–19; Maryellen Weimer, "The Disciplinary Journals on Pedagogy," *Change* 25: 6 (1993): 44–51. By the mid-1990s "and learning" had been added to the term "scholarship of teaching" in response to the shift of focus from what instructors do to what students learn. This emphasis on the "learning paradigm" was popularized by Robert B. Barr and John Tagg in "From Teaching to Learning: A New Paradigm for Undergraduate Education," *Change* 27: 6 (1995): 13–25.

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forthcoming essay, "Rethinking the Scholarly: Developing the Scholarship of Teaching in History."[5]

Behind these efforts is a belief in the possibility and potentiality of a scholarship of teaching and learning that has many of the essential qualities of the forms of research with which we have long been familiar. Lee Shulman, the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, has argued that this new form of knowledge must be "*public*, susceptible to *critical review and evaluation*, and accessible for *exchange and use* by other members of one's scholarly community."[6] The precise definition of the scholarship of teaching and learning has been contested, but a consensus has formed within growing circles in academia that there is scholarly research to be done on teaching and learning, that the systematic creation of rigorous knowledge about teaching and learning is a crucial prerequisite to responding to major challenges facing academia, that this knowledge must be shared publicly and should build cumulatively over time, and that the explorations of this area should be conducted by academics from all disciplines, not just those with appointments in schools of education. Advocates of this new form of enquiry would agree with Salvatori and Donahue's argument that "We need a culture of teaching as intellectual work—work that can be theorized, work whose parameters and conditions of possibility can be analyzed and evaluated in accordance with formally articulated standards, work that can be interpreted within a framework of disciplinary knowledge and modes of inquiry."[7]

In these discussions a distinction is often made between the scholarship of teaching and learning, in which faculty make their own original contributions to the field, and scholarly teaching, in which professors make use of this literature to increase learning.[8] While there would presumably be a limited number of academics who make original contributions to the scholarship of teaching and learning, a much larger number of professors would become scholarly teachers who as a matter of course stay abreast of the major issues being discussed in this scholarship. These

[5] Lendol Calder, William W. Cutler III, and T. Mills Kelly, "History Lessons: Historians and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning" in Huber and Morreale, eds., *Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* (2002): 45–67; Alan Booth, "Rethinking the Scholarly: Developing the Scholarship of Teaching in History," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 3: 3 (2004): 247–66. Other important programmatic essays on the scholarship of teaching and learning include Lee S. Shulman, "Teaching as Community Property: Putting an End to Pedagogical Solitude," *Change* 25: 6 (1993): 6–7; Pat Hutchings and Lee Shulman "The Scholarship of Teaching: New Elaborations, New Developments," *Change* 31: 5 (1999); Barbara Cambridge, "The Scholarship of Teaching and Learning: Questions and Answers from the Field," *AAHE Bulletin* 52: 4 (1999): 7–10; Randy Bass, "The Scholarship of Teaching: What's the Problem?" *Inventio: Creative Thinking about Teaching and Learning* 1: 1 (1999), available at *http://www.doiit.gmu.edu/Archives/feb98/randybass.htm*; Lee Shulman, "From Minsk To Pinsk: Why A Scholarship Of Teaching And Learning?" *The Journal of Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, 1: 1 (2000), *http://www.iusb.edu/~josotl/contents.v2.htm*; Pat Hutchings, *Opening Lines: Approaches to the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* (Menlo Park, Calif., 2000); "Roundtable on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35: 2 (2002): 223–28; Pat Hutchings, ed., *Ethics of Inquiry: Issues in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* (Menlo Park, Calif., 2002).

[6] Lee Shulman, "Course Anatomy: The Dissection and Analysis of Knowledge Through Teaching," in Pat Hutchings, ed.,*The Course Portfolio: How Faculty Can Examine Their Teaching to Advance Practice and Improve Student Learning* (Washington, D.C., 1988), p. 5. The emphasis is Shulman's.

[7] Salvatori and Donahue, "English Studies in the Scholarship of Teaching," p. 84.

[8] See Shulman, "Teaching and Community Property," pp. 6–7; Hutchings and Shulman, "The Scholarship of Teaching: New Elaborations, New Developments," pp. 10–15; Salvatori and Donahue, "English Studies in the Scholarship of Teaching," pp. 80–81.

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different roles are obviously two aspects of the same project, since the scholarship of teaching and learning would lose its *raison d'être* if the result of its labors had no impact on classroom practices, and scholarly teaching presumes a steady stream of new pedagogical research.

At the core of this entire project is the realization that all academic learning is discipline specific and that generic strategies for improving teaching are of limited effectiveness.[9] In this view, a discipline such as history represents a unique epistemological and methodological community, whose rules and procedures must be fully understood and made explicit before we can generate rigorous knowledge about teaching and learning in our field. It is increasingly believed that advances in teaching calculus or accounting, for example, are useful to a history instructor only after they have been reconsidered in terms of the conditions of knowledge in that discipline. Therefore, advocates of a scholarship of teaching and learning argue that it is time to develop a new vision of higher education in which some of the expert practitioners in each field actively contribute to the generation and dissemination of pedagogical knowledge.

Let us postpone until later in this essay a discussion of the advisability of accepting this challenge, and first consider what resources might be available to assist historians, should they decide to make their own contribution to the creation of a rigorous and extensive scholarship of teaching and learning history. In the first place, there is a treasure trove of examples of pedagogical experience in the back issues of journals, such as *The History Teacher*, *Teaching History*, *Perspectives*, and *The Magazine of History*, and in collections such as *Experiments in History Teaching*, *History Anew: Innovations in the Teaching of History Today*, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, *History in Higher Education*, and *The Practice of University History Teaching*.[10] Many of these articles already provide valuable examples of how the scholarship of teaching and learning can illuminate teaching. Other works represent a kind of way station on the path to a fully realized scholarship of teaching and learning history, somewhat analogous to Thomas Kuhn's preparadigmatic sciences. Such articles often capture the best practices of very effective history instructors, and presentations of this sort will remain a very important part of our collective effort to improve the teaching of history. But this type of study lacks the mark of fully developed scholarship because it stands alone without building on the research of others, provides little demonstration of effectiveness of the methods being used beyond the author's impression that they did or must work, or lacks a clear theoretical framework within which teaching strategies can be situated. Such

[9] See, for example, Lee S. Shulman, "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching," *Educational Researcher* 15: 2 (1986): 4–14; John Seely Brown, Allan Collins, and Paul Duguid, "Situated Cognition and the Culture of Learning," *Educational Researcher*, 18: 1 (1989): 32–41; Sheila Tobias, "Disciplinary Cultures and General Education: What Can We Learn from Our Learners?" *Teaching Excellence* 4: 6 (1992–1993): 1–3; Janet Donald, *Learning to Think: Disciplinary Perspectives* (San Francisco, 2002).

[10] Stephen Botein, Warfren Leon, Michael Novak, Roy Rosenzweig, and G. B. Warren, eds., *Experiments in History Teaching* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Robert Blackey, ed., *History Anew: Innovations in the Teaching of History Today* (Long Beach, Calif., 1993); Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York, 2000); Booth and Hyland, eds., *History in Higher Education*; Alan Booth and Paul Hyland, eds., *The Practice of University History Teaching* (Manchester, England, 2000).

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studies can, however, be invaluable as a starting point for scholarly investigations, since they raise so many potentially rich questions about the specific nature of learning and teaching history. It is easy to imagine synthetic publications that would survey writings on particular topics, link them to other works on common theoretical problems, assess the validity of their claims, and make this literature more readily accessible to those engaged in scholarly teaching.

Contemporary educational research also offers a great deal to historians wishing to enter into the systematic exploration of learning history, and many of the educational researchers most involved in this work in recent years have made the task easier by couching much of it in a language familiar to professional historians. Two broad questions stand out in this body of work that would be of great importance to the further development of a scholarship of teaching and learning history. First, what do students bring to the history classroom that may have a major impact on their learning? What visions of the world, models for human interaction, or assumptions about the nature of history itself have already been inscribed on the "blank slate" that we so often imagine exists at the beginning of a semester? And second, precisely what must students do to succeed in history courses? What mental operations and procedures must they master in order to think historically?

The first notion—that we need to understand better what ways of thinking students bring into the classroom—represents the rejection of an older vision of education that saw students as empty vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge. In this model, the classroom was viewed as more or less isolated from the broader world, and a failure to learn was considered to be the result of the student's stupidity or lack of commitment. It is now clear that learning can be interrupted by the kinds of powerful nonacademic visions of the past that have been explored by Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen in *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life.*[11]

If we are to develop better strategies for introducing students to a deeper understanding of the past, we will need clearer ideas of what students are bringing into college history classes, and educational researchers have already begun this effort. Samuel Wineburg and Peter Siexas have explored the manner in which "school history" is often overwhelmed by creations of popular culture, such as *Forrest Gump* and even *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure.*[12] Other scholars have considered the ways that primary and secondary schools give an ideological spin to visions of the past that can create problems on the college level. Linda Levstik, for example, asked elementary and middle-school students, teachers, and teacher candidates to arrange a series of captioned pictures in a timeline of American history. The teachers' explanations of these choices offer a snapshot of the

[11] Roy Rosenzweig, "How Americans Use and Think about the Past: Implications from a National Survey for the Teaching of History" in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, pp. 262–83; Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998): pp. 109–13, 168–69, 175–76, 179–80.

[12] Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2001), pp. 232–55; Sam Wineburg, Susan Mosborg, and Dan Porat, "What Can Forrest Gump Tell Us about Students' Historical Understanding?" *Social Education* 65: 1 (2001): 55–58; Peter Seixas, "Preservice Teachers Assess Students' Prior Historical Understanding," *Social Studies* 85: 2 (1994): 91–95.

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reproduction of a triumphalist narrative that officially celebrates diversity but ends the process of inclusion with the civil rights movement in the 1950s and consistently presents events from the perspective of politically dominant groups. Aspects of American history that did not fit on this patriotic tableau simply did not exist for the present or future teachers.[13] Studies such as these can give us an understanding of the narratives that students bring to college from popular culture or from their earlier history courses and can greatly assist us in designing courses that effectively introduce students to more sophisticated ways of conceptualizing the past. These studies could, for example, lead to the creation of model questionnaires that survey students' understanding of history that would give faculty a clearer idea of potential obstacles to learning at the beginning of introductory courses.

In another study that could be very useful to those teaching college history, Margaret McKeown and Isabel Beck have created a sophisticated and very nuanced understanding of fifth and sixth graders' knowledge and ignorance of the American Revolution by asking students a carefully structured series of questions and then systematically processing the transcripts of the interviews. Not satisfied with simple designations of correct or incorrect answers, they sought to define categories of partial knowledge. Some students responded to certain questions by providing a "government stew" in which they demonstrated some knowledge of different aspects of government but were unable to use this knowledge effectively. Other questions elicited "associations to a broad concept" in which students related particular issues to ill-defined terms such as "freedom." The category of "narrow associations" was used to represent answers that provided details, such as the names of particular colonies, without any larger understanding. The result was a series of "semantic maps" for each student in which the presence or absence of particular links between basic ideas could be charted.

The richness of McKeown and Beck's study cannot be captured in a short summary, but their conclusions suggest parallel studies on the college level would be very valuable. They found, for example, that standard elementary texts focus a great deal of space on knowledge that was not completely foreign to the students but fail even to touch on crucial areas in which ignorance was common. In their most telling criticism they noted that, while an understanding of the American Revolution absolutely required an understanding of England's role vis-à-vis the colonies and of the notion of political representation itself, these ideas were present neither in the texts nor in the students' prior understanding of the subject. And, while as a group sixth-grade students who had already taken American history did better in answering most of the questions than the fifth graders who had not, there were areas in which the ability of the students to respond actually declined. McKeown and Beck's data strongly suggest that the addition of more isolated facts without a clear explanatory structure caused more students to move to areas such as "document stew" where they were unable to construct a coherent position from

[13] Levstik also noted students' subtle deviations from this vision of American history and the efforts of the present and future teachers to assure that the narrative was imposed. Linda S. Levstik, "Articulating the Silences: Teachers' and Adolescents' Conceptions of Historical Significance," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, pp. 284–305. See also Linda S. Levstik and C. Pappas, "New Directions for Studying Historical Understanding," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 20: 4 (1992): 369–85.

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what they had been taught.[14] The construction of parallel maps of the typical patterns of ignorance and knowledge of college students entering different types of institutions could give us a general picture of what needs to be taught in various types of courses, and the development of model pretests could give us a better understanding of patterns in a specific class.

Since the 1980s, educational researchers have also been concerned with a deeper level of preexisting cognitive organization that can interfere with student learning. For example, it is now widely recognized that, long before they enter a high school or college physics course, students have of necessity already created rough "Aristotelian" approximations of the physical world that can prevent them from mastering the physics of Isaac Newton and Albert Einstein. In many cases, they are able to fill in the correct blanks on science tests, but these earlier ways of understanding often reassert their primacy as soon as the students leave the classroom.

In *The Unschooled Mind*, Howard Gardner posited that "Just as people's theories of matter, or of life, bias them toward interpreting physical phenomena in certain ways, so too their theories of mind, of person, or of self play a major role in the ways in which they interpret texts about human nature." And he suggested a few areas where such early patterns of social learning might create obstacles to assimilating historians' views of the past, such as the expectation that history is organized according to narrative patterns that make a certain kind of moral sense, that events have a single cause, and that general stereotypes can be applied to entire classes of people.[15]

There have been some efforts to develop this kind of analysis of students' naïve historical reasoning. Judith Torney-Purta studied the attempts of American high school students to explain a historical phenomenon and found that many of the students conceptualized history entirely in terms of individual agency. In an analysis of a discussion in a Swedish high school, O. Haldén found a similar pattern and documented the persistence of this way of reasoning about the past in the face of the teacher's efforts to help students see the importance of institutional factors. The latter study was particularly disturbing, since Haldén's analysis of the transcript of a discussion session demonstrated that the students learned what words to repeat to give the teacher the illusion that they had mastered a more complex interpretation of the past, despite the fact that no learning had really taken place.[16]

Such research has, however, only begun the task of creating a systematic understanding of students' ways of thinking about the past and the manner in which

[14] Margaret G. McKeown and Isabel L. Beck, "The Assessment and Characterization of Young Learners' Knowledge of a Topic in History," *American Educational Research Journal* 27: 4 (1990): 688–726. See also Gaea Leinhardt, Catherine Stainton, Salim M. Virjit, and Elizabeth Odoroff, "Learning to Reason in History," in Mario Carretero and James F. Voss, eds., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences* (Hillsdale, N.J., 1994): pp. 131–58.

[15] Howard Gardner, *The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach* (New York, 1995); pp. 172–75.

[16] Judith Torney-Purta, "Dimensions of Adolescents' Reasoning about Political and Historical Issues: Ontological Switches, Developmental Processes, and Situated Learning," in Carretero and Voss, eds., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, pp. 103–22; O. Haldén, "Paradox of Understanding History," in Gaea Leinhardt, Isabel L. Beck, and Catherine Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History* (Hillsdale, N.J.: 1994), pp. 27–46.

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these processes can interact with the forms of historical thinking expected in college classrooms. We need to generate studies comparing the strategies different groups of students have developed for explaining social phenomena, the amount of change in these processes produced by typical college history courses, and the relative effectiveness of different approaches to teaching at broadening and systematizing notions of the past.[17] It would also be useful to design model pre- and post-tests that would allow faculty to examine changes in their students' models of social and historical interactions across a semester.

The study of students' prior conceptions of the past leads immediately to its converse: the exploration of the forms of thinking that students will have to adopt if they are to be successful in college history classes. As we have seen, at the core of the entire project of a scholarship of teaching and learning is the belief that disciplinary thinking is crucial to learning. Therefore a central goal of this work is to define as clearly as possible the kinds of thinking that students typically have to do in each academic field and to devise strategies for introducing students to these mental operations as effectively as possible. This is particularly important in educational systems in which students regularly move from one discipline to another several times in the course of a day. The very success students experience in one class may become a barrier to learning in the next, since they will understandably attempt to transfer successful strategies even when this is quite inappropriate.

If we are to help students make a successful transition into the realm of history, we must have a very firm and conscious understanding of what makes our discipline special and what kinds of mental operations and procedures students must master to succeed in it. At first glance, this may seem like a simple process, since we have been operating as historians for most of our professional lives. But, as future history professors, the most basic steps in thinking like a historian were probably so obvious to us as undergraduates that we were scarcely aware of learning them, and in any case that learning is probably buried so deeply under our later training that we are no longer fully conscious of how we do what we do. For this reason, developing strategies for helping students learn to do history must be preceded by a systematic effort at making explicit what they need to be able to do to reach this goal. As Robert B. Bain has written, "The problem for history teachers begins with trying to understand what defines meaning-making in history."[18]

The problematic nature of history's unique methods of "meaning-making" is nowhere more obvious than in the area of reading. In a series of fascinating articles, now included in *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, Wineburg has demonstrated that the moment a professional historian picks up a page, he or she begins taking a sophisticated series of steps that are almost completely unknown to the novice learner. When presented with a document, virtually every history

[17] Gardner suggests that this process could be accelerated by immersing students in the central problems of historical research, relating the events of the past more closely to their own experience, and providing students with frequent occasions to view the same phenomena from multiple perspectives. But this barely begins to address the challenges posed by preexisting notions of history. See Gardner, *The Unschooled Mind*, pp. 236–38.

[18] Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction" in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, p. 332.

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professor that he observed—but less than a third of the students—began by looking at the bottom of the page in search of information about the author and the nature of the source that would help situate the text within some larger context. But this was only the most obvious of the steps that the experts went through, as they treated texts as complex "rhetorical acts" whose basic nature had to be reconstructed. The historians zigzagged from one text to another in order to make explicit the motivations of the authors, to relate the text to its historical context, to explore the connotations of the words used to describe events, and even to construct a "mock reader" who fell into the rhetorical traps set by the "mock author" who was posited as creator of the text. As Wineburg noted, for the historians:

> . . . texts are not lifeless strings of facts, but the keys to unlocking the character of human beings, people with likes and dislikes, biases and foibles, airs and convictions. Words have texture and shape, and it is their almost tactile quality that lets readers sculpt images of the writers who use them. These images are then interrogated, mocked, congratulated, or dismissed, depending on the context of the reading and the disposition of the reader. In such readings, authors, as well as texts, are decoded.[19]

Wineburg's analysis of the micro-steps through which this kind of knowledge is realized is essential reading for anyone interested in helping students learn history or even for one seeking to gain a better understanding of the epistemology of our discipline. And the complexity of these mental operations is all the more striking when they are compared with the assumption, common to almost all of the students in his studies, that the text is a passive receptacle bearing information directly from the author to the reader. It is important to note that the difference between the two forms of reading does not reside in the store of facts that historians have accumulated about the topic. Most of the historians in Wineburg's study were not specialists in the period being considered, and some did no better than some of the advanced placement high school students on factual tests about the era. But, when the students began to read, they were not playing the same "game" as the historians. As Wineburg suggests, the historians read the texts like prosecuting attorneys, whereas the students acted "like jurors, patiently listening to testimony and questioning themselves about what they heard, but unable to question witnesses directly or subject them to cross-examination."[20]

Wineburg's studies of novice and expert reading strategies also offer new insights into the perennial problem of "presentism" in student encounters with material from the past. He follows the reasoning of "Derek," a very bright high school student who was able to read a passage about the American Revolution with great insight, but then abandoned what he had just learned when it came into conflict with conceptions of human nature derived from his own society and generalized to all humanity. When Wineburg presented students with a set of documents in which Abraham Lincoln discussed race and slavery, they either

[19] Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 74; see also pp. 17–22, 63–112; "Probing the Depths of Students' Historical Knowledge," *Perspectives* 30: 3 (1992): 20–24; "The Cognitive Representation of Historical Texts," in Leinhardt, Beck, and Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History*, pp. 85–135. See also Samuel S. Wineburg and Janice Fournier, "Contextualized Thinking in History," in Carretero and Voss, eds., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, pp. 285–308.

[20] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 77.

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dismissed Lincoln by associating him with the atemporal category of "racist" or projected the categories of their own era back into the nineteenth century by treating him as a cyncial "spin doctor." However, where the students found certainty, the historians in Wineburg's studies found confusion. For them words like "natural rights" and "physical differences" were not simple signs that could be interpreted in terms of their meanings today but rather question marks that kept leading back to the central question: "What could Lincoln's words mean in that world?" In a fascinating phrase, Wineburg describes one of the historians as "an expert at cultivating puzzlement," and he makes it clear that it is just such efforts to undercut our own natural reading of the text that allow us to escape some of the limitations of our own period and that distinguish our reading processes from those of novice learners in the field of history.[21]

Wineburg is not the only researcher offering important insights into the kinds of mental operations implicitly expected of students in history courses, operations that often become visible through detailed analyses of the kinds of mistakes students make when trying to perform tasks that are second nature to the professional historian. One team of researchers presented undergraduates and history professors with a series of primary and secondary texts on the acquisition of the land to build the Panama Canal and then compared the ways in which the two groups identified author bias, grappled with inconsistencies among the texts, recognized material that was missing from the texts, and resolved conflicting views. In another study McKeown and Beck have sought to reconstruct the efforts of primary and middle-school students to make sense of the sections of their textbooks.[22]

Denis Shemilt has presented a fascinating picture of the difficulty a group of British secondary students had in generating coherent historical narratives. Many students in his study produced lists rather than narratives, as in the case of a student whose understanding of the history of medicine was reduced to a "timeline comprised of a *list* of notable physicians, inventions, and discoveries that had no more narrative logic than the alphabet. Hippocrates comes before Galen as 'G' precedes 'H'." Shemilt compared this student's experience to a child viewing the disjointed scenes of a "trailer" without any understanding of what a film is. Other students were able to construct a basic narrative structure, but the elements in their story were bound together by a sense of absolute inevitability that ruled out all real understanding of causation. And others saw history as a series of "headline actions and events" followed by periods in which nothing happens. An image of what historians themselves do in creating narratives emerges from Shemilt's analysis like a photograph from its negative, and this heightened awareness of the mental operations we expect can help us to help students master them. Thus, Shemilt found that by rewriting sample secondary texts in ways that emphasized the kinds of

[21] *Ibid*, pp. 17–22.

[22] Charles A. Perfetti, M. Anne Britt, Jean-François Rouet, Mara C. Georgi, and Robert A. Mason, "How Students Use Texts to Learn and Reason about Historical Uncertainty," Carretero and Voss, eds., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, pp. 257–83; M. Anne Britt, Jean François Rouet, Mara C. Georgi, and Charles A. Perfetti, "Learning from History Texts: From Causal Analysis to Argument Models," in Leinhardt, Beck, and Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History*, pp. 47–84; Margaret G. McKeown and Isabel L. Beck, "Making Sense of Accounts of History: Why They Don't and How They Might," in Leinhardt, Beck, and Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History*, pp. 1–26.

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narrative continuities expected in history, students were much more able to internalize the rules for telling historical "stories."[23]

Similar concerns motivated studies by Gaea Leinhardt and Kathleen McCarthy Young, who have identified three basic organizational patterns in student history papers: the list (a series of unconnected items), the specified list (a set of items organized around an abstract rhetorical theme), and the causal list (an integrated essay in which inherent patterns of causation provide the basic order for the paper). Using this model and the types of "connectors" commonly used to link items in each of these schemas, Leinhardt followed the progress of "Paul," an intelligent high school student, as he slowly mastered these forms of presenting history.[24] Leinhardt's analysis is too rich to capture in a brief summary, but, like parallel studies by McCarthy Young, Stuart Greene and Dai Hounsell,[25] she presents us, once again, with the realization that some of the most important aspects of doing history are rarely if ever taught. As Leinhardt has pointed out, success at writing a paper assumes not only generic writing skills and an understanding of the material but also an understanding of "what is worth talking about, and exactly how that talking will proceed" in a history class.[26]

Studies such as these point to a fundamental challenge facing those of us entrusted with teaching college history: students are entering our courses without an understanding of the kinds of reasoning required to think historically. Wineburg has argued the very nature of the primary and secondary school curriculum makes it difficult for students to adapt to the discipline-specific forms of reasoning that they will encounter in college history courses. For years before they arrive at college, they are presented with generic tests of reading comprehension and with textbooks in which "the historical text becomes the 'school text,' and soon bears a greater resemblance to other school texts—in biology, language arts, and other subjects—than to its rightful disciplinary referent." Once the footnotes and the structure of evidence and argument have been stripped away, the "epistemological distinctions" that lie at the heart of disciplines disappear, and "we too often end up teaching a single tongue."[27] This process creates young people who begin higher education without any notion that they need to tailor their reading strategies to the nature of the disciplines that they are studying.

A major revolution in the secondary school curriculum to eliminate the problems with primary and secondary education identified by scholars like Wineburg would, of course, be highly desirable. But while we are waiting for that unlikely event, the studies cited above strongly suggest that it would be advisable to find

[23] Denis Shemilt, "The Caliph's Coin: The Currency of Narrative Frameworks in History Teaching," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, pp. 83–101.

[24] Kathleen McCarthy Young and Gaea Leinhardt, "Writing from Primary Documents: A Way of Knowing in History," *Written Communication* 15: 1 (1998): 25–86; Gaea Leinhardt, "Lessons on Teaching and Learning in History from Paul's Pen," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, pp. 223–45.

[25] Stuart Greene, "Students as Authors in the Study of History," in Leinhardt, Beck, and Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History*, pp. 137–70; Dai Hounsell, "Reappraising and Recasting the History Essay," in Booth and Hyland, eds., *The Practice of University History Teaching*, pp. 181–93.

[26] Gaea Leinhardt, "A Time to Be Mindful," in Leinhardt, Beck, and Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History* (Hillsdale, N.J., 1994), pp. 209–54.

[27] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 77–79.

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more effective ways to help students make the transition into the forms of thinking and of rhetoric that they will need in college history courses. If students bring dysfunctional strategies to reading and other core course activities, it is quite unlikely that they will really encounter the "big ideas" that we feel are so important in the course material. This is of relatively little import if we only expect to examine our students on their retention of facts. But, as soon as learning to analyze, evaluate, compare, or situate particular texts within their historical context becomes an essential requirement for success in our courses, teaching becomes more problematic. The work of researchers such as Wineburg and Leinhardt can help us to find the tools that we need to achieve our goals.

The applicability of such educational research to college history courses was made clear in a recent article by Calder, who adopted the "think aloud" protocol employed in Wineburg's research to measure the extent to which his students were mastering "the habits of historical thinking" in his American history survey.[28] Such studies provide a model for the application of existing scholarship to specific teaching situations at the same time that they extend our knowledge of student learning.

However, it is unlikely that the existing education research will in itself allow us to overcome the obstacles that hinder student learning in our classes. In the first place, most of the existing scholarship focuses on learning at the primary and secondary levels. New studies will be necessary to determine the applicability of this work within the context of higher education and in many cases to reconceptualize these models of student learning. It will also be important to reconsider the impact of different institutional and cultural contexts on the processes of learning described in such studies. Unlike British advocates of a scholarship of teaching and learning, who have been made quite sensitive to the political and institutional aspects of teaching and learning by their collective experience of Thatcher and post-Thatcher educational policies, Americans who are seeking to develop this new field often seek universally applicable principles of education. This is a natural impulse in a new area of inquiry, but, if the scholarship of teaching and learning is to produce studies that are really useful in the history classroom, it will be necessary more systematically to consider and assess their applicability in different national contexts, in different types of institutions within the same nation, and with different types of students.

The development of a scholarship of teaching and learning history, involving as it does an intricate understanding of the ways in which historians, students, and institutions interact, will be difficult to achieve without the active participation of members of our discipline. In the past this involvement has been largely absent. As Wineburg has noted, historians have expected their students to perform complex analytical processes, such as recognizing the biases in a text, but "as a guild historians have been uncharacteristically tight-lipped about how they do so."[29]

[28] Lendol Calder, "Looking for Learning in the History Survey," *Perspectives* (March 2002): 43–45. See also David Pace, "Decoding the Reading of History: An Example of the Process," and Valerie Grim, David Pace, and Leah Shopkow, "Decoding History: Learning to Use Evidence," in David Pace and Joan Middendorf, eds., *Decoding the Disciplines: Helping Students Learn Disciplinary Ways of Thinking*, in *New Directions in Teaching and Learning* No. 98 (Fall 2004).

[29] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, p. 63. It might be argued that the

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Researchers like Wineburg have gone to some length to grasp the major issues in contemporary historiography, but this effort would be greatly facilitated if professional historians were to accept some of the responsibility for defining the kinds of thinking students need to master for success in history classes.

Moreover, it is difficult to see how such research can have a very big impact in the classroom, if historians are not involved in the process of generating it. Great and forbidding walls continue to divide North American university professors both from what happens in the secondary schools and from the efforts of educational researchers to facilitate learning. Even a cursory reading of the best examples of this literature can convince the reader that it is time to begin to breach the divide, but it is unlikely that new and rigorous ideas about teaching and learning will ever be widely applied in college history classes if academic historians are not involved in the creation of such knowledge. As Huber and Morreale have noted, "scholars of teaching and learning must address field specific issues if they are going to be heard in their own disciplines, and they must speak in a language that their colleagues understand."[30] It is historians who are most fluent in this language, and we will need to play a role in shaping this scholarship if it is to be read and used by large numbers of our colleagues.

It remains to be seen whether historians are really qualified to play such a role. Developing knowledge about our students and their learning might take us into areas that seem distant from our professional training. If it is necessary to abandon completely our approaches to scholarship and to begin from scratch to master a new discipline, few historians are apt to contribute to this effort.

On closer consideration, this problem is less serious than might be imagined. In recent years, many educational researchers themselves have moved away from the double blind tests and quantitative analyses that marked classic social science methodologies. There has been a realization that most aspects of real-life classroom situations are too complex and amorphous to be studied only through comparison groups and statistical inferences, and respected leaders in educational research, such as K. Patricia Cross, have questioned whether "further refinement of research methods, new statistical controls, more rigorous standards will lead to greater knowledge."[31] At the same time, the cognitive revolution in psychology has encouraged researchers to think about teaching and learning in a much broader context and to focus on "the cognitive architecture behind a given response—the

extensive literature on the philosophy of history provides the kind of explanation of our discipline that can serve as a foundation for explorations of the cognitive demands of history, and many educational researchers working on history topics refer to this work. But such studies generally focus on epistemological questions that are far removed from the practical steps that must be understood, if we are to model historical reasoning.

[30] Mary Taylor Huber and Sherwyn P. Morreale, "Situating the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning: A Cross-Disciplinary Conversation," in Huber and Morreale, eds., *Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, pp. 2; See also Calder, Cutler, and Kelly, "History Lessons," pp. 57, 61, and Lee S. Shulman, "Foreword," pp. vi-vii, both in *Disciplinary Styles*.

[31] K. Patricia Cross, "What Do We Know About Learning and How Do We Know It?" presented to the American Association for Higher Education Conference on Higher Education, Atlanta, Georgia, March 24, 1998.

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thought patterns, beliefs, misconceptions, and frameworks that students bring to instruction and that influence (and often determine) what they take from it."[32]

As a result, qualitative approaches, often similar to those employed by most historians, are being given ever-increasing respect in the social sciences and schools of education.[33] Unlike researchers in fields such as physics or chemistry, historians do not have to retool intellectually before they can undertake a systematic examination of teaching and learning in their own discipline. As Calder, Cutler, and Kelly have put it, "Historians are accustomed to the kinds of 'fuzzy logic' needed if scholars are to understand a world as complex as a college classroom."[34] Moreover, there are works, such as *Classroom Research: Implementing the Scholarship of Teaching* by Cross and Mimi Harris Steadman, that can greatly assist historians in the process of bridging the narrowing gap between the two kinds of re-search.[35]

The emphasis on the disciplinary nature of learning has also begun to bring pedagogical research and history closer together. As educational researchers have become increasingly convinced that learning is discipline specific, many of them have studied the literature on the philosophy of history, interviewed professional historians, and become familiar with contemporary historiography. As a result, the concepts and the language of educational researchers working on history today are much more familiar to most historians than was the case in previous generations.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS AREAS in which it is easy to imagine that important benefits would be derived by a systematic investigation of issues of teaching and learning history in which professional historians played a major role. In addition to students' prior conceptions of history and the kinds of mental operations required of college history students, we could explore such potentially important issues as the impact of race, gender, sexual orientation, class, region, and learning styles or the implementation of new technologies or teaching methods on learning history. And we could use our skills as researchers to create a better understanding of the historical roots of the issues facing college teachers today.

It remains unclear, however, whether a commitment to the creation of a scholarship of teaching and learning history is appropriate to our discipline at this point in time. The development of such scholarship would presumably minimize the discrepancy between the rigor of our research and the disorganized manner in which knowledge about teaching and learning has been generated and shared in the past, and, if this effort were successful, it would give historians new tools in their efforts to share history with undergraduates. But such a redefinition of historical

[32] Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., "Introduction," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, pp. 3–4.

[33] This convergence has been noted by researchers in education, such as Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby of the University of London Institute of Education, who have written that their own effort to reconstruct the ways of thinking of students in the lower grades "is similar to historians' reconstruction of the ideas of people in the past." Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, p. 203.

[34] Calder, Cutler, and Kelly, "History Lessons," p. 61.

[35] K. Patricia Cross and Mimi Harris Steadman, *Classroom Research: Implementing the Scholarship of Teaching* (San Francisco, 1996).

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scholarship might have unintended negative consequences for our profession, and the potential costs of such research should be weighed carefully before we launch this kind of initiative.

The first concern of many historians would undoubtedly be the possibility that the spread of the scholarship of teaching and learning within our discipline would have a major negative impact on existing forms of research. This is, however, probably not a real source for concern, since the great majority of historians would continue to do the kind of work that they are doing at present, and the scholarship of teaching and learning history would no more spell the end to current forms of research than did the appearance of quantitative studies, women's history, or cultural history. New infrastructures for research would have to be created, including the institution of annual conferences, professional organizations, prizes, and networks of peer evaluation parallel to those already existing in other areas of historical scholarship, and contributions to this literature would have to be recognized as a legitimate form of scholarship in tenure, promotion, and salary decisions. But there is no inherent reason why this activity should have a major negative impact on more traditional historical research.

The scholarship of teaching and learning does differ from earlier additions to the research pantheon in that it cannot be considered a success unless a significant portion of those teaching college history become "scholarly teachers" who use the findings of this research to increase student learning in their own classes. This is no small challenge, for, as Paul Hyland has noted, "Historians are not generally renowned for the enthusiasm with which they read and digest the findings of educational research, much of which clearly challenges the assumed effectiveness and universal value of traditional practices such as lecturing and essay-writing."[36]

There are many ways that this assimilation of new ideas about teaching might be supported. The Preparing Future Faculty programs that have begun to appear in graduate history programs could make this much easier by producing a new generation of history faculty who are familiar with the literature of teaching history as well as that of traditional historiography. In the United Kingdom, new faculty are commonly expected to take courses that include the scholarship of teaching, and one research university has made the production of some form of the scholarship of teaching a requirement for all new faculty.[37] Access to the literature on teaching and learning history could be facilitated through the production of review articles that describe and evaluate what is already available and translate works of those in other disciplines into a conceptual language more meaningful to historians—a task that has been begun quite effectively by Wineburg, Suzanne M. Wilson, and Booth.[38] This is particularly important in terms of the literature on learning history

[36] Paul Hyland, "Measuring and Improving the Quality of Teaching," in Booth and Hyland, eds., *History in Higher Education*, p.129.

[37] 2.7 percent of the 595 history graduate students responding to a 1999 survey indicated that they had some access to pedagogical training. Chris M. Goode, "The Career Goals of History Doctoral Students: Data from the Survey on Doctoral Education and Career Preparation," *Perspectives* 39: 7 (October 2001): p. 23; Alan Booth, *Teaching History at University: Enhancing Learning and Understanding* (London, 2003), p. 151. For more information about the development of the PFF programs see http://www.preparing-faculty.org (Follow links to history). See also Terry Lee Seip, *"We Shall Gladly Teach": Preparing History Graduate Students for the Classroom* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

[38] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 28–60; Suzanne M. Wilson, "Review

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at the primary and secondary level, which needs to be carefully filtered to determine what is of greatest relevance to those teaching at the university level. It would also be useful to go back through past writings by historians about their own teaching to collect and systematize "best practices." And it is possible to imagine summer seminars, modeled on the National Endowment for the Humanities research seminars, in which historians could explore the relevant literature on teaching and learning.

But all of these efforts to make work in this field more easily available to professional historians cannot negate the fact that it would take time and energy to engage with the literature on teaching history and to implement ideas inspired by this literature in the classroom. At present, a good deal of time is undoubtedly wasted by faculty, particularly in the early years of their careers, who laboriously reinvent pedagogical "wheels" whose design might have been easily derived from an encounter with the scholarship of teaching and learning. But, even when this increase in efficiency is factored in, it is likely that many historians will find that scholarly teaching takes time—time that must, in most cases, be subtracted from other professional activities. If there is no institutional recognition of this labor, the impact of the scholarship of teaching and learning will be restricted.

Fortunately the scholarly nature of the endeavor makes its integration into the reward system of our profession easier. In the past, teaching has generally been seen as a charismatic activity that was innately difficult to evaluate, whereas research could be easily judged by a system of refereed publications and peer review. But it is important to remember that the complex system that currently gives us a greater sense of certainty in the evaluation of research was itself the result of decades of cultural labor. The very nature of scholarly teaching makes it much easier to imagine a similar process through which the quality of work in this area might be made more subject to systematic review and evaluation. A new genre, the "course portfolio," is currently being created that will allow faculty members who have developed courses informed by scholarly literature to submit their work to external reviewers just as they do traditional historical research. A pilot project is currently underway that will explore the creation of networks to evaluate this research, and historians such as Cutler and Kelly have produced models for the creation of such portfolios in our field.[39]

However, the rationalization and emphasis on assessment that are implicit in the course portfolio and more broadly in the scholarship of teaching and learning, quite legitimately, raise concerns about the desirability of introducing these elements into areas of our professional life where they have not been very much in evidence. The very notion of professionalization and rationalization of teaching raises red flags for some, such as Jan Parker, who has written that "To British ears, of course, 'amateur'

of History Teaching," in Virginia Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (New York, 2001): pp. 527–65; Booth, *Teaching History at University*, pp. 167–71.

[39] William W. Cutler III, "Writing a Course Portfolio for an Introductory Survey Course in American History," in Hutchings, ed., *The Course Portfolio*, pp. 19–24; T. Mills Kelly, "Toward Transparency in Teaching: Publishing a Course Portfolio," *Perspectives* 39: 8 (2001); Joyce Appleby, "Reviving the Teacher-Scholar Ideal," *Perspectives* 35: 4 (1997): 3–4. See *http://www.unl.edu/peerrev/* for more information on project to create networks for the external review of course portfolios.

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has a rather fine ring—lover of subject—and 'expert' sounds a little clinical. I want an expert to fix my washing machine but I am not sure I actually want to be taught, or to have my children taught, by experts."[40] But the opposition of expertise and human interaction that underlies this reaction does not seem to be fully justified. It is unlikely Parker's children would be better served by an amateur pediatrician or that the formal training a physician receives in itself eliminates the possibility of more personal interactions. To return to the realm of education, it could be argued that a more thorough understanding of the kinds of problems students face in history classrooms and a superior set of strategies with which to help would be more likely to increase, rather than eliminate, the possibility of a meaningful encounter.

More serious objections to the systematization of knowledge about teaching history are implicit in an essay historian Michael S. Sherry published in the *Journal of American History* in 1994. Although written before the idea of a scholarship of teaching and learning had been fully formulated, his essay implicitly suggests reasons that we might be wary of calls to make teaching "*public*, susceptible to *critical review and evaluation*, and accessible for *exchange and use* by other members of one's scholarly community," to quote Shulman's maxim once again. Sherry has suggested that the professionalization of teaching could threaten academic freedom and independence. "How and what we teach," he writes, "are largely our choices . . . In teaching we can be ourselves—be more creative, insofar as creativity is nourished by freedom from external scrutiny and by looser conversational methods."[41] Moreover, it is not impossible to imagine misguided administrators or state legislatures seeking to apply a single educational model to college courses.

These political concerns are serious, and, if the scholarship of teaching and learning is to be made an important part of the work of historians, it will be necessary to guard against these possibilities at every stage of the process. But it can also be argued that historians will be in a better position vis-à-vis external forces if at least some members of our profession have more clearly formulated their own goals and methods and have generated their own evidence of the effectiveness of their strategies for increasing student learning. Moreover, if the process of publically sharing ideas automatically leads to thought control, historical research should have long ago collapsed into a narrow orthodoxy. In fact, in the realm of research there is good reason to believe that the rationalization of approaches to traditional historical research and the institutionalization of means of evaluating that work have contributed to, rather than destroyed, the intellectual independence of researchers, and the same result might reasonably be expected in the generation of knowledge about teaching.

Similarly, it is unlikely that the creation of this new knowledge would destroy our sense of independence, creativity, and personal ownership of teaching. There is no doubt that freedom is a crucial element in creativity, but so are a knowledge of the basics of a craft and productive interactions with a community of other

[40] Jan Parker, "Disciplines: Carnegie, Cornell and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 2, 3 (2003): p. 142.

[41] Michael S. Sherry, "We Value Teaching despite—and because of—Its Low Status," *The Journal of American History* 81: 2 (1994): 1051–54. See also Grant Reeher's comments in "Roundtable on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35: 2 (2002): 225–26

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practioners, and nothing in our professional experience is more apt to crush spontaneity and a sense of personal worth than facing problems in the classroom with no effective strategy for coping with them. Scholarly teachers commonly report a sense of great exhilaration when they can bring to their teaching the same intellectual excitement that they have experienced in their research. As Booth has written, for those who chose to enter into this kind of work, it "can lend rigour to teaching, refresh approaches to the subject, generate a sense of well-founded confidence in current practices, and provide a solid foundation for developing as a teacher and meeting future challenges."[42]

This brings us back to the contrast with which this essay began: that between the amateurism that we accept in our knowledge about teaching and the professionalism we demand in other aspects of our work. The notion that teaching is a purely practical activity, based largely on charisma, is dying throughout academia. While there is no doubt that personal gifts often play an important role in successful teaching, this does not negate the fact that systematic knowledge about teaching can be of great assistance. Some historians have a natural gift for research, but we do not leap to the assertion that systematic training, rigorous criteria for judgments, and shared results are irrelevant to that enterprise. Moreover, those with the greatest natural affinity for teaching eventually reach a ceiling that they cannot break through without greater knowledge about the processes of learning, and those with the fewest natural gifts are all the more in need of well-grounded best practices to guide their efforts. As Pat Hutchings recently argued in a roundtable at the meetings of the American Political Science Association, without a scholarship of teaching and learning "Teaching as a profession has no way to improve itself."[43]

The very existence of a growing body of scholarship on teaching and learning is making it increasingly difficult to deny that many aspects of our practice as college history teachers can be grounded in such knowledge. It now seems quite possible that we can replace an understanding of teaching based on folk traditions and unfounded personal impressions with one rooted in a rigorous and collective examination of what fosters student learning. Under such circumstances, it would seem to be a violation of the most basic ethical commitments of our profession to accept as normal what Salvatori and Donahue have called "willed ignorance and the arrogance of not-knowing."[44] Pride in ignorance should be no more honored in teaching than it is in others aspect of our professional life.

There are many peripheral reasons for historians to make a commitment to the development and application of a scholarship of teaching and learning history. This project could prove highly useful in the effort to justify the mission of history and other academic disciplines to outside stakeholders. The development of a shared language about teaching and learning may help assure that we can respond to demands for external accountability without betraying the essential missions of higher education. And the systematic exploration of the kinds of reasoning required

[42] Booth, "Changing Assessment to Improve Learning," p. 261.

[43] "Roundtable on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35: 2 (2002): 223–28.

[44] Salvatori and Donahue, "English Studies in the Scholarship of Teaching," p. 83.

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of history students might even provide insights into our actual practice that would have an impact on research itself.

But at the core of the call for fostering the scholarship of teaching and learning in our discipline is one central question: how much collective responsibility should we accept for increasing student learning of history? If, as Shulman has written, teaching is an act that carries with it "inexorable responsibilities,"[45] then we must consider the obligations we have as the group that has been given both the task of producing new knowledge about the past and that of introducing students at the college level to this knowledge.

A crucial aspect of this is our obligation to ourselves. There is evidence that most historians strongly value the opportunity to teach and believe that it is vitally important for students to have a meaningful encounter with history.[46] This is one of the great reasons for joining our profession in the first place. We recognize that history can potentially teach students to evaluate claims critically, to see complex questions from more than one perspective, to understand how different groups can view the same situation in different ways, to recognize the long-term consequences of actions, and to master dozens of other subtle mental operations that are absolutely necessary for their success as individuals and for the very survival of our society.

There is, however, a growing perception that guiding students toward a meaningful encounter with history is becoming more difficult as a shared sense of historicity and of a general temporal framework are gradually being eroded in the broader society.[47] Moreover, the very nature of the history we teach today places greater demands on the instructor than was the case in earlier generations. Not only is current historiography more conceptually demanding, but, as Alan Brinkley, among others, has noted, historians have moved beyond confirming "many of the comfortable myths with which some (perhaps most) Americans viewed their history."[48]

This transformation of both the audience and the nature of history has made teaching in an academic setting more difficult, and yet we continue to send historians into the classroom without the intellectual tools needed to accomplish this task. The link between the moral mission of history and the development of new ways to understand teaching and learning is vitally important to educational researchers such as Wineburg, who has argued quite forcefully that history is a privileged route to overcoming the cultural narcissism that prevents students from understanding people with very different experiences, values, and perspectives.[49] But the existing patterns of socialization in our profession have made it more difficult for historians themselves to make this connection. Faced with a sense of frustration and disempowerment in the classroom, we frequently fall into "student

[45] Lee S. Shulman, "Foreword," in Hutchings, ed., *Ethics of Inquiry*, p.v.

[46] David Thelen, "The Practice of American History," *The Journal of American History* 81: 3 (1994): 945–46; Booth, *Teaching History at University*, pp. 1–2.

[47] See, for example, David Lowenthal, "Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History," in Stearns, Sexias, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, pp. 63–82.

[48] Alan Brinkley, "Historians and their Public," *Journal of American History* 81: 3 (1994): 1027–30.

[49] Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, pp. 23–24.

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bashing" and disparagement of teaching—responses that are apt only to make the situation worse.

The creation and dissemination of better tools for responding to the challenges of teaching history today could allow us to apply the intellectual skills that we have honed so carefully to the solution of the very real problems that we face in the classroom and that the nation as a whole faces on a larger scale. If we fail to respond to this challenge, we may condemn ourselves and our profession to impotence and irrelevance. The issue of social responsibility is particularly acute if we remember that the question is not whether we should completely abandon research for the sake of teaching, but whether we are willing to redirect a small portion of the energy we devote to our present intellectual quests toward the solution of problems that have great import for our society.

Of equal or even greater importance is the responsibility that we have for the students who take our classes. The classroom is generally inhabited by young people at one of the most vulnerable points in their lives, or by returning students who are struggling to redirect their lives. The success or failure of students in our courses really matters. In such an environment we must ask why it is acceptable for historians to pursue their vocation in total ignorance of what is known about the field, when we would utterly condemn such conduct by other professionals. Why is the classroom a place for the uncritical perpetuation of folk traditions when the operating room is not?

Mel Levine writes of "the sad tales of students who have come to equate education with humiliation."[50] Many of our students arrive in college having experienced twelve years of humiliation in place of an education. Often race or class or ethnicity or gender have been piled on top of negative family dynamics and woefully inadequate school systems to convince our students that they are of little value and that they are condemned to marginality in any intellectual undertaking. If they arrive in a history class that has been conceptualized on the basis of folklore, grounded in notions of learning and social interaction that we would laugh at if they appeared in a research article, and taught without any awareness of the uniqueness of historical reasoning—if, in short, they are taught by an amateur—all of the messages they have received about their personal worthlessness may be reinforced. Once again they will be told that they are inferior to those who have been privileged and pre-educated. If, by contrast, they arrive in a class that is rooted in a shared project of using our collective intelligence to create rigorous knowledge about teaching and learning, at least some may have the opportunity to succeed where they had previously known only failure and to experience that empowering moment in which the limitations and humiliations of a lifetime begin to melt slowly into air.

[50] Mel Levine, *A Mind at a Time* (New York, 2002), p. 14.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

RAYMOND D. CROTTY. *When Histories Collide: The Development and Impact of Individualistic Capitalism*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira. 2001. Pp. xxxvi, 311. Cloth $75.00, paper $29.95.

This is a highly original and engaging book, somewhat mad but wholly convincing on vital issues of the age; it offers nothing less than a philosophic history of humanity. The author was an Irish farmer turned statistician, who then became an agricultural economist for international aid agencies before finishing his career as an economic historian in Dublin. Earlier works by Raymond D. Crotty offered striking theses about cattle and about Irish economic history, and these were flavored by an idiosyncratic mixture of loyalties—to Irish nationalism, the views of Henry George, and to Third World populism more generally. Crotty died in 1992, but the ambitious manuscript he left has now been put into excellent shape by his son, ably abetted by Lars Mjøset (who offers a fine introduction, helpfully distinguishing Crotty's views from those whom he might otherwise seem to resemble).

The baseline for the argument is a particular view of life within agrarian circumstances. The Neolithic Revolution is seen as having effectively caged human populations within fertile river valleys. There was no excess land, and so no sense of individual effort given that a production ceiling had been reached. Accordingly, social life was profoundly collectivist; private property scarcely existed, making just about everyone dependent on the larger community. This static equilibrium has characterized most of the historical record.

Change eventually came from the pastoralists of the roof of the world. Most human beings are lactose intolerant; that is, they become sick if they consume milk. Adaptation amongst pastoralists led to lactose tolerance, allowing the possibility of a surplus and personal capital. However, limits to grazing land meant that no general evolutionary step was taken. Crotty gives stimulating accounts of the inability of pastoralist invasions to produce fundamental change within most of the agrarian world. He describes both the stalemate between agriculturalists and pastoralists in Africa and China, and the destruction of Near East civilizations. Fuller accounts are offered of the uniqueness of the Hindu and Mediterranean worlds, both evolutionary dead ends due to their respective failures: sanctifying cows and depending upon slaves.

But an evolutionary break did occur at the margins. The forests of Central Europe were relatively unpopulated, thereby allowing individuals to generate surpluses through their individual effort. As early as 2000 B.C. a wholly new form of political economy had emerged, namely that of individualistic capitalism. The combination of agriculture and husbandry became ever more effective, allowing for an accumulating increase in capital and prosperity. Technological innovations, revolutions in transport, and conquests of foreign lands enabled Europe to dominate the world.

Crotty has a strikingly differentiated view of the impact of the West on the rest of the world. A first route was that of European settler societies. Here economic development did occur under the aegis of individualist capitalism—something made possible, he wryly notes, as a result of the destruction of native populations. A second route was at once more common and more disastrous. The application of individualist capitalism to collectivist societies leads, in Crotty's view, to nothing less than "undevelopment." Population can increase, and so, too, can the production of all sorts of commodities for export. But there is no fit between native institutions and capitalist individualism, and the result is all too often a combination of declining nutritional levels for the majority together with increasing advantage for the very few who effectively act as agents of the West. The third route stands in contrast to this. Some societies were never incorporated into European empires. The possession of their own institutions makes it possible for endogenous development to take place, in collectivist rather than in individualistic form. The classic case is Japan, but Crotty's general point—that institutional autonomy matters—has a great deal of force, and it applies more widely than is realized.

There are problems with Crotty's account. In the last chapters, Ireland is considered in detail as an exemplar of undevelopment. This makes little sense now, given the performance of the "Celtic Tiger" over the last fifteen years. At a more general level, there is an opportunity/cost to the account. If we benefit from the reduction of world history to a single set of variables,

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we lose from the refusal to take any other factor seriously. But the historical record has unquestionably been affected by world religions and by political forms. Still, no one should now write a world history without coming to terms with this fabulous book.

JOHN A. HALL
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JOHN H. ZAMMITO. *A Nice Derangement of Epistemes: Post-Positivism in the Study of Science from Quine to Latour*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. x, 390. $27.00.

In 1996, the physicist Alan Sokal laid a trap for the nonreviewed, self-consciously radical journal *Social Text*, in the form of an article entitled "Transgressing the Boundaries: Towards a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity." Simultaneously with its publication, he exposed the piece as a hoax in the highbrow magazine of academic gossip, *Lingua Franca*. The ensuing arguments were covered by the mass press in America and elsewhere, usually with a disdainful or mocking tone. Mostly the critique took the form of one-liners, often by scientists, exposing the strange things that these humanists and social critics liked to say about science. I would agree with John H. Zammito that at least some of these arrows hit their mark, while others, by ignoring the context of argument, revealed only the incompetence or ill will of the critic. The disputes generated a cottage industry of replies and rebuttals, which by now have died down. But Athena's owl takes flight at dusk. This book provides a thoroughly fair-minded and rather exhaustive assessment of these "science wars," which really began with Paul R. Gross and Norman Levitt's 1994 book *Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels with Science*. Zammito's perspective is critical rather than historical, but he tracks the development of philosophical and sociological writing on science back beyond Thomas S. Kuhn to the doubts of Harvard philosopher Willard Van Orman Quine as to whether scientific theories can really be tested empirically.

Indeed Quine, or more often the "[Pierre] Duhem-Quine thesis," is invoked like a mantra in the literature of "social construction" of science. I doubt that many in science studies have read deeply in the philosophical commentaries on Quine, or even Kuhn, as Zammito has. It is a story of intricate argumentation, most of it well insulated from what scientists actually do. Quine's (or Duhem's) point retains a certain plausibility: many auxiliary hypotheses are required to link a general theory to any experimental situation, and a result that seems to contradict the theory may instead be interpreted as challenging some assumption about the laboratory setup. But absence of perfect certainty does not mean absolute uncertainty. Perhaps the best excuse for sociological skepticism of science is that scientists (and philosophers) have often spoken as if they can achieve a kind of truth otherwise inaccessible to mere mortals.

Zammito is admirably evenhanded, arguing always with nuance and never with a bludgeon. His book can almost be read as a cautious defense of social and cultural studies of science, although he was moved to write it, he explains, by his distress at the postmodern abandonment of the ideal of truth. Yet Zammito sometimes gives the postmoderns more than they deserve, as in a background discussion where he endorses the misconception that Auguste Comte and the whole nineteenth-century positivist-scientific tradition stood for a unitary model of science based on mathematical physics. He shows that some fervent defenders of scientific truth care not a whit about historical accuracy, and he has no patience for frantic denunciations of nuanced works of scholarship. He has the honesty and courage to defend the research of scholars who draw epistemological conclusions that he thinks misguided. Only the doctrine of radical reflexivity, which would allow us to talk about nothing but ourselves talking, gets no sympathy here. Somewhat arbitrarily, he positions it as the denouement and the *reductio ad absurdum* of the story.

In focusing on the philosophical claims of science studies, Zammito studies the field at its worst. Although he tells us that historical writing on science is subject to the same defects, and that relativism is "axiomatic" among graduate students in history of science (p. 270), he gives it no serious attention. I suspect he is thinking of intellectual historians like Hayden White more than of historians of science. The book seems more damning of philosophy of science after the linguistic turn than Zammito ever quite acknowledges. He shows, for example, that the great failure of Kuhn's career after *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) was to try to be a philosopher, and to win over philosophers, by adopting their preoccupation with language. Zammito has focused on writings that follow or dissent from philosophical dogmas and gives only incidental attention to empirical or historical studies. He might have reached different conclusions had he addressed the scholarly endeavor to historicize the public role of science, the life of laboratories and of quantification, or "objectivity" as an actor's category, without tilting at the windmills of realism and relativism.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ALAN GREER and JODI BILINKOFF, editors. *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500–1800*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxii, 317. $24.95.

This important collection of essays provides a superb account of the emergence of distinctive new forms of hagiography in the Americas. Like other European institutions in the New World, churches, especially in

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the Catholic colonies, were constantly called upon to adjust to the contingencies of colonial life. The need for accommodation was readily apparent to missionaries and other religious men and women in the Americas who sought to canonize or otherwise memorialize the most notable figures of their churches. "To study the saints of the New World during the centuries of European colonization," coeditor Jodi Bilinkoff observes, "is to contemplate the 'spiritual conquest' of the Americas to be sure, but also the American 'conquest' of Christianity" (pp. xiv-xv).

The appropriation and transformation of the cults of the saints in the Americas, and the real and perceived conflicts with the church hierarchy that New World religiosity produced, is a central concern of the contributors. In this context, visual evidence figures prominently in the essays. Charlene Villaseñor Black demonstrates that devotion to St. Anne flourished in Mexico even as the post-Tridentine church sought to suppress this devotion and to promote an increasingly patriarchal view of the Holy Family in both Spain and the New World. Black suggests that "[t]he preference for the extended matriarchal family in Mexican Holy Family images may be traceable to the influence of indigenous family structures" (p. 22). The fact that some paintings of St. Anne included representations of Indians and Africans helped to increase the popularity of the cult. In a different Mexican context, Antonio Rubial García makes effective use of paintings in his exploration of the controversies that attended the proposed canonization of Juan de Palafox (bishop of Puebla). Devotion to Palafox not only in Mexico but also throughout Spanish America produced only a small body of hagiographical literature, and his beatification process was driven by the iconography that this devotion produced.

In the book's only chapter devoted to the Protestant experience in the Americas, Carla Gardina Pestana analyzes the danger posed by Quakers to the religious establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. She argues compellingly that although Quaker martyrs were killed by fellow English Protestants, while Catholic martyrs were killed by Indians who were generally non-Christians, Quakers and Catholics who met violent deaths in the New World were fundamentally similar both in their self-conceptions and in the ways in which their martyrdoms were understood by contemporaries.

Kenneth Mills and William B. Taylor explore the development in Spanish America of devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe. Mills analyzes the brief but productive missionary career of the Hieronymite Diego de Ocaña, who strengthened the devotion of native Andeans through his paintings of the dark-skinned virgin. Taylor demonstrates the fluidity of early memories of the cult of the virgin in Mexico and provides a generous appreciation of the diverse approaches that writers from the seventeenth century to the present have taken toward this highly charged topic. While affirming the value of a variety of approaches to *guadalupanismo*, Taylor concludes that "[p]rojecting back to 1531 a timeless tradition of widespread belief and Indian devotion to an image of miraculous origin . . . is likely to tell us more about memory and faith than about experience in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (pp. 294–95). Experience—the religious experience of holy men and the texts in which these men (as well as their contemporaries and near contemporaries) recorded this experience—is at the heart of the fine analyses by Bilinkoff, Julia Boss, and Paul Perron of hagiography in Mexico and New France.

Throughout the colonial period, writers in the Americas drew on their experience in the New World to argue that the work of conversion that had begun with the primitive church was to be completed in the colonies. Contributions by Dominique Deslandres, the volume's coeditor Alan Greer, and Kathleen Ann Myers emphasize this theme and explore the new models of female piety that emerged in the New World. The religious and social institutions established by women in Quebec, for example, created what Deslandres calls "an atmosphere of sanctity" that shaped their perceptions of their own work and "led others to recognize their holiness and to support their actions in the world" (p. 131). A similar spirit was at work in Peru, where Rosa de Lima, a beloved mystic, lamented that she was not permitted to venture beyond Lima to work among the Indians. Rosa's followers, Myers notes, believed that "[t]hrough Rosa, Rome itself was to be brought to an acceptance of America's essential role in the history of the universal Catholic Church" (p. 260).

Elsewhere in Latin America, the cult of saints took on a distinctly political cast. In Brazil, as Ronaldo Vainfas shows, a diverse assortment of Afro-Brazilians, slave hunters, and writers such as Antônio Vieira and Manuel Calado embraced the cult of Santo Antônio, the patron saint of Portugal, who was enlisted in the effort to expel the Dutch occupiers of northeastern Brazil from 1630 to 1654. Influence, however, could be exerted in two directions. In her study of the missionary career of the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya in northern Argentina, Dot Tuer emphasizes "the degree to which certain spiritual practices of the Guaraní mirrored those of the Jesuits" (p. 85) and concludes that Jesuit missionary ideals and practices were transformed as a result of the missionaries' experiences among the Guaraní. In Haiti, Joan Dayan convincingly demonstrates, the vodou tradition onto which Catholicism had been grafted played a central role in politics, especially in resistance to slavery, from the colonial period to the nineteenth century.

I know of no other book about hagiography and the idea of the holy in the New World that embraces as broad a range of places, themes, and methodologies as this one. As Greer notes, "[H]istorians of slavery have long been accustomed to thinking at the level of the 'New World,' but . . . such an approach is still fairly rare in other fields of scholarship, notably religion" (p. x). This book provides an invaluable demonstration of

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the importance of a comparative approach to the religious history of the Americas.

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THEODORE DWIGHT BOZEMAN. *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion and Antinomian Blacklash in Puritanism to 1638*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 2004. Pp. xv, 349. $49.95.

Theodore Dwight Bozeman, one of a small handful of historians of Puritanism equally at home on both sides of the Atlantic, looks again at the development of this movement from its inception in the disappointments of the Elizabethan Settlement to the antinomian controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the 1630s. He does not merely recapitulate the now familiar story but seeks a new assessment in the light of recent work, principally by Peter Lake and David Como on the English antinomians in the early Stuart period. For all that the landscape will strike students of Puritanism as familiar in its general contours, this is a work of mature reflection based on a thoughtful and careful reading of many of the principal clerical sources.

The first third of the book is an examination of the main thrust of Puritan practical divinity: the attempt by the Elizabethan Presbyterians to create a system of national discipline that would serve to create both a godly people, irrespective of whether they were among God's elect, and, by so doing, a godly nation obedient to the divine law and therefore not subject to visitations of divine wrath. Such a theocratic structure was seen as approximating the primitive righteousness of the apostolic church, and was doubly appealing to its devotees as providing a mechanism for the creation of social stability at a time of rapid demographic growth, rising poverty, and social and geographic mobility.

The Presbyterian movement collapsed in the early 1590s, and in the face of that defeat Puritan clerics "redirected an unabated appetite for discipline into the first great pietist venture in Protestant history" (p. 63). The focus now was on individual transformation by the process of conversion; a recognition of human helplessness and the need for saving faith, a gift of grace that would be manifest in changed behavior, a "strict walking" that would provide evidence of sanctification and therefore of the election that made the godly acceptable to God. Richard Greenham, pastor at Dry Drayton, is taken as the initiator and exemplar of this "pietist turn," but, as Bozeman recognizes, Greenham was a supporter of Thomas Cartwright, the leading Presbyterian ideologue, and his preaching and pastoral concern for those troubled in conscience antedated the collapse of Presbyterianism by twenty years.

Introspection, systematic self-examination, and consequent self-policing produced the repertoire of pious behavior—sabbath observance, sermon gadding, public and private prayer—that others then and we now take as characteristic of the godly. However, Bozeman contends that such rigorous, disciplined introspection and activity brought anxiety rather than assurance, which necessitated in turn the development of a therapeutic casuistry to restore *some* balance to troubled minds. Having tightened the disciplinary screws too much, some Puritan divines in the 1610s "defected from the practice of piety" (p. 184), or rather from its theoretical underpinnings, for John Eaton and his fellow antinomians were not libertines. Free grace and imputed righteousness replaced the endless, anxiety-producing introspection of the saint; "joy" should replace the "heavy and sorrowful cogitations" of the godly (p. 193). If Arminianism was an attack on the Calvinian economy of salvation from the outside, antinomianism was internal to the Puritan movement itself.

Bozeman then turns to John Cotton, both in Lincolnshire and in Boston, Massachusetts, and makes a case for Cotton as the true initiator of the antinomian movement in the Bay Colony, although he remained, in Bozeman's view, a preacher of a "semi-antinomian, protospiritualist gospel that still claimed a place in the disciplinary Puritan world" (p. 280). And one can suggest that Cotton's emphasis both on free grace and on the necessity of that gift being sealed by the spirit did not permit an escape from the introspection and subjectivity preached by the orthodox godly divines, since the reality of sealing could only be known by introspection. Antinomianism, then, would seem less a rejection of the orthodox pietist turn with its emphasis on the behaviors of "strict walking" than a shift in emphasis and the way of understanding free grace and imputed righteousness, and one needs to account somehow for the fact that orthodox Puritans assumed their preaching produced not anxiety but spiritual comfort and ultimate joy.

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LAURA LUNGER KNOPPERS, editor. *Puritanism and Its Discontents*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2003. Pp. 264. $45.50.

Puritanism has been credited with everything from the invention of modern science to the rise of capitalism. Given such suspiciously extravagant claims, it was perhaps inevitable that the godly would fall victim to the forces of historiographical reaction. Beginning in the 1960s, scholars began to argue that Puritanism was a less radical force than had hitherto been believed. In tune with the broader revisionist perspective sweeping the field of seventeenth-century English history, Puritans were portrayed not as furious radicals, recklessly reshaping the world in which they lived, but rather as deeply conservative figures, closely allied with the political and religious establishments in England until the hostility of Charles I's regime forced them into opposition. In the United States, meanwhile, the Pu-

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ritan-centered vision of American colonial history was likewise under strain, as scholars sought to deemphasize the Cottons and the Mathers and to recover the history of those who had been silently buried beneath their magisterial grandeur.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the historiographical winds have begun to shift again. Laura Lunger Knoppers's collection, which brings together eleven essays by scholars working across disciplines, is part of a growing trend that seeks to modify this revisionist picture. As she explains, the book is designed to "restore the anxiety-ridden and radical nature of Puritans" (p. 13) so as to recapture the vitality and intensity that made the godly such a formidable force. The essays are bound together by their mutual focus on the ways in which Puritanism produced "discontent," both among adherents and opponents.

The approach is exemplified in John Morrill's opening essay, which considers three godly people—Oliver Cromwell, William Dowsing, and "Sister" Cornish—to explore the subtly different ways in which the fierce spiritual disciplines of godly piety drove ordinary and undistinguished men and women to do extraordinary things. In Cornish's case, internal dissonance led ultimately to Quakerism and a serene rejection of the authority, orthodoxy, and communal norms of her local godly network. In Dowsing's case, worried Puritan zeal turned an obscure farmer into an agent of systematic, government-sponsored iconoclasm, while Cromwell was driven to an even more shattering rejection of the social and political order: the killing of a king. Given these unsettling tendencies, the godly often generated considerable anxiety among those outside the circle of the saints: Dwight Brautigam's essay examines the way ascendant "Laudian" churchmen of the 1620s and 1630s imagined a subversive "puritan party," bent on undermining the church and implementing a seditious, antimonarchical political program. Steven Pointer's piece, meanwhile, shows how the fellows of Emmanuel College sought in 1622 to insulate their institution against such critics by carefully stage-managing the installation of the famous preacher John Preston to the mastership, thus ensuring Emmanuel's continuing character as a godly seminary. Yet the godly also experienced friction from within, as Puritanism generated novel permutations: Timothy Hall reads New England's antinomian controversy as a struggle on the part of the pastoral elite "to adapt Calvinist individualism to the communal demands of life in puritan Massachusetts" (p. 206).

Essays by literary scholars explore the linguistic and rhetorical aspects of Puritan identity. Barbara Olive traces the afterlife of the Puritan impulse into the post-Restoration period by scrutinizing the poetry of Mary Chudleigh, a deeply pious theological rebel and critic of the Church of England, who nevertheless remained a conforming member of that communion. Steven Woolsey reads Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) as an attempt dramatically to render the epic of Puritan colonization and church-building; and John Netland provides an article on the ways in which Matthew Arnold appropriated and reworked the concept of "Puritanism," turning it against his Victorian cultural enemies. Reflecting the widespread shifts that have reshaped the American historical profession as a result of our own more recent culture wars, two of the essays attend to what Knoppers calls "Puritanism and Its Others": Richard Pointer examines the linguistic and cultural relationship between New England's Puritans and Native peoples, while Glenn Sanders offers a valuable essay on the evocative but plastic concept of "Turkish tyranny," as it was deployed by both the godly and their enemies in the revolutionary decades.

Perhaps the most significant of the essays is Margo Todd's, which reconstructs the tale of Cambridge's first professor of history, Isaac Dorislaus. Dorislaus had delivered only two lectures (on the seemingly anodyne subject of the earliest history of Rome) before his discussion of the popular basis of sovereignty brought down on him the wrath of the Laudian establishment, effectively scuttling the whole enterprise. The story reveals both the volatility of the political situation in the late 1620s as well the intense anxiety that historical discourse could engender at such moments (James I revealed a similar fear when he suppressed the Society of Antiquaries during his reign). Todd shows that the Dorislaus case was one of several in which Oxbridge scholars showed an appetite for dangerous forms of Calvinist resistance theory, a fact that engendered sharp responses from (usually anti-Calvinist) opponents. She hints that it is time to recognize that there was indeed a congruence between Calvinist divinity and the kind of "neo-Roman" republican sentiment recently highlighted by Quentin Skinner as crucial to the ideological upheaval of the 1640s.

Todd's fascinating, if controversial, piece reveals some of the tensions in the volume as a whole. While her discoveries decisively undo revisionist claims that resistance theory was a dead letter in early Stuart England, her own conclusions push toward a view that elides Calvinist conformity with Puritanism, and that in turn implies that both were inherently republican, and thus well-nigh revolutionary: in other words, precisely the view held by diehard Laudians. Her essay, like the collection as a whole, suggests that for those interested in the history of early Stuart society, exciting times lie ahead, as scholars free themselves to explore once again the more disruptive aspects of godly religion. Yet the process will also raise a host of new and challenging questions, as researchers try to integrate the insights of the past three decades while avoiding the pitfalls of earlier interpretations.

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SUSAN JUSTER. *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 276. $39.95.

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In this provocative study, Susan Juster makes an audacious and partly successful effort to treat religion within the context of an emerging eighteenth-century Anglo-American public sphere of print and rational discourse. In her telling, this historical public sphere was not the relentlessly secular construct of Jürgen Habermas's theory. It incorporated prophecy, which Juster defines broadly "from simple fortune-telling to formalized theories of Christ's return and the end of time," practices connected by the "conceit that biblical references and current events form a single providential history" (p. 4).

Juster argues that the years between 1765 and 1815—a "moment when no hard and fast lines were drawn around the 'spiritual' and the 'secular' . . . when far-reaching changes in the way societies and governments were organized did not seem hopelessly utopian" (p. 271)—permitted prophets to frame their otherworldly messages for the "recessed corners of the bourgeois public sphere," where faith and reason could "jostle energetically for the soul of the believer" (p. 16). This pursuit split prophecy into two streams, a genteel millennialism pursued by clerics and scholars and a radical fringe led by figures who claimed direct divine revelation. The ultimate exclusion of the latter from the public sphere prompted figures like Joseph Smith to ignore that area completely, leading their marginalized followers into a wholesale rejection of bourgeois society.

Juster seeks to reconstruct the "atmospheric side of millenarian culture" by analyzing "the cultural processes by which prophetic claims were formulated, challenged, tested, advanced, and abandoned" (p. 18). Her early chapters explore the forms that distinguished eighteenth-century prophecy from that of both the English Civil War and the antebellum United States. Where the latter two shared an "extravagant disregard for the niceties of civil society and [an] insistence on speaking the word of God unvarnished" (p. 265), revolutionary-era prophets subjected their message to a set of publicly available criteria for testing authenticity. Like other participants in the public sphere, prophets proclaimed their message through print, often engaging in pamphlet wars over the credibility of their claims. Prophets also borrowed Enlightenment notions of the body as an enclosed, mechanical system which could obstruct union with the divine, turning encounters with God's spirit into painful episodes involving falling or convulsion. By carrying this potent mix of ecstatic belief and experience into the printed public sphere, prophets became potent agents of enthusiasm and disorder within the bodies politic of revolutionary-era England and America alike.

Juster also traces a powerful gender dimension in revolutionary prophecy, bringing this into stark relief in her final chapters, which contrast the careers of the English prophet Richard Brothers and the American Nimrod Hughes with the American Jemima Wilkinson and the English Joanna Southcott. All intruded their prophecies into the public affairs of the day. Leaders of both countries ignored the message of the two male prophets while critics discredited the messengers—Brothers as a lunatic, Hughes as an imposter. Yet in neither case did they deny that a man might act as God's mouthpiece, nor did either male prophet suffer the intense personal scrutiny leveled against Southcott or Wilkinson. Both women became the object of cruel satires that challenged their feminine identity, impugned their sexuality, and ultimately "denied the very possibility that a woman might legitimately act or speak for others, God included" (p. 218).

Some readers may wonder how much the worlds of these radical prophets overlapped those of their genteel millennial counterparts, and the larger conceptual world of the revolutionary era. Juster's definition of prophecy is overly broad, encompassing writers like the Edwardsean Samuel Hopkins along with radicals like Shaker founder Mother Ann Lee. Contemporaries would not have recognized such connections, which confuse more than they reveal. Such imprecision of terminology leads at times to ambiguity in analysis. In some places, for example, evangelicals appear as opponents of prophecy, while elsewhere they act as prophets themselves. Moreover, the contemporary press's treatment of prophets like Brothers, Southcott, Hughes, and Wilkinson suggests a consistent denial of their legitimacy within the public sphere. The corners open to this form of prophecy remained quite recessed indeed.

Even so, Juster enriches our understanding of revolutionary-era transatlantic culture by bringing to life these forgotten men and women. She reconstructs the fascinating conceptual worlds of her subjects out of an exhaustively researched array of printed periodical and pamphlet literature from both sides of the Atlantic. She illustrates her analysis liberally with vivid examples of prophets in action. Her colorful accounts of the radical prophets' careers entertain even as they illuminate her insightful interpretation of their place within their own worlds.

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CHARLES E. ROSENBERG, editor. *Right Living: An Anglo-American Tradition of Self-Help Medicine and Hygiene.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 236. $40.00.

Originating in an exhibit and conference on print culture and popular health sponsored by two of Philadelphia's surviving eighteenth-century institutions, the Library Company and the College of Physicians, this volume brings together nine essays on the contributions of print to the cultures of self-health. With the exception of William Helfand's informative chapter on the introduction into America in the 1830s of illustrated posters (those advertising proprietary medicines and health subjects comprising probably the largest single genre), the essays focus on texts—four of them

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on editions of particular books. And with the exception of Steven Shapin's chapter on the dietetic content of elite-serving books of manners in early modern England, the contributors concentrate on America. This includes Mary Fissell's careful untangling of the complicated different editions of the ubiquitous "female" advice book first published in Britain in 1684, *Aristotle's Masterpiece*, insofar as the circulation of this work among some of Rev. Jonathan Edwards younger parishioners in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1744 provides her with an illuminating case study of the blurring between the spoken and the written word in the making of eighteenth-century "vernacular body culture" (p. 78).

The long history of popular printed information on health and disease in America, editor Charles E. Rosenberg remarks in his introductory overview, stretches from the centuries-old self-improving works that some of the colonists brought with them, to today's plethora of publications filling the expansive "Health" sections of bookshops—to say nothing of what is now to be found on the Internet. This history of "inexhaustible demand for medical information" (p. 13) is one that can be seen to have embraced—and swiftly—every technological innovation in printing and media. But whether this technologically serviced demand constitutes "a pattern that has hardly changed" (p. 13), and whether its satisfaction forms a part of an "ineradicably human desire to predict and control one's biological future" (p. 13), is surely debatable, even without taking stock of what was not on the bookshop shelves during the golden age of Western medicine between penicillin and thalidomide.

This kind of transcendent resort to human nature is hardly qualified by the volume's other essays, most of which, in one way or another, confirm the importance of sociopolitical contexts and religion, race, class, and gender in particular for understanding how such health information was fashioned and deployed. This is strikingly revealed in the contrasting production and shelf-lives of two hugely popular sex manuals—*Esoteric Anthropology* (1853), by the libertarian health reformer Thomas Nichols, and the hysterically antimasturbatory *Plain Facts about Sexual Life* (1877), by the enema-loving, Seventh-Day Adventist John Harvey ("Corn-flakes") Kellogg—that are the focus, respectively, of chapters by Jean Silver-Isenstadt and Ronald Numbers. More subtly it is brought out by Kathleen Brown's analysis of the first child-care manual to be written and published in the United States (which was also one of the earliest American health guides, and the first to be penned by an American woman). Mary Tyler's *The Maternal Physician* (1811) reflected many of the features of an older receipt-book tradition, and much of its textual authority was constructed through reference to European sources. But it also bears the impress (and ambivalences) of postindependence thinking, not least in relation to the role of women in child rearing and family making in the new republic. Centered on the moral and sexually laden category of cleanliness, Tyler's book can be seen as tacking a course that was no less antipathetic to the dandified habits of the Old World European gentlemen than to the discipline-resisting American revolutionary soldiers who, refusing to obey latrine regulations, sweep out their tents, or wash their linen (women's work), became the objects of civilian and military scorn. Thus there is more than meets the eye in Tyler's insistence on the daily bathing of infants in cold water, or the need to provide them with ample breast milk and clean linens; at least in part, we are witness to women's changing relationship to male medical authority, including women's "changing embodiment of that authority" (p. 107).

Lurking here, as in many of these essays, is the notion made explicit in Thomas Horrocks's chapter on the health advice component in pre-1860s almanacs: that this information "reinforced and shaped reader's assumptions concerning the body, health, and disease" (p. 134). Perhaps it did, but it can hardly be proven though the analysis of the texts themselves. Valuable, therefore, is Steven Stowe's contribution in which letters and diaries are quarried in order to determine the actual use of domestic health advice in the antebellum South. Little quantitative resolution emerges, however; what becomes clear, rather, is how "fearfully contingent" (p. 158) was the reality of *all* medical practice and advice taking. In the face of omnipresent death from disease, southerners had little room left for bedside debate over the provenance of any particular therapy. In the final analysis, medical advice did not shape much at all; in the racial context that Stowe explores, conflicts over defining disease and seizing the means of relief ran, ultimately, "along the well-worn channels of mastery and bondage, opening up deep, personal contractions of slavery that profoundly shaped illness and care in the South, just as it shaped other basic features of southern life" (p. 162).

Such examples of carefully conducted scholarship recommend this volume. But like many a collection of esoteric studies prefaced with the warning that they are meant to be "suggestive not comprehensive" (p. ix), intellectual coherence is lacking. For the most part these are rich slices cut from larger pies penned, planned, or published elsewhere. The generous notes and references afford access to much of the now extensive critical literature on the history of both print culture and popular healing, but nowhere is there attention to the changing face of that literature. Historiographical engagements are as conspicuous by their absence as explicit methodological intentions. Remarkably, in a book concerned with the epistemology of the modern body, reference to Michel Foucault is made but twice (fleetingly in both cases, and once only to be dismissed as derivative). Nor is there any galvanizing around the theme of continuities and discontinuities, least of all between past and present. Shapin alone submits some reflections, commenting on how early modern dietetic culture with its calls to moderate eating and lifestyle contrasts to the situation

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today in which such advice is fragmented and largely disengaged "from its original moorings in a medical understanding of the self and without any substantial anchorage in contemporary medical expertise" (p. 47). Although this conclusion is contestable (on the grounds that ideology and economics have always had more to do with "medical" advice than medicine, or, alternatively, on the grounds that all identity has become medicalized and all culture "somaticized"), the reflection is welcome for reminding us about why empirical studies such as these matter, or why they should not be regarded as incidental to comprehending the construction, epistemological and social status, delivery, circulation, and reception of advice on "right living" today. The only pity is that there is not more.

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JORDAN GOODMAN, ANTHONY MCELLIGOTT, and LARA MARKS, editors. *Useful Bodies: Humans in the Service of Medical Science in the Twentieth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 217. $42.00.

This excellent volume treats human experimentation in Britain and the United States from 1920 to 1970. The focus is not on informed consent but on how physicians, governments, and the military laid claim to individual human bodies in order to protect what they defined as the health of the nation. One purpose is to show that the nontherapeutic experiments carried out in Nazi Germany were not unique but, in many ways, characteristic of mainstream medicine throughout the period. These carefully researched essays also contribute to our understanding of ethical practices surrounding such experiments before the establishment of the Nuremberg Code in the 1940s.

David S. Jones and Robert L. Martensen's essay on radiation experiments at the University of California, San Francisco, and Berkeley in 1937–1962, for example, explores the deep moral dilemmas that surrounded daring experiments with humans. Faced with a woman whom doctors had given up as terminally ill, John Lawrence, a Berkeley physicist and pioneer in medical applications of radioisotopes, trained his million-volt x-ray tube—one of only two in the nation at the time—on his mother's abdomen. Although she pleaded for him to stop, he persisted, and she went on to live a healthy life for twenty-two more years.

Such are the motivations that move careful physicians to undertake heroic procedures. In order to get dependable and useful information, however, physicians need data from large and diverse populations. Jones and Martensen's essay documents the many radiation experiments done under the auspices of the Manhattan Project and the Atomic Energy Commission: there were the plutonium injection studies where eighteen patients were injected without their knowledge; there was the irradiations of prisoners' ("volunteers") testicles to measure the effects of exposure to x-rays on sperm production (each man was required to undergo a vasectomy following the experiment to insure that the risks did not carry on to a next generation); there was the exposure of soldiers to atomic blasts in order to help the government understand the risks to its own troops if the military deployed nuclear weapons in active warfare. Historians estimate that over 9,000 people were experimentally exposed to radiation from 1950 to 1970. Because scientists knew their work was ethically questionable, it was classified. Memos make clear that these experiments did not violate security but were likely to have "adverse effects on public opinion or result in legal suits" (p. 86). The Department of Energy currently holds 3.2 million cubic feet of documents relating to radiation experiments.

Other essays in this rich volume develop the history of tests of post-World War II germ warfare in the United Kingdom, studies of the natural history of malaria while inducing this disease as a cure for end-stage syphilis, tests aimed at preventing large-scale outbreaks of jaundice among troops, and more. In each case, authors are sensitive to questions concerning the relationship among medical researchers, governments, and often the military.

The editors offer a periodization of human experimentation focused on the role of state regulation of subjects: pre-state (all of human history before the 1930s); state (1930s to 1960s); and post-state (1960s and onward). Serious human experimentation does not begin in the twentieth century, as suggested here, but has a long and sometimes ignominious history in which states, often in the persons of kings, were involved. The use of prisoners, for instance, can be traced at least to ancient Pergamum, where fear of poisoning led King Attalus III Philometor to have toxins and their antidotes tested on them. My own work has revealed relatively large human experiments in eighteenth-century Europe and its colonies. John Quier's experiments in Jamaica in the 1760s and 1770s with smallpox inoculation, for example, involved at least 850—and probably closer to 1,000—plantation slaves. In this era, a number of populations, including prisoners, soldiers, sailors, and orphans and other wards of the state, were used experimentally in the name of public utility.

But to suggest that we need to push research into the type of issues this volume investigates further into the past only serves to highlight its importance. We need more work that helps us understand the complex relationships among governmental and private funding agencies, research practices, individual career trajectories, laboratory practices, social expectations for medical advances, new technologies enabling new types of research, and social understandings of science.

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JONATHAN STERNE. *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 450. Cloth $69.95, paper $22.95.

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The history of sound recording has received considerable attention in recent years, but most new works on the subject have embraced a decidedly materialistic perspective on the past. Many have focused on the invention and mass production of modern musical instruments, for example, or the impact of digital recording on the music business. A growing number of studies, however, have explored the complex relationship between sound technology and broad patterns of social and cultural change. Jonathan Sterne's book falls into the latter category, moving beyond the material world to offer a multilayered cultural analysis of the history of sound reproduction. Sterne places the evolution of sound technologies within a set of questions and topics not normally associated with the subject, and shows more clearly that social and cultural conditions shaped the course of sound history. In so doing, he highlights a prominent theme in the history of technology: that technological change is not an all-knowing, omnipotent force in our lives but unfolds within "assemblages" of ideas, institutions, practices, and social and cultural values.

The book begins in the late nineteenth century, when sound-reproduction technologies were largely associated with the problem of deafness. By the turn of the century, listening itself had become a science, with its own tools, vocabularies, and practitioners. Scientists and engineers had developed new and better ways of diagnosing and understanding sound, and the general public had come to believe there was an "art" to listening. The stethoscope, which reoriented the relationship between doctors and patients, was one of many new devices that propagated this idea. The rise of training schools for telegraph operators also affected ideas about sound, as did advertisements telling consumers how to use telephones "correctly." Thomas Edison's invention of the phonograph, combined with the coming of radio, brought a new sense of excitement to the sonic landscape and further validated the set of practices and ideas related to the culture of listening. All were part of what Sterne calls the "prehistory" of modern sound culture.

This book emphasizes that sound-reproduction technologies were "shot through" with the dominant values of our own time. Technical diagrams, instructional manuals, and advertisements for the new technologies were clearly "value-laden." They reflected our interest in accuracy, efficiency, and speed, for example, and public views of women and children. It was no coincidence that diagrams and ads often depicted women and children listening to the voices of men. The landscape of modern sound culture reflected and sustained notions of patriarchy and male dominance just as they supported the sanctity of private property. White, middle-class culture was an integral part of the network of forces and phenomena that influenced the history of sound reproduction. Attitudes about death and dying also affected the history of sound. Like morticians that preserved dead bodies for viewing, entrepreneurs in the recording business worked to embalm the voice. Their ability to preserve "voices of the dead" appealed to Victorian notions of sentimentality and nostalgia and sustained the public's faith in technological progress. The permanence of recordings, of course, depended on whether future generations would provide the institutional and technical framework that preservation required.

Compared to other works on the history of sound, Sterne's book is unusually deep and heady. It wrestles with the ideas of leading theoreticians in the field of cultural history, and takes an overt "contextual" and "external" approach to the study of technology. It draws on a wealth of primary and secondary sources, and offers valuable diagrams and illustrations to make its points. Like all historical studies of this nature, the book has its limitations and weaknesses. In my opinion, it occasionally loses a sense of direction and becomes unnecessarily abstract. I found certain sections exceedingly interesting but others overly speculative. Although the author addresses a superb set of questions about culture and technology, I wish he had done so more concisely, with less philosophical reflection. This book nonetheless makes an important contribution to the study of sound technology. It helps to place the history of sound within the cluttered context of social and cultural change.

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JOHN H. MORROW, JR. *The Great War: An Imperial History*. New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. xvi, 352. $27.50.

Given the weight of the existing historiography, any new history of the Great War should have a clear and distinctive rationale. John H. Morrow, Jr.'s book does so, largely because his aim—to write a genuinely "global" history of the war—marks his work out from that of most others in the field.

Morrow situates the Western Front within its wider European and imperial contexts. He emphasizes African involvement in many areas of the war: in Africa itself as soldiers and porters (on both sides), and in France as factory workers or as soldiers in the French colonial forces. The North and West African military contribution to the French war effort was particularly significant by 1916–1918, he argues, given the French Army's huge losses during the war's first two years (pp. 83, 131, 268–69). Occasionally Morrow overstates his case, claiming for example that "by 1915 some African chiefs and recruiters impressed men into service in ways reminiscent of, although in numbers far exceeding, the slave trade" (p. 96), a claim that surely is plausible only if it is taken to apply to particular localities and not to the slave trade as a whole. Morrow also highlights the importance of the Indian Corps to the British Expeditionary Force's (BEF) actions of 1914–1915, illustrated by a number of moving quotations from Indian soldiers' letters (pp. 82–83).

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Although (as its title suggests) the book has a distinctly imperial flavor, it is mainly a straightforward narrative history of the war with a military emphasis, particularly at the operational level. As such, it has many merits. Morrow writes well, in places even evocatively, and his lucid and engaging text merits a wide readership. He is particularly good on 1918, drawing attention to the sheer scale of the Allied victory in the Western Front's closing campaign (a story that is still emerging from the historiographical shadows cast by the "attrition" battles of 1916–1917). He does not neglect the war's social, cultural, and political history. There are some useful sections on the various European (and other) home fronts, including the gender politics of the war, although in general Morrow is better on Germany and the United States than on Japan.

The well-chosen illustrations highlight several key themes of the book: the mobilization of women, the involvement of colonial and African-American soldiers, and German propaganda that disparaged the apparently multiracial Allied forces. There are, however, too few maps. The war in Africa is mapped, but the operations on the Western and Eastern European fronts are not; one general map reveals the full extent of the Allied advances between July and October 1918, but none illustrates the postwar political changes in either Europe or the Middle East. (The map of Europe in 1914 also appears prematurely to return Alsace-Lorraine to France.)

An introductory text normally needs an extensive, annotated guide to further reading, and for the most part the bibliography does not disappoint; but, given the avowedly "global" ambitions of the book, the section on "Continents and Countries" is rather uneven. Africa, the United States, and most of the main European combatants are well covered; but Japan gets only two books, while Italy (with 615,000 war dead, or twelve percent of the Allied total, to use Morrow's own figures) merits a mere two articles. Australia, Canada, Ireland, and New Zealand have only five entries among them, reflecting Morrow's more extensive treatment of the nonwhite than the white empires.

There are a few slips. Among these are the implications that the Germans captured Verdun (p. 128) and Ypres (p. 254), and the claim that the League of Nations mandated Britain to "create a Jewish Palestine west of the Jordan River, while eastern Palestine became Jordan" (p. 309). In fact, the British mandate for Palestine incorporated the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which merely favored "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The creation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan in 1921–1922 effectively defined the Palestine mandate's eastern border as the Jordan river, and (largely as a result of Arab pressure) the Churchill White Paper of the same year explicitly stated that a Jewish national home did not mean "a wholly Jewish Palestine." A work of this significance, however, may well appear in a second edition, with a few corrections.

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HELENE SJURSEN. *The United States, Western Europe and the Polish Crisis: International Relations in the Second World War.* (Cold War History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. ix, 201. $65.00.

Helene Sjursen is a specialist on European security and the development of common European policies. The "Polish Crisis" in the Western alliance was triggered by the establishment in Poland of the independent trade union "Solidarity," the first such union in the Soviet bloc. Solidarity existed openly from August 31, 1981, until the imposition of martial law by the Polish government in the early hours of December 13, 1981, and continued to exist underground until 1989. The crisis in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) developed with disagreement on the type and range of economic sanctions to be imposed on Poland and the USSR—for the latter was seen as responsible for martial law—and continued until they were dropped when judged ineffective. Sjursen's goal is to show that the crisis arose from different conceptions of appropriate action, and that policies were affected by other factors than security, including views of normative behavior in international relations (pp. 1–2).

Sjursen has certainly accomplished her goal, although she leaves a few gaps. Her description of Solidarity would not lead the reader to suspect that it was not just a workers' movement but a national movement, for its principle of freely elected self-government was copied on all levels of Polish society. She writes that the four major European allies were surprised by the imposition of martial law in Poland, because they had expected Soviet military intervention. This is strange, because she mentions (p. 49) that information on martial law plans was given to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) by Ryszard Kuklinski, a colonel on the Polish General Staff, though she does not say whether the U.S. government ever mentioned this to its European allies. As for economic sanctions, Sjursen rightly points out that the West German government was the most averse to imposing them on Poland and the USSR, due to its policy of rapprochement with East Germany in pursuit of unification. She is also right that German *Ostpolitik* aimed at changing the nature of the communist regimes through trade and cultural relations, but she could have added that it reflected traditional German interest in Central and Eastern Europe. It is true that President Ronald Reagan's decision to impose sanctions on the USSR was unilateral, but it was made only after American efforts to secure the support of Western European allies failed. Still, even British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher resented this American policy, which fell outside the "norm" of consensus on

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NATO foreign policy. France resented sanctions on the export to USSR of parts necessary for the projected gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Western Europe, because French business was involved. Sjursen could have noted that the key parts were compressors, and that they were finally produced in Leningrad. One might conclude that economics and long-range policy with regard to communist states, rather than norms of international relations, dictated German and French opposition to economic sanctions.

Reagan certainly had a sense of mission to spread democracy. It is true that Woodrow Wilson also displayed a missionary spirit in promoting the principle of self-determination for Central and Eastern Europe in 1918–1919, but his stand was not "fundamental" for the nations in this part of Europe (p. 97). In fact, the fundamental factor in changing the map here was the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Russian Empires, which allowed their subject peoples to establish independent states, and they did so before the Peace Conference convened in Paris. By the same token, Wilson cannot be blamed for the insecurity of these states, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia. They were allied with France, so their security depended on her. Unfortunately, France could not risk war with Germany without British support, while Britain viewed most of Central and Eastern Europe as Germany's natural sphere of influence until London was forced to take a stand after the German march into the Czech lands in mid-March 1939. The British guarantee to Poland—shared with France—was not "a retreat from a similar guarantee to all the states of Central and Eastern Europe" (p. 127; this is a misreading of a British historian). It was designed to deter Adolf Hitler from further aggression, to encourage him to obtain his demands from Poland by negotiation, and thus avert war. However, once Hitler had an agreement with Joseph Stalin, he attacked Poland and set off World War II.

Sjursen is to be congratulated for carefully tracing the disagreements over the Polish Crisis within NATO in the 1980s. The picture would have been enhanced by a fuller description of Solidarity, which became a national movement, survived underground to negotiate a compromise agreement with the Polish government in spring 1989 (not 1987; p. 5), and won the elections in June that year, thus ending communism in Poland. Finally, historical comparisons in studies of international relations are always helpful, but they require a firm grasp of the history involved.

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William Stueck. *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 285. $29.95.

The old adage about practice making perfect applies to this, William Stueck's third book related to the Korean War. He began his career with a treatment of U.S. East Asian policy on the eve of that conflict, followed with an exploration of the war's international context, and now (prompted by colleagues) has returned with a synthetic "rethinking." Every page reflects his well-honed expertise: three decades working with the documentary record and reflecting on major controversies generated by an active community of scholars.

The book proceeds methodically, from origins through the course of the war to aftermath and thence to significance. Each chapter tackles a major interpretive question (e.g. how to explain the war's origins or the difficulty in ending it). Each opens with a crisp summary of the relevant historical developments and then breaks the question at hand into manageable parts, the better to move systematically toward a sensible answer. The style is clear, deliberate, and engagingly interrogatory. (Only the final chapter on democratic decision making lacks the crispness and command that generally characterizes this work.) A sprinkling of maps and photographs is a welcome addition. The photographs in particular hint at issues slighted in this essentially political history, not least images of orphans that speak of staggering death and social disruption on the peninsula. Short and direct enough for the captive classroom audience or the fabled general reader, the book stands alongside the other attempts over the last decade to boil down the history of the war to its essentials, notably Burton I. Kaufman's revised 1997 treatment and Steven Hugh Lee's history with documents from 2001.

Interpretively, Stueck defines his position in terms of two major themes. Against Bruce Cumings's emphasis on the conflict as a civil war, he resolutely argues for the primacy of international politics. The great powers made the war possible, defined its course, and determined its end. On the broader issue of appraising the Cold War antagonists, Stueck sides with other historians such as John Lewis Gaddis and Melvyn Leffler who see flexibility and prudence in U.S. policy and thus contend that a democratic culture proved its superiority over the communism of its Chinese and Soviet foes. In the case of Korea, the U.S. political system helped to keep the peninsular war confined and prodded U.S. policy makers to make wise decisions and correct foolish ones. What could have turned into World War III actually proved a stabilizing event in the dangerous early years of the Cold War.

Well, maybe not a perfect performance despite all the practice! The confident attempt here to place the Korean War in an international context and to argue for the primacy of international politics runs up against a distinctly uneven set of sources. On the Soviet and Chinese side, materials are fragmentary even after more than a decade of much-heralded archival revelations. No surprise, then, that on such consequential issues as Joseph Stalin's role in the division of the peninsula at the end of the war and his and Mao Zedong's contributions to the outbreak of the fighting, Stueck operates to a considerable degree in the realm of speculation. On the other side, U.S. records are

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abundant, and so the Truman and Eisenhower administrations loom disproportionately large in this ostensibly international account.

A second problem is that this exercise in political history is cast so narrowly that it turns bloodless and makes the moral consequences of political choice hard to gauge. Stueck's fixation on the official mind leads to an unfortunate neglect of the popular dimensions of the conflict. Lives disrupted and lost as a result of the choices that elites impose on civilians and soldiers deserve more than a statistical nod even—perhaps especially—in an avowedly political study.

Finally, more could be done than Stueck manages to make sense of South Korean politics. While Syngman Rhee receives ample attention, we get only tantalizing references to intense rural conflict before the war, the sharp political contestation in Seoul during it, and long-term changes set in motion by close political and military ties to the United States. Here, too, a broadening of the account would help our understanding of the consequences of political choice, while also engaging the issue of whether to place Korea at the center of the war's narrative.

This accomplished account with all its imperfections defines the agenda for the next generation of Korean War scholars and invites continued rethinking of a war with national, regional, and global significance.

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MARK WALKER, editor. *Science and Ideology: A Comparative History*. (Routledge Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Medicine.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xv, 267.

This is a compact book with an ambitious goal: to present a comparative history of ideology and science. Typically, scholars studying the interaction of ideology and science during the twentieth century have focused on Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The editor of the volume, Mark Walker, a historian of National Socialist Germany, wished to go beyond these examples and therefore assembled a large group of scholars spanning the fields of American, Japanese, French, German, Chinese, and Soviet science. Rather than organize chapters according to discrete geographical regions or just compare two countries, Walker assigned from two to four collaborators to each of the nine chapters in the book comparing a number of countries.

Scholars working on Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union have often wondered how different "Nazi" or "Soviet" science really were compared to science practiced in the United States or other democracies. This book tries to answer the question. Despite the grand goal, most chapters are narrowly focused. The strongest chapters in relation to the topic are the first two general chapters, on totalitarianism and the notion of "ideologically correct science," respectively. The rest of the chapters are case studies with Germany playing the lead role in all but one. The four chapters on Nazi Germany (out of eight geographic chapters) focus on narrow topics like nature under Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin; rocket research in Nazi Germany and the United States, the University of Jena in the Weimar Republic, Third Reich, and East Germany; and Friedrich Möglich from fascism to communism. These last two chapters could have been omitted from the book and seem tagged on. (The Möglich chapter was previously published in the German edition of a book on science in East Germany in comparative perspective and was not revised for this volume.) Another chapter compares West Germany to Japan.

The only chapter that excludes Germany covers cybernetics in the United States, France, and the Soviet Union. Its three authors do not make an argument about how ideology affects science but rather conclude that each country attached a different political and cultural meaning to the cybernetic idea. Indeed, most of the chapters in the book are about the relationship between politics and science more generally, and it is in this sense that many of the case-study chapters are useful. Ideology is never really defined in the book and it seems the word politics could often easily substitute for the word ideology.

At the beginning of the book, Walker asks the simple but important question: how does ideology affect science? It would have been helpful if each chapter addressed the same question and themes related to that question. Instead, the case-study chapters add many trees to the forest of the topic of ideology and science. The editor's introduction concludes that the interaction is complex and subtle. This is presumably the reason why readers will not come away knowing much more on the topic than they would if they had read the previous literature on science in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. However, the introductory overview on science under National Socialism should be useful to students with no knowledge of the topic.

Taken together, the various chapters demonstrate that it is difficult to develop conceptual generalities on this topic. For example, the concept of "ideologically correct science" is defined in the first general chapter as "science being influenced by ideology," including any attempts by the state to "not only use science, but also to transform it into a more ideologically acceptable form, both with regard to scientific content and institutions" (p. 35). This framework seems to apply to Germany, but in all other cases—especially France and the U.S.—it does not work in the same way, and the contributors do not all agree on its usefulness. Another, more simple concept developed by Yakov M. Rabkin and Elena Z. Mirskaya in their chapter on totalitarianism has more general applicability: the idea of "protective coloration," or the adaptation of scientists to their political environment. This notion covers most countries under a variety of regimes.

Readers will not come away with new, neat gener-

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alizations on the topic of ideology and science, but the early chapters should be useful for students. A lot of research went into the individual chapters and this adds to our empirical knowledge on the subject of science and politics. Finally, the book's cover design is stunning: an American flag mixed with a hammer and sickle and a computer chip.

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DAVID C. ENGERMAN *et al.*, editors. *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War.* (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 283. $19.95.

This admirable collection of essays confronts the issue of modernization: the cherished ideal of U.S. intellectuals and policy makers that all peoples and nations sought the kind of economic, political, and thereby moral progress that they felt the United States had secured. Although the subtitle of the book suggests a Cold War focus, several of these essays show that the American faith in modernization, or its sometime synonyms "development" and "Westernization," both antedated the Cold War and have persisted since its end. While lengthening the temporal axis of modernization, the volume also stretches the geographical scope of analysis, taking seriously, as it does, the impact of U.S. foreign policy on other peoples and nations, and even demonstrating, in several cases, that other societies had their own versions of modernization that were not always consonant with their American counterpart.

It is commonly said that edited volumes are "uneven" in quality, but in fact these essays are all quite good. Michael Latham's introduction is a model of economy and clarity, highlighting several themes that connect the essays to each other while also giving each essay its due. Michael Adas makes an argument familiar to readers of his superb book, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (1990): following the Great War, while Europeans grew disillusioned with the technology that had wrought disaster on their homelands, Americans became more confident that technological innovation would prove the leading edge of a "civilizing mission" in places like China, the Philippines, and Latin America. Their affection for machines, and their scorn for those who lacked them, persisted even through the Depression and World War II. After the war, modernization superseded the "civilizing mission," while retaining its faith in science and technology as apt "measures of human worth and achievement" (p. 37). Nils Gilman jousts spiritedly with the intellectual fathers of modernization theory in the 1950s. Gilman's enthusiasm for the combat seems several times to run over the top—his use of words like "colligated" and "eurhythmy" are either pompous or misprints—but his piece is wide ranging and provocative in its location of modernization at the confluence of social science discourses. Mark Haefele examines the contribution of Walt Rostow's thinking to the Kennedy administration's economic diplomacy. Haefele argues that Rostow had influence on the New Frontiersmen because he made his ideas about modernization readily accessible, and because he organized his thinking around practical problems foreign policy makers faced. Ironically, even as Rostow's ideas were incorporated by John F. Kennedy, Rostow himself lost favor with the president, only, and once more ironically, to emerge as an adviser with clout to Lyndon B. Johnson by the mid-1960s.

Two of the essays analyze the marketing of modernization at home and abroad. Laura Belmonte describes propaganda efforts by those she calls, variously, "information strategists," "authorities," or "leaders," to persuade people overseas that the U.S. version of modernization was far better than the communist one. The Americans battled particularly against the communist claim that capitalism was heartless, and either ignored racial and gender equality in the United States or insisted that such injustices were disappearing. Christina Klein offers a wonderfully imaginative interpretation of the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical *The King and I* as a study in modernization. While the show made clear its distaste for communism and the desirability of containing it, it also endorsed "international integration" in the hope that differences between people could be "transcended rather than policed" (p. 131). The American governess, who was based on Anna Leonowens, an Englishwoman who taught in the royal court of Siam during the 1860s, became in the Rodgers and Hammerstein version of the story an agent of the West, seeking to drag the noble but reactionary king of Siam into the twentieth century. In this she reflected the work of U.S. policy makers who sought similar progress for Thailand, a strategic asset of growing importance through the 1950s and 1960s.

Modernization as Americans conjured it came in for modification in its encounters around the globe. During the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, argues Michael Mahoney, both the Portuguese government and the leading Mozambican nationalist group FRELIMO moved from an ideology of cultural particularism to a form of universalism that embodied, for both sides in the conflict, a version of modernization. FRELIMO leaders felt the need to best the Portuguese in their endorsement of modernization, to become, as Mahoney paraphrases it, "more modern than thou" (p. 188) in its quest to win Mozambican hearts and minds. Mahoney nevertheless stresses key differences between Portuguese modernization and that of FRELIMO. There was competition, too, between definitions of modernization in the United States and postindependence India, notes David Engerman. Americans saw the differences between East and West as fundamentally political: one was for or against the United States in the Cold War. The Indian

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Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, believed instead that East and West were economic categories. Nehru sought economic development, defined as industrialization, without any ideological trappings; he was not interested in anticommunism, or indeed in anti-anything. These different perspectives doomed to failure the development work of Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies in India by the time of Nehru's death in 1964. Victor Koschmann focuses on a conference held in Hakone, Japan, in the summer of 1960, at which prominent Americans—Robert J. Lifton was there, and so were Edwin O. Reischauer and Robert Bellah—met with equally prominent Japanese to talk about values, including those implicit in modernization. There were some differences aired, most sharply over the role of the Pacific War in shaping Japanese ideas about progress and democracy, but in the end, Koschmann concludes, the two groups were not far apart in their analyses. The collection ends with Gregg Andrew Brazinsky's intriguing study of South Korea, which finds that Koreans do not necessarily hold tradition and modernity to be antithetical categories. Korean intellectuals thought that modernization need not be coterminous with Westernization. That was not, of course, the American view of things, and this fundamental philosophical difference limited U.S. influence over outbreaks of dissent, and the course of change, in South Korea.

These essays are valuable not least because they remind us of the durability of modernization theory. Indeed, they offer context for reading the daily newspaper. U.S. policy makers continue to assume that capitalist economic development, linked (as they continue to assume it is) to the growth of democracy, is universally desired. These things are rendered by policy makers concomitant with progress, which is destructive of backwardness, religious fundamentalism, and ideological wrongheadedness that assume dangerous forms. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Empire have, if anything, made modernization more urgent than before—or so say the men and women of the current administration.

I once wrote a graduate seminar paper in which I heaped scorn on Walt Rostow's "stages theory" of modernization, pointing out, among other things, that it was mechanistic and insensitive to differences in culture. It is clear, some years later, that Rostow is having the most recent laugh. The contributors to the volume, in ways far more sophisticated than mine, explore and expose the tensions in modernization theory. But, perhaps because of the absence of Marxism as a competing mirror image of modernization, there seem few coherent alternatives to Rostow's faith. Modernization, or globalization in its supersized iteration, has appropriated unto itself the idea of progress. If there is hope of creating an alternative to modernization, it may rest in the Korean view that the tradition versus modernization binary is in fact susceptible to reconciliation after all.

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LAWRENCE S. WITTNER. *The Struggle Against the Bomb*. Volume 3, *A History of the World Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present*. (Stanford Nuclear Age Series.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 657. $29.95.

This is the third volume in a trilogy by Lawrence S. Wittner entitled *The Struggle Against the Bomb*, the first comprehensive account of the worldwide nuclear disarmament movement. The first volume in the trilogy covered the period to 1953; the second volume spanned the years 1954–1970. This well-written concluding volume is an excellent example of multinational history. Relying heavily on government documents, the records and literature of the peace movement, and a plethora of memoirs, monographs, and personal interviews, Wittner provides a solid foundation for his vivid panorama of the global antinuclear campaign and the forces, personalities, and events that shaped it.

Wittner's main thesis is that the revival of the antinuclear-weapon movement during the 1970s and 1980s was the primary reason for the winding down of the nuclear arms race during the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. Obviously, some would consider this a debatable proposition. Yet Wittner makes a strong case to support his thesis. As he correctly points out, none of the administrations that he examines in this volume—with the notable exception of Jimmy Carter's—had any intention of adopting nuclear arms reduction policies when they entered office. Instead, Wittner asserts, they grudgingly accepted such policies because of popular pressure.

Public opinion was aroused, Wittner writes, after "governments had scrambled to build nuclear weapons and threatened to employ them for purposes of annihilation." As a result, concerned citizens mobilized within professional associations, unions, religious bodies, and political parties, among other organizations, to pressure governments to stop building nuclear weapons. Even within Communist-ruled Eastern Europe, the movement challenged the nuclear weapon policies of dictatorial regimes and, in so doing, ultimately helped to sweep them away. Confronted by a vast wave of popular resistance, Western governments concluded, reluctantly, that their political survival required them to modify their hawkish rhetoric and ambitious plans to build, deploy, and use nuclear weapons and negotiate nuclear arms control and reduction agreements.

Others have argued that the agreements that resulted—particularly the INF Treaty and the two START treaties—were not the products of public pressure but rather results of the Reagan military buildup, which

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compelled the Soviet Union to sign nuclear weapon agreements it otherwise would not have accepted. For example, George Shultz, Reagan's secretary of state, claimed that "When our country's military strength was built up to a point where our Soviet rivals recognized that they could not match us, when they perceived that we might actually use our strength to repel aggression . . . then came the turning point" (p. 487).

Although Wittner recognizes Reagan's contribution to ending the Cold War, he does not credit Reagan's military buildup as the primary factor responsible for the nuclear arms agreements he and the first President Bush signed. Rather, they were due to Reagan's transformation from a nuclear weapons hawk to a proponent of nuclear disarmament. This transformation, Wittner insists, was brought about primarily by a vigorous global antinuclear-weapons movement, which helped to educate not only the American people about the dangers of continuing to build nuclear weapons but also Reagan himself.

Wittner also credits other factors beside the antinuclear movement for prompting both Reagan and Bush to accept nuclear weapon reductions. One was the appearance of a new, relatively young, energetic, and pragmatic Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was more than willing to accept, as well as to initiate, arms reductions proposals his predecessors had refused to consider. However, Wittner laments the decline of the antinuclear-weapons movement that has occurred in the wake of the Soviet Union's demise. The consequent reduction in the public's fear of nuclear weapons has made it possible for the nuclear "hawks" to reassert themselves. The results can be seen in the U.S. Senate's refusal to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, President George W. Bush's unilateral abrogation of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty, his decision to build a nation-wide ballistic missile defense system, and his determination to develop and deploy new tactical nuclear weapons—and possibly use them against "rogue" states.

The impression one gets from Wittner's conclusion is that, with the "hawks" threatening to revive the nuclear arms race, and with 30,000 nuclear weapons still in the arsenals of the nuclear powers, it is high time that the antinuclear-weapon movement awaken from its more than decade-old slumber. Wittner's impressively researched, clearly written, and balanced assessment of the antinuclear-weapon movement belongs on the shelf not only of every serious student of the nuclear arms race but also of everyone who is concerned about the safety of humanity.

RONALD E. POWASKI
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DANIEL E. BENDER and RICHARD A. GREENWALD, editors. *Sweatshop USA: The American Sweatshop in Historical and Global Perspective*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xii, 300. $24.95.

This ambitious and finely crafted collection of essays examines the dynamics of sweatshop production in the garment industry. Focusing particularly on the early twentieth century and the late twentieth century, the book attempts to link the first and second anti-sweatshop movements. While many of the articles explicitly compare the developments in these two time frames, the articles also provide a basis for readers to draw their own comparisons. This is not just an academic exercise. Editors Daniel E. Bender and Richard A. Greenwald explicitly "hope to spark a conversation in which history informs the present and becomes a tool for social and economic change" (p. 15).

Xiaolan Bao's article on late twentieth-century sweatshops in Brooklyn, New York, will sound eerily familiar to historians who have focused on the earlier period. Although the ethnic groups have changed over time, much has not: the long hours of toil, the abysmally low wages, the health hazards, the withholding of pay, and the intense vulnerability of immigrant workers. Like the early twentieth-century Jewish contractors in this sector, late twentieth-century Chinese-American employers have used their ethnic ties to exploit those from their original homelands. As Nancy L. Green's article emphasizes, the economic structure of the garment industry helps explain the harsh treatment of so many workers in both time periods. This has been a highly competitive sector, for the aspiring entrepreneur has needed little capital to put himself (or, more rarely, herself) in business. Then and now, larger manufacturers and retail establishments have played contractors off against each other, squeezing wages drastically. The instability of this sector has been augmented by the imperatives of rapidly changing clothing fashions, particularly in women's wear. The problem of the runaway shop is an old one, but, in the more recent climate of plummeting tariffs and transportation costs, firms have been running overseas in a continual search for lower costs of production and higher profits.

Yet the picture is not relentlessly bleak, for this collection also explores various forms of resistance to sweatshop conditions. In an intriguing article on "Italian Women's Political Culture in New York City's Needle Trades, 1890–1919," Jennifer Guglielmo argues against the stereotype of passive immigrant Italian women workers. She asserts that women from southern Italy and Sicily brought over traditions of protest, and she explains that the Italian-language press in the northeastern United States testifies to their activism on this side of the ocean. Guglielmo's analysis stands as an important corrective to earlier accounts that have highlighted immigrant Jewish women's activism in the needle trades while portraying immigrant Italian women as dramatically lagging behind.

The book as a whole examines many aspects of the garment unions' roles throughout the twentieth century, particularly with regard to the first and second anti-sweatshop movements. Yet the analyses of the

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unions' activism in the early twentieth century pay curiously little attention to the impact of immigrant Jewish radicals.

At the same time, this anthology highlights the growth of the second anti-sweatshop movement, focusing on key recent struggles, especially the victory at the Kuk-dong garment factory (later renamed Mexmode). As Liza Featherstone explains, this particular Mexican factory was producing sportswear to fill Nike and Reebok contracts with universities in the United States, including some of the universities where the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) had been most active. In this case, the Mexican workers' efforts to obtain better wages and eliminate abuses were promoted by the USAS, which pressured Nike and Reebok to take responsibility for improving conditions at Kuk-dong. The result is the first independent union in Mexico's *maquiladora* (export-processing) plants.

While documenting the evolution of the USAS, several articles in this collection also examine the public relations efforts of key multinational firms and their links to officials in the U.S. government. In this context, the founding of the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) in 2000 is carefully depicted as a product of the shortcomings of the Fair Labor Association (FLA), a multi-stakeholder partnership promoted by the Clinton administration. Those who viewed the FLA as a corporate whitewash had many reasons to be optimistic about the WRC. Yet the collection might have profited from a more careful analysis of the limitations of the WRC, especially with regard to the difficulties of effective factory monitoring.

This volume significantly enriches our understanding of both the first and second anti-sweatshop movements and invites activists to put this knowledge to work.

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ASIA

ROGER V. DES FORGES. *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 422. $75.00.

Roger V. Des Forges offers three different things in this large and well-illustrated book. Its first four chapters constitute a detailed sociopolitical encyclopedia of northeastern Henan province in Ming times (1368–1644). The next three chapters cover the late Ming rebellion of Li Zicheng—or, rather, Li's failed effort to found a post-Ming dynasty—with special attention to the impact of that rebellion on Henan. The conclusion offers a general theory of Chinese and world history. The first two offerings are of considerable interest. The third is problematical.

Until now, regional studies of late imperial China have slighted North China, which includes Henan. The intensive focus on Henan in this volume is, therefore, most welcome, and scholars of Chinese regionalism will now surely have to take into account the rich data that Des Forges has assiduously provided. As things stand, however, the author has not compared northeastern Henan with any other region of China. We are left in the dark as to how different a place northeast Henan was compared with, say, one of the more southerly parts of China that scholars have already worked on. The author leaves that matter to "further research" (p. 314). There is also the problem that "northeast Henan" appears to be a piece of territory carved out by the author for the sake of convenient data management. One does not get the sense that the region had any distinct meaning, or even any special name, among the various strata of its seventeenth-century population.

The chapters on Li Zicheng present a vivid narrative, especially the pages on the catastrophic flooding of the city of Kaifeng in 1642 (pp. 264–67). Des Forges makes the excellent point that, as a failed dynasty-founder, Li could not control the historiography of his efforts, and, as the author shows, some matters that pass as fact about that affair are pure myth. Still, it appears Li cannot be redeemed as any kind of heroic or tragic figure. He caused too much suffering and havoc for that, at least in the light of what he did in Henan, which had already experienced so much in the way of famine, banditry, and warfare as to make it little short of miraculous that anything resembling civilization ever managed to survive there. The woodblock illustrations attributed to the scholar-official Yang Dongming, featuring such captions as "A Mother's Suicide" and "Eating Human Flesh," and submitted by him to the throne in 1594 along with a written memorial, show the horrendous extremes that famine in Henan could reach. (Des Forges is to be congratulated for locating and reproducing these illustrations, which survive in an apparently unique copy in the Henan Provincial Museum.)

The ten-page conclusion entertains the notion of "centrality" and attempts to delineate broad trajectories in the whole sweep of Chinese and world history. Des Forges has produced a remarkable and valuable work, based on a great deal of research in the original sources, and its many positive features (too many to enumerate here) will ensure it a lasting place in our scholarship. However, its three parts are not well integrated. Not much of the exhaustive detail presented in the first four chapters is required for understanding Li Zicheng's behavior as related in the next three, and the conclusion bears no discernible relationship to either.

JOHN W. DARDESS
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PRASENJIT DUARA. *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*. (State and Society in East Asia Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. xiii, 306. $49.95.

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Prasenjit Duara, one of the most innovative historians of East Asia in the English-speaking world, has produced an immensely rich and imaginative study of Japanese-controlled Manchuria. It ranges over a multitude of theoretical issues and historical questions, from Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee to Naito Konan and Gu Jiegang, from nationalist patriarchy to East Asian modernity, from religious universalism to civilizational authenticity, and from the rise of academic ethnography in China to the changing nature of imperialism and nationalism in global history.

The main focus of the book is the state-building history of Manchuria under Japanese control. The Japanese Guandong Army seized Manchuria in 1931 and a year later created Manchukuo and installed as its emperor the last (Manchu) Chinese emperor, Henry Pu Yi. For its subservient relations with Tokyo and brutal oppression of its people, Manchukuo has been dismissed by scholars as a "puppet" regime serving Japanese militarism. This book, however, urges us to take the Japanese colonial state-building project in Manchukuo seriously.

Duara sets up his case in chapter two ("Manchukuo: A Historical Overview") by highlighting the contested nature of Manchuria in the historical and geographical imagination of China and Japan. This chapter is a masterful reconstruction of the various opposing ways of imagining and representing Manchuria—for example, while Japanese Sinologists celebrated the "autonomous history" of Manchuria, Chinese historians and geographers emphasized its "demographic Sinicization"—that made it possible for two nations to lay political claim to the region. Thus, even though Manchuria was "unalterably Chinese," as Duara argues, it was "[its] historical image . . . as a frontier, a virgin land of 'primitive' and martial people unrelated to the Chinese, that was to undergird [Japanese] claim" (p. 49). The political ambiguity of Manchuria underlies the main theme of the book: the Japanese effort to build a new form of colonial state in Manchukuo (in contrast to European imperialism).

Duara's approach is largely on the level of discourse and representation, not power structure or political economy. He discusses a number of discursive strategies and representational means by which the Manchukuo regime sought to claim sovereignty. Particularly important among them were the celebration of "Asian civilizations," alliance with local redemptive societies, and construction of a deep historical tradition of Manchuria that was in every way "primitive," uncontaminated by outside influences. This regime of discourse and representation, according to Duara, was at once parallel to and different from the Chinese "national project" that emphasized the "voluntary Sinicization" of the borderland and suppression of "superstitious" popular culture. The Manchukuo discourse of East Asian civilizational essence was drawn from a variety of regionally circulated ideas and symbols that the Japanese termed "kingly way" (including the Neo-Confucian notions of loyalty and chastity), in opposition to the alleged Western ideology of "hegemonic way." Since all Asians were supposed to share the same civilizational essence, it was Japan's historical destiny to lead Asia against the global imperialism of the West because of Japan's mastery of Western material civilization. Japanese officials in Manchuria allied with local redemptive societies in their efforts to mobilize support for the Manchukuo state. These societies championed an eclectic belief in various Asian religions including Buddhism and Daoism, which the Japanese regime conveniently equated with its Asian civilizational ideology. But a skeptic would question to what extent the Japanese were serious in identifying with these cult groups, which were marginal in both China and Japan, or simply anxious to secure support for their colonial rule. At the same time, the Japanese historical construction of Manchuria as a frontier of "grassland and hunters" inhabited by the Tungus tribes claimed that the latter were both racially and culturally related to the Japanese people; thus they were "co-nationals" (p. 187). All this reinforced the Japanese claims that Manchukuo was an "independent nation-state" and was part of the Japanese "pan-Asianist empire" (p. 174).

Duara repeatedly points out that "Japanese imperialist racism" and "imperialist desire" contradicted and, after 1937, compromised the "sovereignty claims" of the regime. However, while Duara is marvelous in explaining the ideological forces behind Japan's state-building in Manchuria and how its civilizational discourses were connected to ideas circulated in the region, his discussions of how the "imperialist desire" manifested in Japan's exercise of power are sketchy and underexamined. Similarly, Duara brings to light important but little-known figures involved in debates on Manchurian history and geography and on the meaning of pan-Asianism in China and Japan (by such varied figures as Dai Jitao, Tachibana Shiraki, Yamaguchi Juji, Inaba Kunzan, and Ling Chunsheng). But he leaves unexplained the extent to which these people and debates actually shaped the contours of Japanese policy toward Manchuria and the specific relations between the Manchukuo regime and various Chinese redemptive societies and Japanese pan-Asianist idealists. And how did these policies (and discourses) justify and relate to colonial violence in Japanese-ruled Manchuria? Duara's book is full of theoretical insights and historical imagination; it makes an exciting and important contribution to our understanding of the complexity of Manchurian history, Japanese imperialism, and East Asian nationalism.

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RODNEY KOENEKE. *Empires of the Mind: I. A. Richards and Basic English in China, 1929–1979*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. 256. $55.00.

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This book illuminates the China connection of I. A. Richards, the pathbreaking literary critic grounded in interwar internationalist politics at the University of Cambridge, where he lectured on understanding words as dynamic instruments with fluid meanings. Richards spent over four years in China, beginning with a year of teaching at Tsing Hua (Qinghua) University in 1929–1930. In 1936, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, he launched the Orthological Institute of China, later relocated from Peking (Beijing) to wartime Kunming. In 1950, Richards taught at Yenching (Yanjing) University for a semester. His final visit to China was for a lecture tour in 1979 at the invitation of the Chinese government. This scattered sojourn in China merged with a life and career equally at home in Peking, Cambridge (England), and Cambridge (Massachusetts), and spent promoting Basic English, a simplified language invented by Richards's friend C. K. Ogden.

Rodney Koeneke argues that Richards undertook his project in China to teach Basic English, to get this language into precollegiate education, and to train teachers as a progression of his critical ideas, not a departure from earlier work. For Richards, communication was the key to world peace, but the cultural assumptions embedded in language prevented cross-cultural understanding. This insight was part of Richards's negative assessment of Western modernism in the wake of World War I, and it provided the background for his discovery of China as a possibility for constructing a more humane and less commercial modern sensibility.

To empower non-native speakers of English to counter Western empire by sidestepping the problem of their lack of the assumptive associations of the language, Richards sought to standardize English in a reduced form as an international common language. This new English, consisting of 850 words (among them 600 nouns and only 18 verbs), was, in the view of Ogden and Richards, scientifically devised (the elimination of words rested on selecting the one best word to represent multiple words with similar communicative intent) and free of embedded cultural assumptions. Basic was to be the means of China's scientific and technological literacy, necessary to survive in a new world.

While appreciating that Richards's China project was an act of cultural imperialism (p. 9), Koeneke understands Richards in his own time as a critic of empire and modern excess by highlighting Richards's development of theory to inform a multicultural world. As explored in *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923), words can convey varied meanings, depending on context, including the intent of the speaker and the capability of the listener. In *Mencius on the Mind* (1932), a workover of possibilities for translation of selected portions of the writings of one of China's most venerable philosophers, Richards proffered the theory of multiple definition, suggesting the need for laying out a full range of potential meanings in deriving translation. These techniques favoring multiple perspectives ironically led Richards to see the utility of Basic as a common, universally accessible language that could serve as a remedy for cross-linguistic complexity. To accommodate a complicated view of Richards's "cultural hybridity" (p. 16), Koeneke engages what Winston Churchill characterized in a 1943 speech at Harvard as "empires of the mind," not of land, that would constitute the "empires of the future" (p. 187).

Readers should be aware that this book is about Richards and his thought, using China, as Richards seems to have done, as a backdrop. While Koeneke has worked out a good sense of the progression of China's twentieth-century history in order to see where Richards fit into it, errors here and there in historical details and Chinese names confirm the flat quality of the China side of the story. Richards's Chinese associates, among them Y. R. Chao, the physicist turned linguist who authored *The Mandarin Primer*, have little personality and agency in Koeneke's representation.

The book still deserves a wide audience, even if it has no example from *The Iliad* or other Western classics as rendered in Basic English by Richards. Among the contributions of the book is the theoretical exploration, largely informed by the late Edward Said, of culture, ideas, and empire. Another is the evocation of historical moment in apt selections from archival sources: for example, first-hand accounts by Dorothea and I. A. Richards of the Japanese occupation of Peking in August 1937. Another is the enriched thoughtfulness this study can offer to the many students who find their way to China or other overseas places to teach English.

SUZANNE WILSON BARNETT
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SABINE FRÜHSTÜCK. *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*. (Colonialisms, number 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. x, 267. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

This comprehensive survey of discourses on sexuality in modern Japan focuses on the role of the capitalist-imperialist state, from 1868, in the construction of attitudes and behavior among the masses. Its five well-argued chapters are organized thematically rather than along strict chronological lines. In the first, Sabine Frühstück describes how, from the inception of the modern state, authorities sought to ensure the (sexual) health and hygiene of the soldiery, the prostitutes thought necessary to service them, and children (as future citizens and soldiers)—three categories vital to the nation conceptualized as a Spencerian "social organism." Of particular interest here is how the state associated sexual virility with warfare, issuing condoms to troops in the 1930s with such names as "Attack Champion."

The second chapter examines the debate about sexual education in the early twentieth century, when the budding (German) field of sexology reached Japan,

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producing a variety of scholars who either urged the provision of "scientific" information about sex to schoolchildren or challenged its desirability, and debates about the proper role of schoolteachers and parents in this education. The key concern for most was the curbing of childhood sexual interest and masturbation.

The broader provision of "sexology for the masses" is addressed in chapter three, devoted in large part to popular journals and the role of socialists who lectured publicly during the 1920s and 1930s. Among other things, they viewed men's casual indulgence in prostitution as a negative function of capitalism and challenged the view of masturbation as pathology. Meanwhile, popular magazines dispensed Freudian concepts alongside sensationalist material, frequently meeting with official censorship or closure.

"Claiming the Fetus" then treats the problem of contraception in the context of the expanding empire. Here the linkages between colonizing Asia and controlling domestic behavior become especially clear. Well into the 1930s, birth control devices and methods were widely advertised and advocated, but abortion was officially banned. From the 1910s, the feminist movement, alongside the socialists, had argued for birth control, meeting with government repression. (The regime sought to prevent Margaret Sanger's visit in 1922, and after yielding to public pressure, restricted her movements.) While advocates pointed to Japan's overpopulation problem, opponents argued that that problem could only be solved through foreign settlement, requiring more children who could grow into conquerors.

The final chapter, "Breeding the Race," treats "racial hygiene" (including the application of approved abortion and sterilization to those not meeting racial standards); the advocacy of hormonal treatments and drugs to make women more fertile and men more potent; and renewed attention to a couple's mutual sexual satisfaction as being of service to the state. A brief section on the postwar period notes the continuation of forced sterilization up into the 1990s; the censorship of some sexological journals; "purity education" in schools; and marriage encouragement. The "colonial ruling apparatus," according to Frühstück, "continued into the immediate postwar era" (p. 184).

At this point, one wants to ask who was doing the colonizing? What Frühstück has so far described is a complex interaction of discourses involving doctors, politicians, sexologists, journalists, military men. They express widely varying views on all topics discussed and hold differing views about foreign colonization; it is not clear to me that the masses' views and behavior pertaining to sex were effectively controlled by official pronouncements or predominant academic opinion. (Aspects of Tokugawa-era sexuality surely lingered into the twentieth century, and contemporary Japanese sexuality seems a world apart from that favored by elites in the 1930s and 1940s. Perhaps there is more continuity in practice than Frühstück in her splendidly researched and generally persuasive work implies.)

An epilogue declares that "attempts at administering sex [and] emphasis on a hardly questioned heteronormality have not been subject to major conceptual changes since . . . the first half of the twentieth century" (p. 186). This is shown by the rapid official approval (in 1998) of Viagra, compared with the longstanding hesitancy to legalize the contraception pill (in 1999). The incongruity reflects officials' demographic concerns. Citing recent surveys, Frühstück claims that "present-day accountants of sexual behavior," like their prewar counterparts, "are similarly firm about creating a sexual normalcy" (p. 197). If so, they seem unsuccessful.

The author makes one small error, I think: on page 116 she apparently mistranslates the caption over the couple in the cartoon on page 117.

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BARBARA SATO. *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 241. $19.95.

The emergence of mass culture in Japan has been the subject of a number of interesting books and anthologies in recent years, generating larger discussions about the meanings of "modernity" in early twentieth-century Japanese society. Barbara Sato's wonderfully illustrated book adds to this discussion by focusing on women in Japan's new middle class. The "modern girl" (*moga*) who has been central to narratives of the interwar period is joined, or overshadowed, here by the presence of two other, larger groups: middle-class housewives and professional working women. While the *moga*'s resistance was played out in very public urban arenas, and was memorialized on a daily basis by the Japanese press, Sato sees the transformation of housewives and working women as a much more subtle, but perhaps even more important, development.

If consumption was the marker of Japan's new middle class, it was most visible among these groups of middle-class women who, between department store shopping trips and visits to urban cafés, read the expanding number and variety of women's magazines available to them in this period. Sato's extensive investigation of these magazines leads her to conclude that they were the primary generators of the public perception of "mass culture" as a synonym for "women's culture" in the 1920s when "women and consumption defined each other through the dominance of women's magazines over the mass cultural landscape" (p. 95).

One can admire Sato's commitment to bringing urban middle-class women into the discussion of significant change in the 1920s. Still, as the book makes clear, teasing threads of significant change among

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middle-class women from the narratives of women's magazines is a daunting challenge. Women's magazines, Sato points out, were (and still are) widely criticized for their staunchly apolitical content and their well-deserved reputation as purveyors of the status quo, not transformation. As Sato points out, "family articles lacked news value in that they did not apprise women of current events. Although the founding of *Shufu no tomo* coincided with World War I, one could easily have read the magazine unaware that a war was underway in Europe" (p. 99).

Sato admits the well-publicized shortcomings of women's magazines but wants us to consider what they reveal about middle-class women who changed and were changed by them. She makes a strong case for the representation of the *moga*, housewife, and (professional) working women in the pages of women's magazines, making them an unusual, if not unique, source of information on middle-class women. The fact that many of the content changes pushed by editors eager to sell magazines represented the competing demands of housewives, working women, and "modern girls" reinforces the argument for increasing levels of self-awareness on the part of readers. But the real treasure trove of information on all of these women seems to be, not surprisingly, readers' letters and confessional articles, a space made available by women's magazines "where women gradually broke the silence surrounding their personal lives" (p. 117).

Ultimately, however, the argument of the book seems not so much about transformations as small changes; what Sato describes as "fledgling steps taken by women to map out new possibilities for self-fulfillment" (p. 155). She believes the principal reason these changes have not been given the kind of attention they deserve is that they were individual and private; however, it is possible to see readers' discussions of such private, individual changes (love, sex, marriage) as potentially serious sites of resistance, not simply "small-scale resistance" (p. 155). What seems to be missing is a fuller theoretical discussion of this and related issues, a discussion that would enable us to see more clearly how the "small" or "large"-scale resistance of middle-class women might have challenged Japanese society in the 1920s.

Anyone working on gender in the interwar period will find a wealth of valuable material in this book; it provides what is probably the best exposition in English of the historical development of women's magazines and their promotion of consumerism in the 1920s. It also provides one of the fullest accounts in English of the social criticism directed at middle-class women by intellectuals (men and women) on the left who were infuriated by their lack of political consciousness, and those on the right who believed they were undermining the family and the "traditional values" it represented. Although I am not sure that Sato really makes a convincing argument linking consumerism, middle-class women, and a growing sense of agency, I do believe her book is a valuable contribution to the ongoing discussion of all of these issues, and more, in interwar Japan. It is well worth reading.

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IAN J. BARROW. *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India, c.1756–1905*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 212. Rs. 920.00.

This book is an interesting but frustrating attempt to trace the relationships among British cartography in India, the anxieties of empire, and the construction of British identity from the early attempts of the East India Company to annex territorial possessions to the era of "high" empire under Lord Curzon. More specifically, Ian J. Barrow seeks to show how different historical arguments were used to justify British possessions in India as the nature of the empire evolved, and how these arguments were both inscribed in and legitimated through maps.

The ambitions of the book can most easily be set forth by triangulating it with Matthew H. Edney's important work on British imperial cartography in India (to which Barrow makes extended reference), *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (1997). Edney focused on the transition from route surveys to the mathematical rigor of trigonometrical surveying, paying considerable attention to cartographic technicalities, whereas Barrow prefers to canvass a far wider range of cartographic representations, including the politics of place names and maps in tour guides, eschewing any technical information. Further, Edney looks at maps as geographical documents delineating space, where Barrow is more concerned with the historical messages — the narrative stories of possession — that maps were made to represent. In this concern with maps as documents that mesh time and space, Barrow fruitfully picks up on a theme more prevalent in cartographic histories of medieval *mappae mundi* than in early modern and modern cartographic history. Finally, Edney's story is of how the shape on the map that we associate with the name "India" was a cartographic construct that took a century of imperial mapping to emerge. Edney shows, then, how empire constructed India, where Barrow focuses on the ways in which India was used to construct a British sense of identity. Barrow's study productively brings together cartographic, imperial, and postcolonial historiographies.

Yet this is also a frustrating book for several reasons. Above all, Barrow is seeking to make some wide-ranging claims about empire, history, and cartography in the space of a rather brief study. As a result, his actual analyses of maps are almost always too short, a problem only accentuated by the long preambles to each chapter that set out his use of terms such as "romance" and "nostalgia." To take one example, Barrow's first substantive chapter focuses on the work of James Rennell, the East India Company's first

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surveyor general in the 1760s. At a time when the Company was struggling both to control territory in India and to develop a positive public image at home in Britain, Barrow sees Rennell as seeking to project a reassuring parallelism between India and England by deploying the conventions of cadastral maps dedicated to English landowners in the Indian context. This is an interesting argument, but it is not explicated in enough detail to satisfy the reader. Barrow only analyzes the dedicatory cartouches to each map in Rennell's *A Bengal Atlas* (1779), making little reference to the maps themselves in terms of their construction and representational strategies. Furthermore, Barrow makes no use of Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (1792), which presented his explication of the map, an omission that seems remarkable given the extent to which the credibility of route survey maps such as Rennell's was built around prose explications.

In short, Barrow's persistent neglect of the technicalities of making maps is a major weakness throughout the book, as is his tendency to focus on one element of the maps he is analyzing at the expense of all others. The result is that Barrow tends to assert his interpretations of the ways in which colonial cartography worked as time progressed, but he never really convinces the reader through the presentation of evidence. Yet it would be remiss not to note that chapter three of this book, on the history of the naming of Mount Everest, avoids these pitfalls, focusing as it does on the vexed politics of that nomenclature and presenting its narrative at length and in convincing detail. The Everest chapter shows how interesting and important Barrow's book might have been, if he had chosen to pursue a more protracted engagement with cartographic culture in order to make a significant contribution to imperial and postcolonial history.

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JEAN M. LANGFORD. *Fluent Bodies: Ayurvedic Remedies for Postcolonial Imbalance*. (Body, Commodity, Text.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 311. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

This is an important book. Jean M. Langford provides an insightful description of how different ayurvedic traditions developed and coexisted in both colonial and independent India. This is significant precisely because far too many historians—particularly those involved in detailed analyses of ayurvedic texts—tend simplistically to present specific Sanskrit tomes as the products of an all-encompassing, unchanging, and water-tight "system" (often describing them as far more important they were likely to have been). What is generally ignored, as a result, is the very complex nature of ayurvedic practice, which is influenced by a host of political, social, and economic influences—something that becomes strikingly apparent when one researches vernacular texts and conducts interviews with the wide range of practitioners working in the diverse nations that constitute the subcontinent. Langford's work shows, quite powerfully, why it is useful to study different working traditions, especially in an increasingly globalized world, wherein various "internationalized" forms of ayurveda are now on offer, generally in response to certain forms of demand emanating from the developed world.

The author's formidable linguistic, analytical, and writing skills shine through in this book. Her descriptions of interactions with different practitioners, of their views and their working practices, and, not least, of the resilience of arguments and stances visible in the colonial period are compelling and instructive. At the same time, Langford quite consciously pays particular attention to the postcolonial story, describing its complexities imaginatively, and alerting readers to trends that politically charged treatises tend to ignore.

However, the general focus of this book could also be considered to be a weakness by some. While Langford deals with the British Indian context and the impact of nationalist constructions on the presentation of ayurveda, her treatment of these themes is relatively fleeting and, sometimes, simplistic. Was there, for instance, one nationalistic viewpoint in twentieth-century India? Is it correct to assume that all representatives of the Indian National Congress spoke with one voice? Did the private views of individuals and "representatives" not differ from arguments that were publicly presented? In fact, did the project intended to ensure the spread of ayurveda not become imbricated in a whole range of political issues that were affected by differing patchworks of caste, linguistic, and economic concerns visible in different provinces? And what about the practice of ayurveda among Sikh communities in British and princely Punjab, whose proponents often contested some Hindu constructions of the tradition, especially as the activities of different groups of practitioners developed links with an increasingly acrimonious language movement (southern India, it must be mentioned, also has Christian practitioners of ayurveda)? Also, we seem to be asked to believe that ayurvedic traditions in British India developed largely in opposition to colonial policy. I am sure that certain elements of ayurveda did. But what of the provision of ayurveda through state-supported schemes and institutions in provinces like British Bombay, where rural healthcare facilities were expanded by the employment of *vaids* in the 1930s (interestingly, before the accession to power of a Congress ministry in the province)?

Some of these issues are, in my opinion, also relevant to the independent Indian contexts. All governments have interventionist ambitions, especially with regard to the regulation of indigenous medical traditions. Civilian organizations seeking to present themselves as most able to speak for a supposedly unified "system" of ayurveda also tend to be interested in developing regulatory mechanisms capable of influ-

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encing activities of practitioners along specific lines. But, it would be simplistic to assume that government or nongovernmental agencies were consistently able to dictate the contours of ayurvedic practice in urban and rural contexts along desired lines; this aspect of ayurveda is deeply influenced by the attitude of the patient and the workings of the medical marketplace, which tends to be affected, in turn, by a plethora of local, social, and institutional configurations. While Langford speaks about the influence and attitude of the "global" patient, it would have been nice to have more detailed descriptions of the attitudes of the great range of indigenous consumers and the ability—or incapacity—of some of these groups to transform the provision of ayurvedic remedies. Also, it is worth mentioning here that state support for rural ayurvedic practices resulted in the development of an entire cadre of workers who were distinct from individuals criticized for indulging in "unscientific" folk medicine and religious practices; the urban-rural divide, while undoubtedly important, has a far more complex character than the author seems to suggest.

All that said, it is worth reiterating the importance of this book and its usefulness as a teaching and research tool; undergraduates and postgraduates, as well as teachers in history and anthropology departments worldwide, are likely to find it of great interest.

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VIVEK CHIBBER. *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialisation in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 334. $39.50.

Two stories, both unilinear, are prevalent about independent India's economic policies: the fake socialism story and the heroic liberalization story. The first story runs as follows: economic planning in Jawaharlal Nehru's India was an eyewash, and, as was bound to happen, even the pretence of socialism has now been abandoned. The second story is this: economic deregulation in the 1990s freed India from "the license-permit Raj" of the Five Year Plans and has at length set it on the path to development. As far as I know, no one has yet effectively told a third possible story: that socialist planning and laissez-faire might have been the appropriate policies in their respective time slots and were realistically pursued as such by the policy makers of the 1950s and 1990s.

Vivek Chibber offers us an interesting and unexpected variant of the first story. For him, Nehruvian planning is still "capitalist planning" (p. 148), not socialist planning. More, not less, state control was necessary. Only the model for "real" planning is no longer Joseph Stalin's Russia, nor Mao Zedong's China: it is Park Chung-Hee's South Korea. Park, too, controlled industry through licenses and permits, but he did so with a tighter fist than Nehru. A military coup in 1961 brought the dictator to power. He installed the Economic Planning Board, nationalized the banks, and eventually persuaded the big businessmen, after initially arresting some of them, to embark on an export-led developmental crash course climaxed by heavy and chemical industrialization. Chibber compares Nehru's Planning Commission unfavourably with Park's Economic Planning Board, because unlike the latter it had no real power. India, it may be recalled, had a parliamentary and cabinet form of government, and the various economic ministries, as might be expected, refused to deliver over powers of coordination and policy implementation to a truly centralized Planning Commission. As the story proceeds, it becomes clear that Park had scant regard for the Economic Planning Board. The real center of policy planning and implementation was the Blue House, where he resided. The only time India had a government comparable to that was during the Emergency (1975–1977) imposed by Indira Gandhi. It is heartening to see Chibber disapproving of the Emergency in no uncertain terms.

The problem of the comparison with South Korea goes deeper. South Korea under Park eventually settled on a policy of Export-Led Industrialization (ELI) and it was then that centralized planning delivered the goods, for Korean businessmen saw the advantage of cooperating with the government in order to attain the technological efficiency needed to capture foreign markets for their goods. The Planning Commission in India predicated the Five Year Plans, quite logically, upon Import-Substituting Industrialization (ISI). ELI, on the Korean pattern, was not a sensible alternative. The population was vast, the domestic market big, poverty massive, technology backward, and goods necessarily basic in nature and of low quality. What was possible in Korea was not possible in India. Close and successful governmental coordination in the former country was possible because of its small size, nondemocratic form of government, and export drive, to say nothing of the higher level of public health and primary education there in the 1960s.

That is not to deny that ISI and the consequent License-Permit Raj bred sheltered domestic monopolies, undermined competitive technical efficiency, and damaged India's industrial capacity for penetrating foreign markets. It did all these things. There is much sense in Chibber's thesis that the fragmentation of the policy apparatus and the inability to discipline the capitalists (not just corruption and clientelism) prevented industrial policy from delivering the desired objective: development.

In all the possible alternative stories outlined above, including the interesting twist Chibber has given to the first tale, the reader would be well advised not to forget the limited reach of state intervention and government policy, especially when dealing with large masses of population. In the greatest story ever told, Leo Tolstoy warned historians against the tendency to overestimate the effectiveness of generals in battles and of rulers in states, and affirmed that whole armies, whole popula-

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tions, not just the generals, nor the rulers, decide the fate of battles, the destiny of nations. *War and Peace*'s portrait of a vast, inchoate population moving dimly and inexorably to inscrutable destinations is a cautionary lesson to those who would play around with a few variables in state and government. Where economics involves hundreds of millions of people, economic intervention is effective only when the whole population, the whole culture, the whole tightly knit government backed by that culture move in the same direction. It is not that such things never happen, but they happen seldom.

Take two large masses: for instance, India and China. Surely what will matter in such a comparison will be the habits of the population, the discipline, the community cooperative structures, the amount of respect for governments and persons in authority (including the strength of the instinct for kowtowing), and the extent to which power comes to concentrate at a small number of points in the entire complex structure. These are simply a few of the more important variables.

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OCEANIA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS

MICHAEL STURMA. *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 95.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. x, 193. $63.95.

Denis Diderot called the South Seas "the great ocean of fantasy," a place where the unconscious of the European subject has free play, where all repressions are lifted, and where life is ceaselessly to be enjoyed. In his *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* (1772), he exhibits this fantasy in an exclusively sexual aspect, relying on the testimony of the first sequence of European voyagers to touch there, all of whom were surprised and most of them charmed by the apparent lack of restraint governing the sexual behavior of Tahitians. Here men and women went without clothes, James Cook reported, and bread grew upon trees. When he described a scene of public copulation in Tahiti, John Hawkesworth deeply shocked his British readers, although he had done little more than transcribe the journals of Cook and the botanist Joseph Banks. No wonder, then, that the image that most cogently represents the fantasy of the South Seas is that of handsome young women, like the one who emerged naked on the deck of Bougainville's ship when he reached Tahiti, like Venus (he said) rising from the waves. This is what Michael Sturma calls the myth of the "nubile" savage, the female inhabitant of a terrestrial paradise who vividly and voluptuously holds out the promise of Eve in Eden: sinless sex.

Certainly, there are many traces of this fantasy in journals and fiction, most of them mentioned in Sturma's book: Bougainville's Venus; Purea (or Oberea), with whom Banks had an affair; the daughters of Orou in Diderot's *Supplément*; Poedua, taken hostage by Cook during his third voyage and painted by John Webber; the Tahitian women the *Bounty* mutineers could not bear to leave; and Herman Melville's Fayaway, who used her clothes as sails and her body as a mast to amuse her European lover. There are, of course, more workaday unions on the beach, such as Wiltshire's and Uma's in Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Beach of Falesá* (1892); but the fantasy thrives best on a combination of youth and an incorruptible passion, usually preserved in the amber of death or departure, for which there are many examples in ancient literature (Nausicaa, Circe, Dido). Fantasies are not meant to last. No sooner were they inhabited in the South Seas than corruption set in and destroyed them. A bad outbreak of venereal disease afflicted Tahiti after the visits of the first British and French ships. A century later, Paul Gauguin caught sight of paradise there through the lens of syphilis.

It was clear from J. R. Forster's *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World* (1778), garnered during the second of Cook's voyages, that assumptions about sexual liberty in the South Seas, and about the beauty of the women there, were incorrect. Compared with Tierra del Fuego and New Zealand, Tahiti stood out as a culture much more sophisticated and wealthy than others, in which the position of women was correspondingly complex. As Sturma points out, Forster's anthropological material was of great use to political philosophers such as John Millar and Gottfried Herder in formulating ideas about the growth of nations and the evolution of sexual politics. The myth of the South Seas maiden was as fallible, it turned out, as the other great myth of the South Seas, the cannibal, whose existence was hotly debated then and is contested even today. The experts knew there was no terrestrial paradise, even though a lot of them still believed in the existence of a Great Southern Continent. As they unrolled the great map of mankind they could see reasonably clearly the lines that led from sheer primitives such as the Fuegians to the elegant Tahitians, and from them to Europeans. Much less nuanced and discriminate were the first impressions of mariners who had been shipbound for months on a bad diet and in harsh conditions. When they made landfall, especially in tropical islands, the depth of their privations corresponded to the height of their expectations, and there was nothing that struck their senses, from birdsong to sex, that did not seem transcendently delicious and wonderful.

To concentrate on the particular fantasy of sexual liberty at the expense of the other factors that determined it is to reproduce the partiality of first impressions and to ignore the contradictions that Diderot sows so cleverly among his visions of unlimited fertility in the *Supplément*. This is what the entertainment industry has done with its numerous versions of the mutiny on *H. M. S. Bounty*. The chief virtue of

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Sturma's book lies in the knowledge it displays of films about the South Seas, beginning with Frank Hurley's *Pearls and Savages* (1921) and the remarkable early New Zealand film, *A Maori Maid's Love* (1916). This is his forte, and his book would have been more authoritative had it enlarged on this theme and assigned a smaller role to the history of exploration.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

VICTORIA FREEMAN. *Distant Relations: How My Ancestors Colonized North America*. South Royalton, Vt.: Steerforth. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 535. $35.00.

By her own admission, Victoria Freeman is "not an academic, a historian, or a theoretician" (p. xxii). But she felt "burdened" by the historical injustices stemming from the colonization and settlement of North America, so she decided to research her ancestors' role in the process (p. xiv). The resulting book reads like a catharsis, intended to mourn the state of Native Americans in Canada and the United States and the lack of empathy felt toward them by many non-Natives.

The book has an episodic structure, with sections focusing on particular families in Freeman's genealogy and their relationships with Native peoples. She has links to an early New England missionary and an interpreter, a scalping victim in Vermont, a Methodist missionary in Upper Canada, and an administrator of a residential school in Northwestern Ontario. Hers is a family tree that allows for an innovative and highly personal history of Indian-white relations.

Nevertheless, the overarching themes for the first two-thirds of the book will be familiar to those steeped in the related academic literature. Freeman describes how her ancestors initially lived in a New England where Native Americans and colonists, even if they did not always understand one another, were interdependent, at least until pressures on the land and King Philip's War cataclysmically polarized the two groups. Taking her story north and west, Freeman then finds that "many of the old patterns of interaction between Natives and newcomers that had developed in the New England colonies were transplanted to Canada" (p. 288).

Freeman's treatment of seventeenth and eighteenth-century New England offers well-written, descriptive syntheses of the intellectual and social milieu in which her relations lived. The scarcity of sources often prevents her from discussing her family members specifically, and they come close to fading from view. To counter this tendency, Freeman punctuates her narrative with musings linking an ancestor to the historical context. These reflections often seem like a narrative crutch, but they can be helpfully provocative; she wonders whether Thomas Stanton was "elated or horrified" by the massacre of Pequots in 1637, or if Hannah Janes ever felt whole again after she was scalped in 1704 (pp. 116, 252). Engaging as this might be, the analytical essence of the book's early chapters offers little more than the observation that her relations were products of their times.

As Freeman delves into the twentieth century, and the lives of not so distant relations, the speculative musings become less frequent, and her ancestors appear more as protagonists than as part of a general milieu. Growing up, Freeman had thought of her grandfather as the "epitome of goodness" and a friend of aboriginal people (p. 355). Only later did she learn that his work with the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School in Ontario made him complicit in the suffering of Native children. His conviction that Indians would benefit by converting to Christianity made him not much different than Freeman's more remote ancestor, the seventeenth-century missionary John Eliot. And although Freeman had a more intimate tie to her grandfather, her conclusions about him do not veer from those for her earlier forbears. Like Eliot, her grandfather "was a good man by the standards of his culture and time," but "all of us are prisoners of our own time and its limited understanding" (p. 406).

Freeman concludes with an exploration of what it means to have ancestors who, despite good intentions, committed cruel acts. She claims that her work has assuaged her feelings of guilt, but not of connectedness, toward the past. By studying her ancestors and the tendency for the past to repeat itself, she came to realize more than ever the fallibility of all humans. Perhaps more important, she ruminates on why even those without genealogical ties to this past should study it and feel a burden similar to hers. The past has left a legacy of suffering and inequality for Native peoples today. Failure to empathize with them renders them "non-persons," an attitude in common with that of those who committed past atrocities (p. 457). At the same time, Freeman recognizes that she cannot view Indians simply as victims, lest she be guilty of some of the very paternalism that shaped the past. Although Freeman's revelations will not be new to most historians, her approach is elegant and innovative, and the book worthy of a broad audience.

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ALBERT BRAZ. *The False Traitor: Louis Riel in Canadian Culture*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 245. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

Louis Riel was the Metis leader whose resistance to Canada's annexation of Rupert's Land (the Hudson's Bay Company territory) led to the founding of Manitoba in 1870, and whose 1885 Metis uprising led to his execution later that year. He is the only Native historical personage whom most Canadians can name when asked. Albert Braz's book surveys novels, poetry, drama, and other literary genres, in English and French, from 1885 onward to analyze their representations of this controversial figure. Braz's study is

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comprehensive; his twenty-three-page bibliography is itself a valuable compendium of works, some famous, many obscure, on his subject. Although the book is short on historical context, it is a nuanced examination of the literature on a man who continues to evoke strong feelings in Canada, and whose contested character and actions reveal some enduring fault lines in Canada's confederation and polity.

The title derives from Riel's indictment for treason in July 1885: "Louis Riel . . . not regarding the duty of his allegiance, nor having the fear of God in his heart, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil as a false traitor against our said Lady the Queen." Here, "false" intensified the term "traitor." But Braz plays on a double entendre—false as the opposite of true—and on the fact that Riel, born in Red River (Rupert's Land) before it was Canada, and being a U.S. citizen in the 1880s, did not see himself as Canadian or as a traitor to Queen Victoria, since he was not her subject. Canada, he wrote, was a foreign power, and the Canadian Confederation was *"une fraude immense, une tyrannie colossale"* (p. 41).

A moving target while he lived, Riel in death took on new lives as writers claimed him for various interests and agendas. Braz finds that "the reason Riel changes so markedly over time, and across space, is that most of the purported representations of the politician-mystic are less about him than about their authors and their specific social reality" (p. 3). He examines successive and dueling representations of Riel as Red River patriot (Braz's own perspective), traitor, martyr, cultural mediator, mystic/madman, and, finally, as "Canadian patriot in spite of himself." Anglophones and francophones, Protestants and Catholics, politicians and historians have all enlisted him. In 1968, when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau dedicated a Riel statue (itself controversial) in Regina, he spoke on minority rights and "the place of protest in a democracy" (p. 7). Novelist Ralph Connor, in *The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail* (1914), used Riel as a foil for the valiant North West Mounted Police who saved Western Canada from becoming "an empire . . . from which the white race shall be excluded" (p. 58). For Rudy Wiebe (*The Scorched-Wood People* [1977]), Riel was "a Western protest leader and a crusading Anabaptist" (p. 178).

The ultimate irony, in light of Riel's own perspectives on Canada, is, Braz concludes, his "apparent emergence as the only feasible Anglo-Canadian hero" (p. 202), bridge builder, father of Manitoba, and thereby a father (albeit contested) of Confederation. Literate and the only major "Canadian" political leader to have all his writings published, also a victim, exemplar of multiculturalism, bilingual, Aboriginal through one grandparent while French through the rest, he touches every Canadian. He has been assimilated, even appropriated, by literary Anglo-Canada, by novelists, dramatists, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, even more than by his ancestral Quebec. Braz does not say much on Aboriginal responses, but he notes (p. 201) many Native people's ambivalence about Riel's conservative Catholicism, his eastern education, and his distance from First Nations communities and from western Metis whose roots in Plains buffalo-hunting life and culture were very different from his.

The subject of this book will not fade away. Several moves to exonerate Riel through pardon or other legal or parliamentary means are underway in Canada. In turn, Metis leaders and Riel's relatives are reclaiming his case as theirs. Lawyer Jean Teillet, great grandniece of Louis Riel, rejects a pardon as implying a crime in the first place and as leaving the appearance "that the government had exonerated itself for its own actions." Through her words, Riel challenges once more the writers reviewed in this book, and perhaps most Canadians: "It may be that the government needs pardoning for its miscarriage of justice towards Riel and its ongoing injustice to the Metis. Perhaps the Metis and the Riel Family should pardon Canada instead."

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RONALD RUDIN. *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878–1908*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 290. Cloth $60.00, paper $27.95.

Ronald Rudin's book is evidence of a growing interest by Canadian and international historians in public commemorations and displays of historical memory, particularly for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Like fellow historians H. V. Nelles, Alan Gordon, Norman Knowles, Robert Cupido, Colin Coates, and this reviewer, Rudin explores the public spectacles of memory and history orchestrated by members of Canadian society, both their "onstage" manifestation in parades, processions, and pageants and the "backstage" tensions and dynamics that at times resulted in compromises over the former's shape and structure. The book examines the four celebrations in Quebec City's streets of Bishop Francis Xavier de Montmorency Laval, the first bishop of Quebec, and Samuel de Champlain, the "founder" of Quebec City.

To some extent the commemorators' choice of these particular figures comes as no surprise. As Rudin points out, their activities were neither isolated nor unique; rather, they were part of this period's fascination with "heroes" (and to a lesser degree heroines) whose personalities and exploits were the subject of public ceremonials that could be sumptuously designed and staged. Moreover, the world view of the commemorators (and those who funded them) tended to place great value on a historical subject having been a first or a founder. As in many commemorations, timing played a role for better or worse: the discovery of Laval's bones in the basement of Quebec's Basilica, for example, came at precisely the right moment for a Roman Catholic Church divided between ultramon-

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tanes and liberals. Remembering—and reburying—Laval helped to smooth over these divisions and also gave a boost to the liberal Archbishop Elzéar Taschereau's leadership. But, as Rudin points out, not all of these ceremonies proved quite so beneficial to the careers of individuals, clergy and lay, or to the fortunes of the institutions they represented. The Catholic laity did not contribute to Laval's monument to the degree hoped for by the church; the Quebec nationalist Société de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec found its initiatives (the Laval monument and the Champlain tercentenary) appropriated either by the church or by Lord Grey, the British governor general; and, despite the concessions and compromises made by ceremony organizers and the levels of middle-class Quebecois participation in them, Rudin's portrait depicts a society in which too much was given away for many spectators to be truly moved by the ceremonies. In his epilogue, he suggests that public uneasiness and disaffection may well account for Champlain and Laval losing their popularity to the figure of Dollard des Ormeaux, the "hero" of the Long-Sault, whose fatal encounter with the Iroquois was transformed into a pivotal episode in the defense of French Canada.

This book is a well-written and meticulously researched contribution to both Canadian history and the study of historical memory and commemoration. At times, though, the level of detail can detract from Rudin's larger themes, particularly his exploration of the role of elites and the state in shaping Quebec society's sense of its past. Moreover, despite the fact that the book focuses on the memorialization of two male figures by male leaders of church and state, Rudin refrains from analyzing the gendered dimensions of these processes. Yet the links among gender, historical memory, and national identities, while complicated, have been shown to be critically important, especially in this period when many middle and upper-class women in the Western world were directly engaged in a range of commemorative activities. I would also like to know more about the formation of Laval's and Champlain's images in other venues, such as textbooks and popular culture. While focusing on ceremonies such as parades, pageants, and monuments is logical and useful in understanding the uses to which "history" was put in Quebec, this methodological strategy runs the risk of missing other genres and their creators, particularly those who did not belong to elites. Studies of a society's commemorations have the potential to illuminate a variety of cultural, political, and social dimensions, but that potential can only be realized when historians extend their range of sources and methodologies as widely as possible.

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MARK MOSS. *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War.* (The Canadian Social History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 216. $21.95.

Part of the Canadian Social History Series, this book is centrally concerned with identifying and explaining a cult of manliness that developed in Victorian and Edwardian Ontario. It is Mark Moss's contention that young Ontario men rushed to volunteer at the beginning of World War I because they had been thoroughly socialized to embrace war. In the years preceding the war, Ontario's boys were persuasively trained by family, church, school, government, and the press, and through popular juvenile literature, on playing fields, through military drill, and by toys and games. Such an upbringing, according to Moss, instilled a strong sense of patriotism and a desire for adventure and going to war. Boys grew up to become loyal warriors for Canada.

Just as there is a large literature from the time demonstrating martial attitudes, so, too, is there a large and international scholarly literature on his topic for Moss to draw on. Despite the particular focus on Ontario, the first part of the book places the study in a wider context. Imperialism and militarism are covered in chapter two, and ideas, myths, and the modern state are the subjects of chapter three. Moss is thorough and reveals much useful contextual material, including the crisis of masculinity, Social Darwinism, eugenics, Protestantism, muscular Christianity, and chivalry.

Chapters four to seven detail how manliness and militarism were instilled into Ontario's young boys. Covering pre-World War I themes and subjects in a young man's reading, in chapter four Moss argues that books were used to promote and sustain a moral education. He contends that boys internalized the values that they read from adventure stories and were then influenced by them as adults. Chapter five turns to the politicization of schooling. Sport is portrayed as forming moral character. Interestingly, Moss reveals that drill was introduced in Ontario's elite private schools as early as 1865, becoming a significant feature of everyday school life. Chapter six begins with the crisis of masculinity induced by the South Africa War. It then looks at the attempts made to remedy the situation, in particular through scouting, sport, and hunting. Once again, the emphasis is on producing good citizens and good soldiers. Chapter seven argues that manliness and militarism also pervaded the area of play. Against a backdrop of increasing urbanization, the wilderness became a national symbol, and boys at play emulated their war and sporting heroes. Even toys were directed toward shaping the self.

Moss's arguments and evidence are alluring. The strength of this book is the demonstration of how a hegemonic identity of manhood and militarism was constructed. Yet is it going too far to suggest that young boys "anxiously awaited their test of manhood" (p. 38) in World War I? Throughout the book, Moss merges myth and reality, fact and fiction, and his theoretical arguments concerning social structure are blended with the agency of individual boys. As his sources are textual, the emphasis is on analyzing discourses rather than on recovering personal opin-

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ions. This approach serves to unify masculine identity in the past, giving it more coherence than perhaps existed, and leaving little room for resistance. The evidence that does give the opinions of individuals is gleaned from autobiographies by those likely to have glorified their wartime experiences.

The book's focus on gender identity, and not gender relations, serves to solidify an essential masculine identity in the past. Becoming a warrior and hunter is naturalized as man's true place. There is no room to explore the influence of mothers, or to develop the place of women teachers in instilling patriotism. Moss states that there were major differences between boys and girls, and is uninterested in analyzing them. If socialization did proceed by developing mutually defined sex roles, however, Moss's analysis would be deepened by exploring gender relations, especially with regard to concepts of chivalry and sacrifice. Likewise, the influence of race and class is not explicitly analyzed.

Moss's study covers a primal topic. Rather than compare and contrast Ontario's history with other parts of Canada or the world, however, it draws upon an international literature and looks inward. Just how Ontario differed from British Columbia, New Zealand, or Australia awaits investigation.

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CARVILLE EARLE. *The American Way: A Geographical History of Crisis and Recovery*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. xviii, 449. $69.95.

In this bold overview, Carville Earle discerns a powerful rhythm in American history and historical geography. While accepting Nikolai Kondratieff's long waves of economic change, Earle does not emphasize either the periodic crises in "the world capitalist economy" or the role of war in creating the half-century-long waves. Earle's American way is much more complex, nuanced and, ultimately, political.

Earle posits a structure of seven completed American historical cycles, each including both good and bad economic times. There have been two contending approaches to political economy that have dominated in alternate cycles. The first approach, which he rather confusingly calls "republican" in the colonial period and "democratic" thereafter, was dominant in the 1630s-1680s, 1740s-1780s, 1830s-1880s, and 1930s-1970s. This set of strategies, said to originate with James Harrington, was comparatively egalitarian and nationalistic and, in Jacksonian and New Deal versions, tended toward diversified, consumer-oriented, and protectionist economics, with resulting "regional volatility" and the dispersal and segregation of populations in rural and suburban areas. The second set of strategies is associated with Walpolean "salutary neglect," Hamiltonian Federalism, the Gilded Age, and "Reagan's America." John Locke was the supposed inspiration for these liberal-elitist regimes, marked by individualist, producer-oriented "trickle down" economics, growing inequalities in wealth and income, internationalist foreign policies, and faster concentration of populations. Locke was not an Adam Smith, however, and as a member of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations he supported rigid control of the Irish economy, the mercantilist-protectionist Navigation Acts, and the vice-admiralty courts to enforce them.

These two approaches have been tendencies rather than slavish repetitions or even a reliably "equilibrating alternation" (p. 85), although Earle sees the entire process as a fortunate dialectic that has underwritten American political durability. There have been regimes that have sliced and spliced the two strategies, like the Jacksonian combination of a republican domestic policy with a liberal foreign policy. Earle also declares that Americans have a persistent bias toward liberty: "Liberty's price, one might say, is an enduring inequality—a price that Americans, when judged by their histories of income and wealth, are more than willing to pay" (p. 41). Earle also sees geographical expansion into North America as a recurring feature of American recovery from economic crisis, particularly during nationalistic-egalitarian cycles.

Such a high-altitude mapping of the American historical landscape is bound to blur, conflate, and ignore many distinctions of consequence to careful historians. Initially a colonial historical geographer, Earle rightly insists that the colonial period was foundational. However, where were the Tories in his England or America? Were both Indians and slaves entirely outside the American story? And what New England could be described thus: "Of all the colonies in place by 1680, it was among the least republican, the least expansionist, and the least egalitarian of England's American plantations" (p. 245)? What of Restoration England's attack on New England regicides and republicans between 1660 and 1689, settler expansion into Indian lands before and after Metacom's War, and the starker inequalities of plantation slavery farther south? These distortions in Earle's mappings of the American Way seem more serious than the errors concerning early modern England, or the surprising omission of China in the current "transnational" phase of the American imperial political economy.

Earle is a declared Whig who remains optimistic about his dialectic. Despite opening with Kondratieff and subtitling his vision as "geographical history," Earle's engines of change are neither economic nor geographical. "These revolutions had causes, mostly ideological, and consequences, mostly geographical" (p. 109). Even the most resistant geography could not stall the required expansions, however, and economics, war, and even religious radicalism are considered dependent variables. Despite the determinism of the waves, Earle believes in the creative reconstructions of American politics.

This is a stimulating book that may leave readers less optimistic than the author. Earle helps us appreciate

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why the debate about republican and Whig origins of the American Constitution will likely be unending. His theory cannot help but be predictive, although he avoids all explicit soothsaying. Apparently Reagan's elitist-liberal "Third American Republic" (1980-) has already had its good economic times and is headed for decline and crisis over the next generation. Who knows where the redeeming spatial expansion will take this "Transnational State"? Earle's provocative vision gives historians and historical geographers, as well as Americans and their global neighbors, some ideas to challenge and even more to ponder.

IAN K. STEELE
University of Western Ontario

DAVID E. NYE. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2003. Pp. x, 371. $29.95.

David E. Nye is not only one of the most prolific contemporary historians of American technology and culture; he is also one of the most insightful. Based on historical sources, literary works, and visual imagery, his books are invariably readable. A case in point is Nye's latest study, wherein he continues his primary project of extending and enriching the principal themes of his mentor, Leo Marx, as presented in Marx's classic work, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964).

Other historians of American technology have long been troubled by Marx's heavy reliance on the writings of a handful of great nineteenth and early twentieth-century American writers, from Nathaniel Hawthorne through F. Scott Fitzgerald, who were distressed by the intrusion of the "machine" (usually the railroad but also the factory) into the "garden" (particularly pastoral settings and farms and villages). They have been even more dissatisfied with Marx's claim that the ensuing conflict between the machine and the garden constitutes the most fundamental condition of American life from the Civil War until the present. One has only to look at endless examples of quite sane citizens achieving a "middle landscape," the illuminating term invoked by Marx himself for the reconciliation of nature and technology. "Middle landscapes" range from urban parks like New York City's Central Park to garden cities like Radburn, New Jersey, to conservation projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority. These hardly exhaust the ways in which Americans have experienced and enjoyed both nature and technology without guilt and without the latter ruining the former. (Yet to be considered is the impact of new toys like snowmobiles, cell phones, and Blackberries, which may separately undermine this balance.)

In this book, Nye relocates the origins of Marx's irreconcilable gap between the machine and the garden from the post-Civil War era to late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America. Traces of skepticism about "progress" appeared in Nye's prior writings, but nowhere as richly developed as here, where Nye argues that basic colonial and early republican technologies traditionally equated with progress also had their less familiar dark sides. On the one hand, these advances were considered by many optimistic Americans as extending and complementing God's first creation. They constituted a second creation story that manifested itself in four "foundation narratives": the axe, the mill, the canal, and the railroad, and the dam. On the other hand, these advances generated "counter-narratives" embraced by increasingly marginalized inhabitants often preceding Marx's great writers: Native Americans deprived of their forests, fishermen adversely affected by dams, yeoman farmers hurt by railroad tracks and land confiscation, workers exploited by mills and railroads, and pioneering environmentalists dismayed by waste and exploitation of natural resources.

Nye argues that Henry Adams's familiar skepticism about the future from the perspective of 1900 can be reinterpreted as a culmination of the "counter-narratives." Building on traditional accounts of Adams's life and writings, Nye focuses on the dilemmas Adams faced of evaluating technological versus social and cultural "progress."

Nye concedes that the original upbeat "foundation narratives" have hardly disappeared from popular culture, political rhetoric, textbooks, and classrooms. Indeed, David F. Noble's provocative *Religion of Technology: The Divinity of Man and the Spirit of Invention* (1997) offered a similar argument and analyzed contemporary enthusiasm for technology in the forms of manned space exploration, nuclear weapons, artificial intelligence, and genetic engineering. This in turn raises the key question of how pervasive and how influential the "counter-narratives" ever were. Nye himself provides endless examples of ordinary Americans reconciling machines and gardens from colonial times through the present. How do we, in the end, measure the representative nature and the historical importance of Nye's revisionist findings?

Building on Marx's own shorter writings of recent years in defense of ideals associated with the pastoral, Nye ends by calling for new values for our time. His "recovery narrative" would embrace selective, sustainable technological development and renew the nonquantitative measures of the "good life" long relegated to the sidelines of serious discussions of "progress." Perhaps yet another version of the "middle landscape" is in the works.

HOWARD P. SEGAL
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JAMES E. BLOCK. *A Nation of Agents: The American Path to a Modern Self and Society*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 658. $45.00.

This book by James E. Block is large, dense, and abstractly written. The introductory chapter of thirty-five pages quotes over sixty contemporary experts on

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the character of the United States, in addition to the score of historical figures the author mentions. Twenty-five more authorities are cited in the footnotes to the introduction. The persevering reader frequently runs up against sentences like this: "In this architectonic conception [of John Dewey's] which formed the Protestant-liberal settlement, the internal conflicts and mutual antipathy on the part of each was overcome to constitute a consensual model of Protestant agency character in inclusive liberal institutions" (p. 33).

The volume reinterprets the history of American political culture to grasp the formation of the modern self and the society it has emerged from. Block perceives a crisis about the value of the social order in the United States that demands such a history. His central thesis, as I understand it, is that students must come to terms with how American politics and the individuals who shaped the politics embody "agency." This key concept is rooted in the English experience of the rise of Protestantism. In the colonies of British North America, and then the United States, the evolving selfhood combined a heightened individualism and an erratic communal impulse. Various collective missions compromised or extended or curbed a growing religious commitment to personal expression, early on expressed in diverse strands of Arminianism. This tortured autonomy or liberated other-directedness is the complex meaning of "agency." A basic Protestant orientation should replace the secular myth of enlightenment liberalism as the core of identity in the United States. Block examines the work of ministers, thinkers, and writers—many of them expositors of religious doctrine—over three centuries. His book depicts the development of a distinctive kind of self, and the peculiar way this American self has organized the polity.

Block sets the first one-third of the book in England. He focuses on Puritan divines and on the theories of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. In eighteenth-century America, the author concentrates on the radicalism of the Great Awakening and its contribution to the political transformations of the American Revolution. Another one-third of the book is devoted to the nineteenth century. Although the five chapters here do not follow any easily discernable chronological order, Block emphasizes how novelists and philosophers construed morality and economics. The book ends with a substantial chapter on Dewey, who constructed "the modern synthesis." Block argues that Dewey took a still essentially Protestant vision of agency and converted it into a secular ideal that joined individual and community.

The attention to the role of religion seems to me to be correct. There appears, however, to be a mismatch between the weight the author places on political life and his stress on the writings of intellectuals who are to reveal this life's presuppositions. Indeed, Block is primarily concerned to link the experts whom he cites in his introductory chapter to his long line of intellectuals struggling to grasp the role of America in the world, and their role in America. The author extensively quotes authorities *about* the historical personages he treats. Such treatment basically excludes the exploration of the actual political culture and those who shaped it. Benjamin Franklin is barely mentioned as someone who might be important to understand if one wants to learn about the political self. A more significant example comes in the nineteenth century, in which Abraham Lincoln—and the Civil War—are passed over for a host of other men and women with oblique claims to have thought about the political. At the end of the book, in the twentieth century, the neglect of Woodrow Wilson illustrates Block's propensity to look only at indirect displays of what he sees as the political.

The author's aversion to real politics and its bearers seems to me not a gigantic oversight but an expression of his preoccupied approach. Other readers may connect this effort with the American Studies scholarship of the 1950s that assumed a unified civilization whose secrets selected literature might unlock. Harvard University Press could have assisted the author by attending more diligently to dangling participles, errors of agreement, split infinitives, and a legion of solecisms.

BRUCE KUKLICK
University of Pennsylvania

FRANCIS J. BREMER. *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 478. $39.95.

The first governor and historian of the Massachusetts Bay Colony has been enshrined, debunked, and misquoted enough to count as one of "America's Founding Fathers." Yet John Winthrop has also been understood so inadequately as to be passed over when our nation's progenitors are celebrated. Francis J. Bremer's substantial, exhaustive new biography attempts with considerable success to set the record straight so that reclamation can begin.

Bremer's approach to Winthrop's life goes well beyond previous biographies, and his command of sources is surer than the scholarly grip of Puritanism's cultured despisers. Historians whose treatment of America begins with the Bay Colony (or another such place) can learn much from Bremer's planting of the Puritan errand firmly in the religious, political, economic world of Tudor-Stuart England. The roots of the Winthrop family ran deep in the godly soil of the Stour River Valley, whose way of life John Winthrop and other Puritans sought to recreate in New England. Bremer's Puritans crossed the Atlantic not so much to show England the ideal future of Protestant Christianity as, instead, to establish a place where the good life they had begun to know in England might be well grounded and protected and therefore flourish.

The lives of Winthrop's father and grandfather, both named Adam, illustrate the sixteenth-century background from which grew the Puritan movement that helped to inaugurate a new society in North America

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and to introduce civil war and parliamentary power in England. The Winthrop family, then, is a wonderful resource for understanding how spiritual faith, religious organization, economic ambition, and political power can combine to generate social change. Yet the depth of detail and scrupulosity of investigation occasionally overwhelm the author's material and dull the reader's attention. Bremer's scholarship is meticulous, but even a Puritan junkie such as this reviewer sometimes wants the writer to get on with the story. Although some chapters seem longer than they are, however, each begins with an imaginative vignette—a plausible piece of historical fiction—that personalizes the tale, actual Puritans being more immediately intriguing than Puritanism. While writing for historians and other scholars, Bremer inventively opens each chapter with a human touch.

In the end, the premise seems to be that if more people knew more about the real Winthrop, he might be recognized and revered, rather than forgotten, as one of "America's Founding Fathers." Bremer convincingly portrays the reality of his subject, undermining stereotypes of Winthrop as a mean-spirited autocrat and complicating popular images of Puritans as uptight enemies of the enjoyment of life. Yet the larger problem, I think, is caused not so much by a lack of historical remembrance as by a conscious or unconscious decision about what kind of people Americans pay attention to.

Generally speaking, as Edmund S. Morgan wrote elegantly in *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (1958), "We have to caricature the Puritans in order to feel comfortable in their presence. They found answers to some human problems that we would rather forget" (p. xi). Moreover, with Winthrop in particular there is a further hindrance. Unlike the charismatic providers of the simple answers, grand gestures, and sound bites that contemporary Americans revere, John Winthrop's passionate religious faith sought expression through moderation and compromise. He tried to separate and to balance the claims of church and state, freedom and responsibility, confederation and local autonomy, executive authority and expansion of the franchise. Throughout his career, he saw as countervailing realities things that we prefer to see as one-dimensional alternatives. His conviction of his own sin was matched with his sense of his own salvation, making Winthrop a "both/and" believer in an "either/or" world. Our multicultural, biotechnological, post-September 11 world craves simple answers but lacks the complex resolution that Winthrop characteristically delivered. Bremer's hero is a leader to examine, understand, criticize, admire, remember, and—let us hope—emulate.

James G. Moseley
Franklin College

Jeff Bach. *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata*. (Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series, number 3; Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, number 36.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 282. $35.00.

Jeff Bach has crafted an imaginative study of the thinking of Conrad Beissel, Ephrata Cloister's founder and leader, and of the brothers, sisters, and householders of the community. Moreover, his fluency with the German language allows him to mine the vast literature on Ephrata that is beyond the reach of most scholars of North American communal utopias. Bach rightly emphasizes the little-known fact that the sabbatarian movement in colonial America was far more extensive than Ephrata and its satellite community of Snow Hill; congregations were located in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina as well.

After a concise yet comprehensive summary of Ephrata's history in the book's introduction, Bach explores the sources of Beissel's religious ideas, which were based upon the Bible and Pietist and Anabaptist writings and allowed Beissel to create "a unique synthesis of religious thought and practice from the Old World embodied in a singular religious community in the New World" (p. 29). The author's achievement is to clarify many of the seemingly esoteric views of Beissel and his followers. However, Bach goes beyond religious ideas to discuss the details of the "Holy Church Practices" or rituals, such as baptism, the love feast, the holy kiss, laying on hands, and fasting. He shows how Beissel's mystical language developed gender roles unique to Ephrata's pietism that "departed radically from traditional gender constructions" (p. 113). Its large monastic buildings, such as the Kedar and the Saal, were expressions of its mysticism and "awareness of God's presence" (p. 115). All of the community's structures were built as expressions of Beissel's idea of life as a testing pilgrimage. Likewise, its art, especially the *fraktur* script, was a part of the community's symbolic vocabulary.

There are a few problems with the book. Bach blithely dismisses the allegations of member Henry Sangmeister (Brother Ezechiel) that Beissel, before his death from tuberculosis on July 5, 1768, consumed alcohol excessively and was sexually involved with the sisters. He claims that Beissel drank "for the pain in his aging body" (p. 23) and that he was too old for lasciviousness. Maybe. Sometimes the author becomes overly technical for readers unschooled in theology and religious thought, as in his laborious analysis of the treatises of Rosicrucianism. But these are minor detractions from what is otherwise a full analysis of the Ephrata Cloister. It is an important addition to the Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series, published in cooperation with the Pennsylvania German Society.

Robert P. Sutton
Western Illinois University, Macomb

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PETER CHARLES HOFFER. *Sensory Worlds in Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 334. $39.95.

Scholars who point to the visual bias in historical work are sometimes challenged by those who believe that they already "do" sensory history. But, as Hoffer's thoughtful new book shows, playful reference to, say, olfaction does not a sensory history make. Part of the contribution of Peter Charles Hoffer's elegantly written study is that it suggests what dedicated attention to the senses might achieve.

Ambitiously, Hoffer aims to show that "sensation and perception affected some of those great events whose cause and course we historians conventionally attribute to deep cultural structures and overarching material forces" (p. viii). He examines several episodes, beginning with a consideration of how sight and sound shaped early encounters between Native Americans and the English. Hoffer makes good points here, offering thoughtful observations on how "the two peoples employed their senses in such profoundly different ways" (p. 24), with color and sound as points of contest. He then examines the Salem witchcraft trials to illustrate a "series of sensory crises" that led New Englanders to "rethink the meaning of evidences of the invisible world" (p. 79). Mid-eighteenth-century slave revolts at Stono, South Carolina, and in New York City constitute another episode. Again, sight plays a dominant role in Hoffer's analysis, but to good effect. He writes convincingly on the visual importance of arson and offers thoughtful remarks on the role of staring in the Stono rebellion.

Another moment deals with the Great Awakening, an event that "posed similar sensory challenges as those in the slave uprisings" (p. 19), and Hoffer's last episode examines how "the anti-British government protests of the 1760s and early 1770s overwhelmed the senses of contemporaries" (p. 20). Hoffer argues that tension between privileged elites and colonial mobs was articulated principally through vision and hearing. "The revolution in politics," he claims, "was also a revolution of the senses" (p. 191) involving a "highly vivid and auditory campaign" that led, ironically, "to a dampening of the role of the senses in public life" (p. 20).

For all the book's insight, there is too much on sight. While Hoffer listens carefully to sounds of the past, olfaction, taste, and the haptic come in for such cursory treatment ("smell" is indexed twice, as is "touch," and "taste" just once) that the book's title seems painfully misleading. Hoffer also needed to attend to some evidentiary, methodological, and historiographical matters. Although noted, the work of other historians of the senses is never really engaged, and Hoffer misses an opportunity to situate his work within larger discussions of the relationship among the senses and the rise of modernity.

Hoffer's epistemological musings will strike some as too naïve. He asks: "Can we use our senses to replicate sensation in a world we have (almost) lost?" (p. 2). He thinks so. Hoffer's argument rests on the claim that "if we assume also that we have the same perceptual apparatus as the people we are studying in the past, and can sense the world as they did, we are another step closer to our objective" (p. 8). The problems here are manifest: who are "we," and is the production of a sense the same as its consumption? How would Hoffer "replicate" the putatively innate stench of Africans, a stereotype that had considerable currency among slaveholders? The noses that did the smelling inhaled in a particular historical context, one freighted with its own values that shaped not only what slaveholders decided to smell but how they chose to characterize what they smelled. The pervasive claim that there was an innate scent to black people had less to do with chemical process and more to do with historically contingent ideology and culture. In short, while it is possible to try to reproduce, for example, a particular sound from the eighteenth century, it seems unlikely that visiting Williamsburg, Virginia (Hoffer's recommendation), will explain how multiple constituencies (and not just "we") understood or consumed that same sound (or, indeed, noise).

I suspect that Hoffer's intriguing book will be remembered less for its specific arguments and more for its place in helping to advance an increasingly overdue discussion about sensory history, its methodology, and the relationship between the senses and historical cause and effect.

MARK M. SMITH
University of South Carolina

CAMERON ADDIS. *Jefferson's Vision for Education, 1760–1845*. (History of Schools and Schooling, number 29.) New York: Peter Lang. 2003. Pp. 254. $29.95.

Cameron Addis's contribution to the enormous body of Jeffersoniana provides a synthesis and interpretation of the subject's life-long engagement with education. The book's title, however, is somewhat misleading: only the first chapter summarizes Thomas Jefferson's vision of education as a whole, while the bulk of the book describes in detail the founding of the University of Virginia. The last chapter recounts the first two decades of that institution and its lamentable departure from the founder's vision.

Education was inherently linked with Jefferson's vision of creating a decentralized, democratic society and advancing Enlightenment science. In both respects it drew him into conflict with his political and ideological nemesis, organized religion, and ultimately the two roles he envisioned for education conflicted with each other.

Jefferson's famous plan for a public system of education—the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge—was introduced to the Virginia legislature in 1779 but repeatedly voted down. It proposed to offer every white male three years of publicly supported elementary schooling. Severe meritocratic se-

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lection after that would yield twenty geniuses each year, "raked from the rubbish" (p. 13), and only half of them would be selected to attend college. Jefferson paid lip service to this ideal throughout his life, and his suggestions helped to inspire the educational provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787; but the plan had little chance of passage in a state dominated by an agrarian elite.

The great project of Jefferson's retirement was the founding of the University of Virginia. The initial gambit in this endeavor was gaining control of the Virginia Literary Fund. Those who opposed Jefferson and his allies in this struggle wished to see the fund used to promote public schooling. Addis provides a detailed description of how Jefferson outmaneuvered these opponents, but in doing so he also scuttled any hope for building the educational base he had previously advocated. Science was the more important vision for the aging Jefferson.

Religion was entangled with these unfolding events, and Addis spends a considerable part of his study probing Jefferson's religious beliefs. The mutual antipathy between Jefferson and the Federalist clergy was a constant in his political life and undoubtedly a factor in his championing of the separation of church and state. Jefferson's own religious views were more equivocal. Addis portrays him as a Unitarian in all but name, a fervent believer in God who admired the teachings of Jesus Christ but denied his divinity. As evidence for this interpretation, he cites Jefferson's frequent invocation of the deity, although that was a commonplace for this era. In addition, Jefferson actively rejected the label of atheist with which his opponents sought to tar him. One ploy—whether tactic or genuine belief, or both—was to praise the simple virtues of early Christianity in contrast to the labored dogmas of Christian churches.

Most of this book is not about educational ideas or vision but rather about the political machinations involved in initiating and realizing the University of Virginia. Although that institution disappointed the elderly Jefferson when student riots and mayhem undermined the intellectual seriousness that, above all, he had sought, it represented a unique achievement in other respects. A new model for American higher education, the university possessed a large and learned faculty for that era, and the only one to be accorded self-governance. It was also the only college to achieve the Jeffersonian principle of freedom from religion. This seems to be the crux of the matter for Addis, who ends his study in 1845 when Christianity became institutionalized on the campus.

This volume contains an impressive bibliographical apparatus. Indeed, Addis seems to have mastered the vast literature on Jefferson and Virginia politics. However, his allusions to the rest of American higher education are riddled with errors. A student graduates from New York University nine years before its founding in 1831 (pp. 61–62); the origins of the University of Pennsylvania are garbled (p. 65), as are those of the University of North Carolina (p. 66); Benjamin Rush, who recruited John Witherspoon to Princeton, is identified as Witherspoon's student (p. 69); critic and reformer George Ticknor is credited with being a Harvard president (p. 118). In addition, two references to Sally Hemings are unsupportable: Addis has Jefferson being attacked for "his affair" (p. 28) in 1800, although this allegation appeared in 1802; and he credits the aging Jefferson with "concerns about his offspring by . . . Sally Hemings" (p. 111), which would certainly be news to Jefferson scholars.

Addis has produced a well-documented interpretation of the origins of the University of Virginia, emphasizing the political context. But his portrayal of Jefferson is rather flat. Readers seeking to explore influences on Jefferson's educational ideas or the complexity of his thought might be disappointed with this study.

ROGER L. GEIGER
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CELIA BARNES. *Native American Power in the United States, 1783–1795*. Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2003. Pp. 250. $47.50.

Appearing as it does in the wake of a remarkable era of scholarship—works by Richard White, Gregory Evans Dowd, Joel Martin, and Colin Calloway come to mind, for example—Celia Barnes's new book enters a rich and crowded field. The author's central contention is that, in the first decade of U.S. nationhood, Native Americans were at the center of the new nation's struggle for internal cohesion and its relations with Britain and Spain. She pursues this theme through an exploration of Native American power, "the manifestation of" which, she notes, "was ubiquitous" (p. 11). Indian conceptions of power gave rise, in Barnes's formulation, to consensual polities that "made the political structures of the villages and tribes very complex and difficult to grasp" (p. 26). Nevertheless, the pressures created by the American Revolution helped produce an unstable coalition of Indian groups that allied with varying degrees of success to oppose U.S. expansion in the years following 1783.

Barnes traces the efforts of Euroamerican settlers and speculators to lay claim to trans-Appalachian lands and notes the ways in which British and Spanish officials were drawn into the ensuing contest between Native Americans and U.S. citizens. Britain abandoned its Indian allies in the 1783 Treaty of Paris when it ceded all its American territory to the United States without any reference to their status. This allowed the U.S. to treat Britain's former allies as conquered populations, a status few Indians were willing to accept. Even as the U.S. sought to extend its territorial control into the Old Northwest, Britain held onto its posts there in anticipation of the possibility that these efforts would fail and the Union collapse. Spain, too, played a game of cautious opportunism in this era. Anticipating that the U.S. would be hard pressed to

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control the Southwest, it cut off navigation rights to the Mississippi River and sought alliances with Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws to create a buffer zone in Florida's northern borderlands. Soon Spanish officials were receiving overtures from prominent figures like James Wilkinson, John Sevier, and James Robertson, all of whom thought it likely that Spain offered better support and protection in the region than the U.S. could.

The book proceeds to narrate the negotiations, treaties, battles, and settlements that shaped events in the trans-Appalachian West to 1795. Much in this account is already familiar, and several features of the book are misleading or disappointing. To begin with, despite the reference to Indian power in the title, the narrative is told primarily from the point of view of American and European officials. When Indians do figure prominently—the most prominent by far is Alexander McGillivray, the Creek leader whose father was a Scottish trader—they are familiar characters who appear in familiar roles. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the book at first glance is its chosen span of time: most accounts of this era cover a longer period, and they generally take the story to 1812 or 1815, when the Native American resistance movement in the Old Northwest was decisively defeated. A reader who hopes for either an especially rich account of this briefer period or an innovative justification for the book's periodization will be disappointed, however. Much of the material discussed here receives a more textured analysis, for example, in White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991) and Dowd's *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (1993), despite their longer chronological spans. And the dates that frame the narrative, far from offering a new way to think about the ebb and flow of Native American power in North America, are chosen with European points of reference in mind: the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795.

Despite the author's effort to foreground Native American notions of power and the regular appearance of recent scholarship in the footnotes, this is a traditional account of foreign relations and nation-building in which Indians are treated as important players. There is little to distinguish the approach taken here from that of Reginald Horsman, whose *Expansion and American Indian Policy 1783–1812* (1967) was published nearly forty years ago. Indians have long been recognized as central players in the early national period; Barnes offers a compact, familiar narrative of a critically important era in our national history.

ERIC HINDERAKER
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SUSAN A. MILLER. *Coacoochee's Bones: A Seminole Saga*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xix, 264. $34.95.

This book tells the story of a Seminole leader and his followers who migrated from Florida to Indian Territory and then into Mexico in the nineteenth century. Susan A. Miller, who announces in the first sentence of the book that she is a Seminole of the Tom Palmer Band, asserts that her study "is a contribution toward the decolonization of my tribe's written history" (p. xii). She explains that she favors "perspectives from the Seminole Nation" and rejects "European and Euro-American assumptions that distort the published history of the Seminoles today" (p. xiv).

Miller describes Coacoochee as a "military genius" and "charismatic genius" who fought to maintain "a reality where human communities stay in balance within a network of spirits" (pp. 196, 197). Coacoochee's story is indeed remarkable. He fought in the Second Seminole War against removal until 1841. That year, he led his followers west to Indian Territory, where he opposed the colonial policies of the United States and the Seminoles' forced subservience to the Cherokee and later Creek nations. By 1849, the situation had become intolerable, and Coacoochee and a black Seminole named "Gopher John" Cowaya set out together with 120 Seminoles and black Seminoles for Texas. They eventually ended up in northern Mexico, where they received land grants and became Mexican citizens. For several years, their small settlements struggled under pressure from government officials to conform to the practices of Mexican farmers. At the same time, they suffered from frequent raids by Native peoples in the region. Soon after Coachoochee died of smallpox in 1857, the remaining Seminoles returned to the nation in Indian Territory.

Although Miller states that hers is an "indigenous-centered" book (p. xiv), for the most part, the methodology and perspective is indistinguishable from many other works on Native America. The narrative relies heavily on documents produced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other U.S. agencies and by Mexican officials. Miller's research in government archives is impressive, especially in its extension to collections in Mexico City. The narrative itself is linear and focuses largely on political and military events. It occasionally pauses to offer short observations on Seminole culture, but these gestures are minimal. In fact, many recent ethnohistories pay more attention to cultural analysis than does Miller's account.

Seminole perspectives (or at least one Seminole perspective) are most evident in the treatment of "Gopher John" Cowaya. Miller takes pains to avoid recognizing any meaningful political or cultural relationship between the followers of Coacoochee and Cowaya. She refers to "black people among the Seminoles" and to "Seminole blacks" rather than using the more common "black Seminoles," a term that recognizes the adoption of Seminole practices by fugitive slaves (e.g. pp. 54, 55). A healthy skepticism toward romanticized interpretations of black-Indian alliance is warranted, but Miller's skepticism verges on hostility. She suggests with very little evidence that black

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Seminoles in Florida "accepted bribes to betray" their Seminole "'allies,'" and she claims that "Africans played a prominent role in destroying the Seminole resistance to Removal" (p. 67). Given Coacoochee's multiyear struggle against removal and his lifelong friendship with Cowaya, Miller's assertion seems inflated. Later, she harshly dismisses some of the memories recounted in the first half of the twentieth century by the descendants of Cowaya's followers: "Take these stories with a grain of salt" (p. 123).

The reason for this hostility is evident in the book's conclusion, where Miller addresses the status of freed people (the descendents of fugitive slaves who took refuge with the Seminoles) in the Seminole Nation today. In 2000, a faction of Seminoles unsuccessfully tried to disenfranchise these people, and the issue is still hotly debated. Miller supports the disenfranchisement, arguing that, whatever the character of the alliance between Coacoochee and Cowaya, "an alliance is not an adoption to citizenship, and it does not entitle one ally to the resources of the other" (p. 186). The "ethnic distinction" between Seminoles and freed people is "as broad and deep as the Atlantic Ocean," she writes. Astoundingly, Miller compares the situation in the Seminole Nation to those in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, suggesting that recent events in those countries illustrate that ethnic distinctions, as natural as a geographic divide, are impossible to bridge (p. 187). Perhaps Miller should take note of her own words: "We must view the record of the Seminole blacks cautiously, because ideology, self-interest, ethnocentrism, and translation are so likely to have distorted it" (p. 57).

CLAUDIO SAUNT
University of Georgia

DAVID L. CARLTON and PETER A. COCLANIS. *The South, the Nation, and the World: Perspectives on Southern Economic Development*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2003. Pp. 234. Cloth $49.50, paper $19.50.

For David L. Carlton and Peter A. Coclanis, "the foremost question in southern economic history" (p. 3) is the one C. Vann Woodward posed: why did the South lag in economic development? Their answer is provided in eleven separate essays: five by Carlton, three by Coclanis, and three coauthored. For them, southern underdevelopment was rooted in the growth-retarding consequences of plantation agriculture. Although they recognize that the essays collected here will not be the last word on the subject, this book, taken as a whole, makes a convincing case, particularly for the antebellum period.

Carlton and Coclanis emphasize that southern plantations were owned and managed by rational, profit-seeking entrepreneurs. They were never premodern. Indeed, the reason that western hemisphere slavery existed was that "the early modern age had yet to figure out how to mobilize" (p. 5) a free labor force of the size necessary to satisfy the desires of those entrepreneurs. Yet, as Coclanis writes, "the southern plantation system, along with the system of forced labor and racial domination it fostered and depended upon effectively stifled the development of either industrial communities or industrial institutions" (p. 169). Largely autarchic plantations and their slave labor force provided only a limited market for industrial goods. At the same time, the urban centers that did emerge in the region served planter marketing and credit needs but were stunted in size and dynamism. The problem was not cultural. Industrialization was retarded because of "slave-under consumption, planter and yeoman self-reliance and poor market integration" (p. 170).

When the authors turn to the post-Civil War South, however, their argument changes. Instead of continuing to focus on the plantations as industrial-retarding institutions, they turn to the theorizing of Gunnar Myrdal and Albert O. Hirschman. Now their argument is that the South was harmed by its having to engage in market competition with the North. In Myrdal's terminology, the region experienced backwash effects. After 1865, Carlton and Coclanis maintain, the South was damaged by increasing economic integration. Because of new transportation links with the rest of the country, it suffered from "deindustrialization." Small-scale flour mills and iron works in the South were hit hard by the "often ruinous competition from the battle-hardened entrepreneurs of the manufacturing belt" (p. 172).

There are problems with this. Not the least of these is that once the shock of the war and its aftermath had been overcome, the pace of the South's industrialization was rapid, more rapid by most measures than that of the rest of the country. To his credit, Carlton acknowledges the fact of this growth. Nevertheless his judgment concerning the southern economy after the Civil War remains negative: "the South's pace of industrialization masked deeper difficulties at generating the sort of self-propelling growth that had generated the industrial culture of the first comers" (p. 172). What Carlton is pointing to is the fact that southern industrialization was dependent upon technologies developed in the North. But this is a very different critique than that made of the antebellum economy. In the earlier period, the problem was the absence of industrialization. Now the issue is that emerging southern industries were "living off the scraps of the mature industries" of the North (p. 174).

To be sure, the industrialization experienced after 1880 was not sufficient to alter the fact that the South and its population remained at income levels far below the rest of the country. But it is hard to make the case that the source of the region's relative poverty was its industrial development, no matter the source of its technology. Rather, the root of the problem was the continuing growth-retarding nature of plantation agriculture even after the Civil War. Well into the twentieth century, cotton was cultivated disproportionately

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by black tenants using labor-intensive production techniques. Not only did this result in low income levels, but cotton's weak international market during much of the second half of the nineteenth century ensured slow growth. This in combination with the stifling of the entrepreneurial and productive energies of the region's black population is a more likely source of the region's poverty than too much market integration. Indeed, almost certainly the South in these years suffered from too little integration rather than too much. After all, it was the long-delayed linking of the South's labor market with the rest of the country—allowing the black labor force to secure employment elsewhere—that compelled the dismantling of the plantation system.

Notwithstanding my reservations concerning its analysis of the post-Civil War South, this is an important book. By placing the plantation at the center of their analysis, Carlton and Coclanis have succeeded in refocusing attention to it as the South's most powerful development-inhibiting institution. As a result, these essays should prove to be a useful springboard for further study.

JAY R. MANDLE
Colgate University

TIMOTHY SILVER. *Mount Mitchell and the Black Mountains: An Environmental History of the Highest Peaks in Eastern America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 322. Cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

Recently, some scholars of the southern Appalachians have begun to look less at the players in the region's great drama and instead examine the stage. Despite the fine contributions of Ronald L. Lewis, Donald Edward Davis, Daniel S. Pierce, and Margaret Lynn Brown, argues Timothy Silver, earlier attempts at Appalachian environmental history have given nature short shrift, often seeing it as little more than a "supporting actor" (p. xv). Silver, instead, has sought to produce a volume in which nature gets equal billing with people; but he admits initially wondering whether he could add anything new to western North Carolina's Black Mountains (he does) and whether a person unfamiliar with the region would, or should, care (yes, one should).

Silver's subtitle could very well have been "What the People Have Done to the Black Mountains and What the Black Mountains Have Done to the People." Thus, he details the relationship between the ways humans have thought about and situated themselves in nature and their activities in it. Yet he also shows how "even as humans confidently went about their business, nature moved to its own peculiar rhythms" (p. xv), sometimes changing the Blacks—and thereby *making* the Black Mountains—in ways humans could never have predicted. He includes journals from past hikes to guide his story, and the passionate result is an accessible work that will satisfy both the professional historian and the inquisitive citizen. Silver functions as a public intellectual—albeit one with hiking boots instead of wing tips—attempting to describe what he admits is "indescribable" (p. 26). His conclusion embraces complexity and a "nebulous" view of people in the Black Mountains, and as such, there is much to recommend in this book and very little with which to quibble.

One would expect a story that covers ten thousand years to demystify. Early on, for example, Silver discredits the "Nature as Eden" assumption, a view long held by pious Christians as well as some recent environmentalists. Such a view, he argues, tends to separate human nature from the natural world, because the implication is that if humans would simply remove themselves, then "natural" areas such as those in the Blacks would return to edenic splendor, stability, and perfection. Then there is the assumption about the ways Native Americans existed on the land, another creation of the modern mind that viewed (in this case) Cherokees as living in complete environmental harmony in an as yet unspoiled "wilderness." Rather, Silver argues, Indians lived in a dynamic natural setting in palisaded villages, tended crops that originated from afar, burned and cleared land, and even managed animal populations.

Silver tells both the familiar and the surprising. North Carolinians will no doubt appreciate the exploits of frontiersman and later businessman Big Tom (Thomas David) Wilson as well as the squabble between Elisha Mitchell and his erstwhile student, Thomas Lanier Clingman, over discovery claims—as controversial an affair then as the acid rain debate is now. There are the tragic disappearances of the American chestnut and the wolf and other predators eloquently detailed elsewhere, as in Barbara Kingsolver's *Prodigal Summer* (2000). There are winners and losers in Silver's story as well. As spruce fir forests decline, Roan rattlesnake root, once classified by botanists as "significantly rare," is now found to be thriving, along with New England cottontail rabbits. As Wilson and local guides prospered, other people lost out, such as Fred M. Burnett, whose land was taken on two different occasions. And altitude did not change racist policies, either: black Americans in the Black Mountains could not expect to be served at restaurants or mingle with whites in campgrounds.

By the twentieth century, as more Americans took to their cars to escape suburban monotony, a paradox for state officials emerged: in Silver's words, "how to provide access without destroying the very environment that attracted sightseers in the first place" (p. 223). In spite of a cacophony of voices that included preservationists, conservationists, and local boosters, Silver shows how twentieth-century policy tilted toward economics rather than ecology. Late in the twentieth century, a crusading plant pathologist discovered that Mount Mitchell fog had an acidity level somewhere between battery acid and lemon juice, setting off a firestorm of debate that continues today.

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Ironically, tourists who come to the Blacks (and most other southern mountains) for vistas and clean mountain air experience neither, since both the plants and animals at the peaks (as well as visitors who stay long enough) are bathed in a "toxic chemical soup" (p. 245). Just this morning my local paper's headline announced that "The Smokies are Dying," more evidence to support Silver's grim conclusion that "a state park created to accommodate the automobile might well die from it" (p. 252).

CHAD BERRY
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DANIEL L. SCHAFER. *Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xiv, 177. $24.95.

Generally speaking and until recently, historians have thought little of or studied slavery much beyond the greater Chesapeake region. Jane L. Landers, Canter Brown, Jr., and Randolph B. Campbell, to name a few of the exceptions, have begun to broaden significantly our understanding of the peculiar institution beyond Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. With a work product that stretches back to the 1980s, Daniel L. Schafer clearly deserves a place among that pioneering company.

Schafer's latest contribution focuses on the life and times of Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley who, as the book's title suggests, apparently combined the roles of African princess, Florida slave, and wealthy plantation owner. Schafer has produced a remarkable study that should be read by scholars and general readers alike. While the work does not purport to be exhaustive, it does give a fascinating and thorough overview of the trials and tribulations faced by one exceptional black Floridian during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In so doing, the author explores Kingsley's origins from her youth and capture in Senegal, Africa, to her awful "Middle Passage" journey to Havana and subsequent sale to East Florida slave trader and planter Zephaniah Kingsley. Her later years in Florida and Haiti likewise command attention.

The narrative humanizes Anna Kingsley, putting a voice and face to slavery in Florida during Spanish and American rule. That said, her story is far from typical. After purchase at Havana, the thirteen-year-old slave girl became her wealthy master's wife, and, within five years, she and her three mulatto children had received manumission from her husband. Subsequently, Anna established a homestead, taking ownership of twelve bondservants and five acres of land. When Anglo-Americans attempted to overthrow the Spanish government during the Patriot War of 1812–1815, she experienced conflict and challenge. This eventually resulted in a twenty-five years' residency at Fort George Island, an Atlantic coastal enclave located near the mouth of the St. Johns River. During this period Anna's children married well, some to prominent white men.

The Fort George Island interlude ended in the late 1830s. From 1838 to 1842 the black Kingsleys felt compelled to depart northeast Florida for Haiti due to intensifying pressures resulting from the United States takeover of Florida in 1821. Less than a decade after their relocation, however, Zephaniah died and Anna and other family members returned to contest inheritance rights against his white relations. Anna prevailed, opting to remain in the state at another area plantation. Tranquil life there endured only until the Civil War's outbreak, when she and family members left the region for safety with the Union Army. Kingsley again returned after the peace, living another five years and passing along her possessions to her descendants.

In telling the story of a black woman coping with life in at least three different Florida societies dominated by slavery, this book opens a world of inquiry for Schafer and future scholars. To cite some examples: how were Anna's ideas and perspectives distinguishable from those of her contemporaries, including the many black women who served as wives or mistresses to white men as well as slave women without those connections? Further, how did Anna reconcile her own treatment of slaves? Did they become members of an extended family or did they exist for her simply as commodities? If so, why? Did her attitudes change over time and why? Further, what can be said of Kingsley's life in the larger context of North American slavery?

For those seeking an understanding of the complexities of slavery beyond the greater Chesapeake region, Schafer's impressive study offers an excellent and very well-researched starting point.

LARRY EUGENE RIVERS
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JOHN M. SACHER. *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824–1861.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 331. $39.95.

Politics in antebellum Louisiana has been a murky field for historians. Scholars have addressed various facets of the topic, but John M. Sacher is the first to present a thorough examination of state politics during the entire period. His work begins in the early days of political activity in Louisiana when national heritage played a greater role than party. State politics focused on contests that pitted Americans, descendants of French and Spanish colonists, and the so-called foreign French, French-speaking immigrants, against one another. On numerous occasions, politicians and voters crossed party lines to support candidates who shared their cultural heritage. Added to the mix in the years after statehood were the political fortunes of General Andrew Jackson, the man who saved Louisiana from the British during the War of 1812, and the

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rapid economic development that accompanied the state's growth. Another key ingredient in Louisiana's political system was a state constitution that severely restricted voting and officeholding. The result was a government that smacked of aristocracy and privilege.

The age of Jackson, however, began to influence Louisiana. Many turned to the Democrats who favored the policies of the state's savior. Others, including sugar planters in south Louisiana who benefited from federal tariffs and New Orleans merchants, preferred the governmental plans of Henry Clay and the Whigs, who advocated internal improvements, trade protection, banks, and financial advancement. Democrats sought to broaden the electorate, and the Whigs generally were content to maintain the current order. Although cultural issues still mattered, party was becoming more significant in state affairs. As in the nation, the two political camps were fairly evenly matched.

In 1845, the Democrats succeeded in adopting a new state constitution that loosened the requirements for voting and holding office at the same time that it placed restrictions on banking and other Whig-oriented programs. In 1852, the Whigs, in what proved to be their last political gasp, advanced another constitution that generally removed the earlier constraints on business and retained the Democratic reforms.

While these battles continued between the Democrats and the Whigs, the matter of slavery became increasingly important in Louisiana affairs. Although Louisianians did not rank with South Carolina for southern radicalism, they were increasingly protective of the institution of slavery. By the time of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Louisiana was largely in tune with the rest of the South, although the prospect of secession seemed only a dim possibility.

Two other political conflicts operated in Louisiana simultaneous with the rise of the politics of slavery. With the demise of the Whig Party, the Know Nothings made a serious run in Louisiana. Many former Whigs who were reluctant to join the Democrats gravitated in that direction. The presence of numerous immigrants in New Orleans who challenged native-born Americans for jobs and swelled the numbers of the Democratic faithful gave the Know Nothings ample ammunition for their campaigns. Another major element in Democratic politics was a fierce rivalry between John Slidell and Pierre Soulé that permeated virtually every electoral struggle. In the end, however, state political concerns turned entirely upon loyalty to the preservation of the South's peculiar institution. Sacher, following the lead of William J. Cooper, Jr., contends that slavery ultimately became the overwhelming question in Louisiana. This focus drew the state into agreement with the rest of the South and eventually moved Louisianians to support secession.

Sacher's research is extensive and his writing is solid. Throughout the study, he concentrates on developments in four geographical sections of Louisiana: south Louisiana, north Louisiana, greater New Orleans and the Florida parishes, the region north of Lake Pontchartrain and east of the Mississippi River. Sacher clearly shows that Louisiana was not monolithic during the antebellum era. Each section had its own characteristics and interests that greatly affected political leanings. Southern Louisiana, an area that specialized in sugar production, for example, benefited from a protective tariff and consequently commonly aligned with Whig protectionists, while north Louisiana, a place where cotton dominated, commonly sided with the Democrats.

Sacher differs with Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., in his definition of the term "creole." For nearly five decades, Tregle has argued that the term meant any person who was native to Louisiana, and heritage was irrelevant. Sacher, however, maintains, as do numerous modern Louisianians, that the term applied only to those with French and Spanish ancestors. Although Tregle has probably marshalled more evidence for his case, Sacher's definition greatly facilitates his discussion of political divisions in Louisiana during the early days following statehood.

Sacher has written a fine book. It is a worthy contribution to the study of nineteenth-century Louisiana and the politics of the antebellum South. All who hope to understand the conflicts and nuances in Louisiana history must examine this important work.

EDWARD F. HAAS
Wright State University

JUDITH KELLEHER SCHAFER. *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846–1862.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Pres. 2003. Pp. xxiv, 204. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This book explores the ways in which slaves and free blacks used the New Orleans courts to gain, keep, and, in a few cases, relinquish their freedom. Judith Kelleher Schafer has made a career of documenting and interpreting Louisiana's legal system as it applied to slavery, and her new book is a fine addition to her previous scholarship. What Schafer demonstrates is that slaves suing to acquire or maintain freedom in New Orleans courts were remarkably successful, at least until sectional controversy heated up in the mid-1850s.

Many scholars of antebellum black history have written about the wave of antiblack legislation passed by southern state legislatures in an effort to control their free populations. But while many, myself included, have set these laws in the context of diminishing liberty, fewer scholars have looked at the daily impact that such laws had on individuals and how they responded to them. Laws reducing the rights of free blacks, particularly those that restricted their movement in southern states, could force people apart from family members and make them liable for imprisonment or even enslavement when they could not comply.

Like other slave states, Louisiana began restricting

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manumission in the 1830s, making the practice increasingly difficult in the 1850s before moving to a total ban in 1857. As laws got tougher, individual petitions for exemptions increased. It is these petitions that Schafer uses as her body of research. Between 1846 and 1862 (a new state constitution authorized the creation of five district courts in 1846, and they operated until the city came under Union control in 1862), New Orleans courts heard hundreds of cases in which slaves sued for freedom, owners tried to free their slaves, and free people of color tried to prove their free status.

The book is well organized, divided into chapters on each of the types of lawsuits courts heard. One category involved slaves who had been taken by their masters into states or other nations where slavery was illegal. Other lawsuits were brought by slaves who had made arrangements for self-purchase, or had been freed in their masters' wills; such suits only entered the courts when there was a conflict. In 1855, the state legislature revised the code to force slaveholders wishing to free slaves to go to court rather than petition the legislature, as the previous law had decreed. Over 150 lawsuits in sixteen months show the desire of Crescent City slaveholders to free their slaves. Most suits were resolved in the slave's favor.

Why were slaveholders and juries so lenient in allowing blacks to gain and retain their freedom? Schafer argues that while white New Orleanians might have feared a free black presence in general, they saw that their city's free blacks as hard-working, useful members of society. Significantly, every slave freed during this time received permission to remain in the state. This willingness to manumit and allow free blacks to remain runs counter to increasing opposition in the rest of the South to the existence of a free black population. Outside the city of New Orleans, white attitudes were more typical, as evidenced by the legislature's 1857 prohibition on manumission.

As the situation for free blacks grew more precarious, people turned to the courts to secure help in remaining free, regaining their freedom after kidnapping, and staying in their home state after laws to prevent free blacks from coming into the state and forcing the newly freed to leave were imposed. A few even found freedom so difficult to negotiate that they turned to self-enslavement. Louisiana, like many southern states, passed a law (in 1859) allowing free blacks to petition to become slaves. Such acts showed the depths of legislators' faith in the proslavery ideology that held that slaves were happily cared for, and have been glossed over generally by scholars as representing southern racist fantasy at its height. But Schafer deftly shows that such laws had a real function and were actually utilized by some. In New Orleans, at least seventeen people petitioned under the law. The majority appeared simply to be trying to remain in the state, perhaps to stay near family members. Whether their arrangements with their new masters involved actually being treated as slaves, or continuing to live as free people, is not known.

This work's faults are few and minimal. In some parts, Schafer could have provided more comparison with other slave state laws and given more attention to the issue of Louisiana's unique (or not, as some scholars have argued) legal status. One wishes for a somewhat fuller sense of how these Louisiana cases might fit into the broader context of slave state law and practice, but, to be fair, Schafer is writing about one state, not all. Her prodigious research and careful analysis make this work a useful addition to the legal history of slavery and freedom.

CAROL WILSON
Washington College

LESLIE M. HARRIS. *In the Shadow of Slavery: African-Americans in New York City, 1626–1863*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 380. $42.50.

Leslie M. Harris's study of the first two hundred and thirty-seven years of African-American life in New York City begins with the 1991 discovery of the eighteenth-century African Burial Ground beneath twenty feet of Lower Manhattan "asphalt, concrete and rubble" (p. 1). Harris's work represents a feat of excavation and reconstruction no less daunting. At one level, it is a history of the "long" civil rights movement in New York City. As such, it traces the myriad ways African Americans fought for public power through the period of legal slavery (which ended in 1827) and into an era of increasingly tenuous legal freedom that lasted at least through the draft riots of 1863. Indeed, one of the book's contributions is to demonstrate that there were multiple and competing movements for freedom and equality, that the "black community" existed as a project, never as a given, and that "complex divisions of status, class, outlook and aspiration" (p. 287) characterized black struggles in New York from the start. At another level, Harris has written a history of enslaved and free black labor in New York that is meticulously attentive to the ways in which the class situations of middle-class white and black abolitionists, on the one hand, and the black laboring poor, on the other, came to shape their differing political perspectives and strategies. Finally, the author traces the evolution of racial caste and race consciousness in New York, illustrating how different groups of black New Yorkers responded to shifting definitions of white supremacy and managed to respond creatively and assertively to an urban culture at best characterized by profound uncertainty and at worst bent on their annihilation. The book weaves these themes—black activism, slavery and labor, and race—into a narrative that provides, at once, a richly evoked portrait of a black community in the making and a corrective to the new labor history's tendency to slight the black worker and the racialized dimension of American working-class formation.

Some readers will be surprised to learn how widespread and entrenched black chattel slavery became in

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early New York. Although not a colony made for slavery in the manner of South Carolina, by 1750, New York contained more slaves than any colony north of Maryland, and African slaves comprised the main part of its laboring class. Part of Harris's contribution is to explore the widely ramifying and long-term implications of this fact for African Americans. Well into the era of freedom, for example, one can see echoes of slavery such as the devaluation of the black family in favor of the domestic labor needs of white households, evident even in the policies of benevolent institutions such as the Colored Orphan Asylum.

The lion's share of the discussion (roughly four-fifths) concerns the period from the American Revolution to the Civil War; it is in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century material that the prose comes alive and the depth of research in sources ranging from the unpublished records of charitable and reform organizations to trial accounts and the African-American press becomes evident. The founding of the New York Manumission Society (NYMS) by white Quakers in 1785 allows Harris to introduce some of her dominant themes: the ambiguous tendencies of the movement toward emancipation (often, benevolent whites' endorsement of legal freedom was combined with disapproval of blacks' efforts to free themselves and skepticism toward blacks' ability to achieve freedom or equality) and the resourcefulness with which blacks were able to appropriate reform institutions to their own purposes. The NYMS-sponsored African Free Schools, used by the white trustees to control black parades, became the city's most important source of black reformers, graduating such abolitionist luminaries as physician James McCune Smith and ministers Henry H. Garnet, Samuel R. Ward, and Alexander Crummell. Blacks' public presence became an even greater issue as poor white European workers began to arrive in numbers in the late eighteenth century and some black reformers saw raucous display by the black masses as a confirmation of racist doctrines of black incapacity.

Crucial turning points came in 1827 and in 1834. In the earlier year, black reformers split over whether to hold an indoor or outdoor celebration of Emancipation Day. The result was two celebrations, with middle-class abolitionists frowning on the outdoor parade in favor of "controlled celebrations that extolled moral reform" (p. 128). The book offers the best account of the significance of the three-day anti-abolitionist and anti-black riot of 1834, a pivotal event that, Harris shows, did much to shape black and white abolitionists' consciousness for years to come. One aspect of that riot was the mob's attack on interracial "amalgamation": black abolitionists responded by ceding the whole matter of interracial sex to white journalists, who created a myth of black pathology and urban decline that helped lay the groundwork for the far more violent Civil War draft riot a generation later. Another black response was to intensify reformist efforts in the northern free black community at a time when many white abolitionists were abandoning it for an exclusive focus on southern slavery. A rising generation, led by figures such as Frederick Douglass, Garnet, and James W. C. Pennington, developed what Harris describes as a new "black working-class activism" manifesting itself in activities as diverse as manual labor schools and black-led mass insurrection against the Fugitive Slave Law.

The book ends with the cataclysmic 1863 draft riots, which appear both as the culmination of decades-old efforts to reduce the public life of blacks to the narrowest possible confines, and as the climax of a more recent recrudescence of proslavery culture in the city. The discussion of black New Yorkers' experiences during the Civil War is relatively brief and unsatisfying, and the narrative concludes with an unexplored counterpoint between the widening political ambitions of a cross-class coalition of blacks and the tsunami of the draft riots. More attention to the possibility of an actual reestablishment of slavery in the city (or something very close to it), an outcome advocated by editor James Gordon Bennett in 1859 and potentially realizable if the South had won the war, might have given the final chapters of the book more coherence. There are books that do a better job of evoking the fluid culture of the city and the ways blacks exploited it for their own purposes. There are times when Harris's categories, such as "middle-class abolitionists," seem to take on a life of their own, as in the case of David Ruggles, whose middle-class status *and* endorsement of violence to free fugitives confound Harris's model. But Harris's book is distinctive for the comprehensiveness, sophistication, and subtlety of its treatment of black life and deserves the widest possible readership.

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MICHAEL D. PIERSON. *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 250. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

During recent decades, historians have turned their attentions to women's contributions to American antislavery, and to the broader relationships between racial and gender reform during the turbulent antebellum era. Inevitably, perhaps, most of that historiographical attention has focused on the "radical" women—typically associated with the Garrisonian wing of the abolitionist movement—who challenged many of the fundamental assumptions that underpinned gender and marital relations. Michael D. Pierson is well aware of the contributions of radical women, and he never loses sight of their impact on the sectional debates over race and gender. The focus of his book, however, is not on these women. Instead, Pierson is concerned with tracing women's contribution to the political parties that adopted antislavery positions, beginning in the 1840s with the Liberty Party and culminating with

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the Republican Party's 1860 campaign to elect Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. Pierson reveals that antislavery political parties expressed varying degrees of commitment to the principles of women's rights, and that they presented a range of views of what constituted the "ideal" woman. More significantly, however, Pierson demonstrates that at each stage of the political debate over slavery, the antislavery parties and their political adversaries expressed profoundly different views on questions of marriage, family, and true womanhood. Careful not to overstate his case, he provides further evidence that the sectional debate over slavery was just one aspect of a much broader political and cultural contest over the future shape of the nation.

After contextualizing his work into the historiography of abolitionism, Pierson provides a fine summary of the impact of the market revolution on gender and familial relations and ideologies. Conscious of the subversive as well as conservative possibilities of "domestic feminism," Pierson begins his analysis with the Liberty Party, a numerically small but nonetheless significant player on the national political scene during the 1840s. Opinion leaders within the Liberty Party expressed diffuse views on gender and family issues, but they all appreciated that those issues, handled correctly, could broaden the party's appeal and expand its constituency. Ultimately unable to "blend" domestic feminism "into a unified political culture" (p. 27), by the late 1840s the Liberty Party's role as the primary political expression of antislavery sentiment had been replaced by the Free Soil Party. Conscious of what all of these changes signaled for antislavery politics, Pierson is equally alert to the role of antislavery politics within the broader transformation from "Jacksonian politics to the third party system" (p. 46). Pierson's second and third chapters explore the significant contributions made by women within the Free Soil movement, a group often regarded—and sometimes derided—as more a "moderate" manifestation of antislavery sentiment. As editors of newspapers and as authors of explicitly political novels, Free Soil women not only tested the depth of male Free Soilers' commitment to abolitionist principles but also challenged the boundaries between private and public life, boundaries that lay at the center of the prevailing ideologies of gender and family. In these sections, as elsewhere in his study, Pierson is careful to trace the ways in which the ideologies and activities of antislavery women contributed to the wider contest over women's roles, which were in such a state of flux during the decades preceding the Civil War. Jane Swisshelm and Clarina Nichols, like other Free Soil women, and like Harriet Beecher Stowe (who occupies a significant place in this analysis), were acutely concerned with curbing the abuses inflicted on women by their sometimes tyrannical husbands. Those abuses were not directly analogous to the systematic, ongoing violations of black women that occurred under slavery. But as Stowe and others realized, the analogy was a powerful device for alerting Americans to the links between racial and gender injustices.

In chapter four, Pierson uses the New York Democratic Party to trace the Democrats' increasingly conservative views on racial and gender issues. The Democrats, Pierson reveals, sought to appeal specifically to patriarchal values. By the mid-1850s, the Republican Party had supplanted the Free Soilers as the most potent political manifestation of antislavery sentiment. Pierson's final three chapters explore the Republicans' attitudes toward gender and family—including their effective use of domestic feminism—along with the specific ways in which gender and family issues were played out in the 1856 and 1860 presidential campaigns. Pierson's marvelous analysis of those two elections is a real strength of his study, and it could provide the perfect corrective for undergraduate students who occasionally assume that the practice of making the wife of a presidential candidate into a campaign issue began with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Making particularly effective use of newspaper sources, Pierson has also exploited fictional material, political songs, and campaign biographies to good effect, enabling him to connect cultural transformations to political processes. This is a well-organized and readable account that will be of interest to those concerned with the relationship between women's reformism and political life across a range of contexts, as well as those readers specifically interested in political abolitionism and women's rights in the antebellum United States. There are few obvious criticisms to be made. More attention might have been paid to the relationship between the leaders of the various political parties (who remain somewhat amorphous throughout the study) and their supporters. And although Pierson has made telling use of the writings of a number of well-known and less well-known abolitionist women, even more prominence might have been given to Lydia Maria Child, whose prolific writings not only traversed a range of topics during the antebellum era, and who was both an advocate of domesticity and abolitionism, but whose marriage to the abolitionist David Lee Child reflected many of the tensions and transformations Pierson has described. Perhaps, too, Pierson might have located his findings in a broader chronological and international context: how did the political activities of women within American antislavery compare to those of American women in subsequent periods, and to women outside the United States? These questions notwithstanding, Pierson's study has much to commend it, and he has made a valuable contribution to our understandings of the relationship among abolitionism, gender reform, and the cultural and political debates that underpinned the Civil War.

Chris Dixon
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STEPHEN W. BERRY II. *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 286. $28.00.

In the past decade, American historians have made masculinity studies one of the most dynamic and cutting-edge fields within the discipline. Much of the work looks at the numerous public events and rituals in which men participated and competed with each other for status and power. Rather than focusing on male rivalry, however, this book "is dedicated to the *inner* experience of masculinity [in the Old South], to the private landscapes men negotiated in their confrontation with what their society claimed a man should do and be" (p. 12). Perhaps the greatest obstacle to understanding these inner feelings, of course, is that nineteenth-century men are hardly renowned for their self-analysis, introspection, or intimate confessions. Living in a culture that considered emotion, generally, to be effeminate, men rarely committed their private thoughts to paper. As a result, Stephen W. Berry II is forced to rely on a fairly small number of subjects, many of whom appear to be more than a bit odd. It is not clear how many soulful, poetry-reading, daydreaming men there were in the Old South, but the book seems full of them.

Berry's central thesis is that southern men were driven by a combination of ambition and love. Beyond simple ambition, though, he contends that southern "men's ambitions were grander, more appalling, and more personally destructive than is usually allowed." He prefers eclat, in fact, as a more appropriate description of men's dreams: "ephemeral yet manly, hinting at Old World breeding and New World energy" (p. 18). These grand visions amounted to "a reason for living" that went beyond a simple contest or desire for power or even honor. Finally, the region's "eclat-based culture" set southern men apart from northerners, Berry concludes. Northern boys tended toward "civilized manhood," a set of virtues that emphasized self-restraint and asked men to "embody the *effects* of civilization" (p. 34). Southerners, instead, wanted men who advanced the cause and course of civilization itself—an ideology of "civilizing manhood." This was a tall order, and when the reality of most men's accomplishments failed to meet these great expectations the result was often a "pervasive melancholy." Southern men, in short, veered between soaring goals and grandiose visions, on one hand, and shattered dreams and depression on the other.

What made the struggle worthwhile, Berry asserts, was love, because women validated men's struggles and accomplishments. The quests for love and ambition, in other words, were two parts of the same whole. Without true love—or, actually, men's idealized version of womanly devotion—a man's accomplishments would be empty; his unfulfilled promise would be that much more depressing, as even the struggles and sacrifices would lose their ennobling quality without a woman to witness them. Men's reasons for living, in short, came together in the dual pursuit of women and ambition. The Civil War offered some southerners the chance for glory and even immortality, of course, although more likely for most men would be the simple dignity in the struggle to defend home, womanly virtue, and regional honor. The patriotism of the war, Berry argues, began as a combination of men's romanticized notions of women and the ever-present ambition for everlasting fame. It did not last, and ultimately Confederate patriotism faded to a pale version of ambition and honor in the form of "duty" to other men and the "cause."

This is an ambitious book, creatively and subtly argued, filled with nuances too numerous to discuss here. It is a terribly difficult task to understand how men in any culture balance(d) society's expectations with their private dreams, fears, and failures. The limits of the evidence and nineteenth-century male reticence complicate Berry's job even more. Certainly the analysis is limited by its nearly exclusive emphasis on elite men; the ideas, dreams, and struggles of the vast majority of poorer men can only be hinted at. And while much of the narrative is provocative and imaginative, some of the book's sweeping generalizations tend toward clichéd stereotypes: the "spirit of eclat . . . ran deepest in places where mastery over environment and slaves lent a certain grandness to a man's vision" (p. 21). Still, Berry tries to assess how men balanced these public postures and expectations with their private moments of doubt, failure, and depression. That effort raises the book beyond most recent gender studies, and points toward a new agenda for future studies of masculinity and femininity: works that discuss the conflicts, but also the linkages, between public expectations and private disappointments, including the attendant psychological consequences. In short, while not a comprehensive portrait of antebellum southern masculinity—which Berry does not claim it is—the book offers provocative insights into nineteenth-century American manhood and a challenging model for the future of gender studies.

CHRISTOPHER J. OLSEN
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CARL F. WIECK. *Lincoln's Quest for Equality: The Road to Gettysburg*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. x, 214. $36.00.

Carl F. Wieck is a very bold historian. Who would guess that anyone could contribute something new and different to Garry Wills's study of the Gettysburg address and its origins? (*Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words that Remade America* [1992]). This book presents Abraham Lincoln as a cautious and shrewd politician but one with strong antislavery convictions from the very start of his career. Masterfully, Wieck threads his analytical way from the Illinois politician's brief congressional sojourn (1846–1848) to the momentous speech in 1864. Central to his perspective is his insistence that the two elements of prudence and

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reform balanced each other in an astonishing way. This point of view will not satisfy those who claim that the "Great Emancipator" was nothing of the sort but instead proved to be a single-minded racist who freed the slaves for reasons of *realpolitik* alone. Wieck proposes that Lincoln was much closer in sympathy and ideology to the radical abolitionists than one might suspect. According to the author, Theodore Parker, the renowned intellectual and reformer, furnished Lincoln with more ideas and stylistic phrases than has been acknowledged before now. This is no easy interpretation to substantiate beyond all doubt. Nonetheless, Wieck's analysis does give Lincoln scholars an issue to ponder.

Wieck points out that at the close of 1847 and the beginning of 1848, the freshman Whig congressman worked assiduously to embarrass James K. Polk with resolutions that questioned the president's Mexican War rationale. Lincoln and other free-soil advocates feared the incorporation of more slave states into the Union. Wisely, of course, Lincoln voted appropriations for the war effort. Yet, as we well know from current politics, his antiwar maneuvers risked the all too familiar charge of betraying those fighting for home, honor, and flag. Wieck shrewdly contrasts Lincoln's prudent but still venturesome efforts against Parker's freedom from constraints in the pulpit, which effort entailed no political risk.

William H. Herndon recalled having profoundly influenced Lincoln's maturing antislavery convictions. Wieck accepts that claim and argues that Herndon skillfully brought Parker's works to Lincoln's attention. Indeed, Herndon was in steady correspondence with the New England abolitionist throughout the 1850s. He also collected and displayed the speeches of Joshua Giddings, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and other opponents of slaveholding. The implication is that Lincoln read and approved them. According to Wieck, he was shrewd enough, however, not to endorse the contents or communicate with these abolitionist firebrands. Yet, as the author concedes, Lincoln confessed that, from first to last, the dramatic unfolding of events, not calculation or forethought, drove him toward the goal of black liberation. Also, does it really matter whether Lincoln read a particular Parker sermon or not? He never mentioned him in any extant letter, and the pair never met. (Parker died in 1860.) Moreover, the ideas that Parker voiced appeared in perhaps less memorable or elegant form in many reform publications. Despite these questions, Wieck does satisfactorily demonstrate that Parker's antislavery writings affected Lincoln's rhetorical development, though perhaps far less than the author claims. No one questions that the phrase "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" was originally Parker's.

Thus, Wieck makes a plausible case for the Lincoln-Parker connection and then presents another major antislavery source: Lincoln's attachment to Owen Lovejoy. That Illinois politician was the brother of the famously murdered Elijah P. Lovejoy in 1837 and was himself a much more outspoken foe of slavery than Lincoln himself. The two had become intimate friends as early as 1854. Clearly, by then antislavery, whether mild or radical, was in the air, even in fairly conservative central Illinois. As Wieck points out, however, as an officer of the court and a practiced politician, Lincoln deplored any advocacy of violence to free the slaves, particularly the terroristic intentions of John Brown.

Although one might wonder if Lincoln fully accepted the ideal of racial equality as we understand it and the book's title suggests, this study is nonetheless informative in its delineation of antislavery politics and Republican politicians. Above all, the reader must admire Wieck's appreciation of Lincoln's deep intellectual acuity and the president's extraordinary gift for expressing it. In that respect, Wieck has complemented what others, especially Wills, David Donald, and James M. McPherson, have had to say about Lincoln's growth toward the goal of human freedom. For that reason, too, this is an estimable addition to other recent explorations of our greatest president's mind and life.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN
College of William and Mary and *The University of Florida*

RICHARD A. SAUERS. *Gettysburg: The Meade-Sickles Controversy*. Dulles, Va.: Brassey's. 2003. Pp. xii, 207. $24.95.

A researcher thoroughly familiar with the writings on the battle of Gettysburg, Richard A. Sauers turns his focus on one of the aspects of the engagement that will interest students of the campaign. On July 2, 1863, General Daniel E. Sickles, a controversial New York politician and one of the Federal political generals to reach and hold command of an army corps, led his unit well forward of the Union position on Cemetery Ridge. Sauers examines Sickles's decision and contrasts it with the orders from his superior, General George G. Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac. Sauers demonstrates that Meade intended to have Sickles extend the Federal defensive line below the town and anchor it by occupying a prominent hill, Little Round Top, one of the important terrain features on the battlefield. Sauers develops a persuasive argument that instead Sickles disregarded Meade's orders, failed to understand the hill's significance, and moved troops in his corps too far forward nearer the Confederate lines, stopping in a peach orchard and on a rise along the Emmitsburg Road.

Students of Gettysburg and Civil War scholars know of Sickles's forward movement and the resulting high casualties his corps suffered when Confederate soldiers from General James Longstreet's corps engaged them. Sauers provides a service to students and scholars by presenting his careful analysis of both the events during the battle and the postwar controversies that

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flared over Sickles's decision. For example, had Sickles's forward movement been useful in disrupting Confederate attack plans, or did his action expose and weaken the Federal defensive line? Sauers points out that no less an authority than Longstreet concluded years later that Sickles's unorthodox location of his corps had disrupted Confederate plans. Others were skeptical of Longstreet's conclusion and asserted that Sickles had exposed the Union army to disaster.

Sauers shows that, after the war, numerous factors contributed to continuing the controversy. Had Sickles misunderstood his orders, or had Meade's directives been unclear? Sauers makes a strong case that, no matter his postwar protestations, Sickles was at fault. He put his corps in jeopardy by moving to the peach orchard and left Little Round Top undefended in the bargain. According to Sauers, Meade had made his intentions plain, and Sickles should have complied forthwith. In a big battle, with so much going on, however, Meade and his staff suddenly found the status of their defense unlike what the army commander had envisioned. Hard fighting by Union soldiers and the remarkable action by General Gouverneur K. Warren, who recognized the crucial importance of Little Round Top (the key terrain feature Sickles had neglected) allowed the Federals to restore and improve their defensive line.

Sauers does a good job of showing how, during and after the war politics played important parts in the controversies. As the war continued, the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War called for Sickles and Meade to testify. Taking sides, subordinate officers wrote newspaper articles or later gave lectures to veterans' groups supporting one general or the other. In the postwar period, Sickles turned to the Republican Party and Meade lined up mostly with the Democrats. Meade died in 1872, but Sickles lived on until 1914, giving the New Yorker many opportunities to tell, refine, and justify his version of events. Meade's son, George, wrote in defense of his father.

Sauers has carried out an impressive job of research. While some readers may find this topic too narrow or tightly focused, students of Gettysburg will enjoy this book.

JOSEPH G. DAWSON III
Texas A&M University, College Station

CHARLES J. HOLDEN. *In the Great Maelstrom: Conservatives in Post-Civil War South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. 164. $29.95.

Charles J. Holden's intellectual history examines selected members of the conservative elite in post-Civil War South Carolina who valued the state's conservative tradition, rooted in antebellum slavery, and fashioned it to fit changing economic, social, and political circumstances that followed emancipation. By exploring the ideas of four men of elite conservative pedigree, Holden's study loosely spans the late antebellum era to World War II. In his succinct monograph, Holden analyzes letters, speeches, lectures, novels, diaries, and editorials written by Frederick A. Porcher, Edward McCrady, Jr., Theodore D. Jervey, Jr., and William Watts Ball, concluding that these four intellectuals constructed a shared set of conservative ideals that influenced South Carolina's other conservative leaders. Collectively, Holden contends, these conservatives shared a commitment to white supremacy, openly opposed democracy while insisting on local elite rule, and crafted historical interpretations of the past to inform the present.

Holden uses Porcher, history professor at the College of Charleston, as a bridge between antebellum and postbellum South Carolina conservatism. Born into a wealthy lowcountry family in 1809, Porcher, like other proslavery intellectuals, became a harsh critic of free-labor capitalism and bourgeois democracy by the 1850s. After the Civil War, Porcher grappled with the implications of emancipation. Holden contends that Porcher's postwar writings continually extolled the value of white political rule and drew on history's authority to justify elite rule. Porcher successfully adopted some laissez-faire principles, viewing them as inevitable, but he continued to rail against democracy. Porcher lived to see conservatives restored to power in 1877.

McCrady, a Porcher student, Charlestonian, Confederate veteran, lawyer, politician, and delegate to the white-controlled state constitutional convention of 1865, actively supported Wade Hampton, whose violent political campaign of 1876 restored conservative rule in South Carolina. Elected to the legislature as a member of the "conservative regime," McCrady introduced and insured passage of his own antidemocratic reform: McCrady's Eight-Box Law. This suffrage restriction law, designed to reduce illiterate voters, acted as an informal literacy test for both blacks and whites. The measure demonstrates McCrady's conservative desire for white political control and elite rule. When agrarian rebel Ben Tillman stunned conservatives with his successful bid for governor in 1890, McCrady channeled his energy toward writing a four-volume history of South Carolina.

After examining Porcher and McCrady, elitist conservatives whose class held power but who later experienced an abrupt loss of that power, Holden explores the evolution of conservative ideas into the twentieth century through the careers of Jervey and Ball. Both of these men briefly allied themselves with southern progressives, but World War I-era disillusionment returned them to more traditional conservatism. As a younger conservative, Jervey welcomed some political reforms, but only enough to guarantee his generation access to political power. Holden analyzes Jervey's historical fiction and concludes that in these writings he expressed his concerns about democracy and struggled with the apparent contradiction of sanctioning class distinctions among whites while believing in

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inherent white superiority. Ball, a decade younger than Jervey and a newspaper editor in Laurens, Charleston, and Columbia, used editorial columns and his book, *The State That Forgot: South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy* (1932), to communicate his conservative musings. Weary of the federal government's expanding power during World War I, Ball became intolerant of the unprecedented centralized authority that he believed New Deal legislation made possible in Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. Both Jervey and Ball served as apologists for an older, conservative regime, and their writings worked to reinvigorate and make relevant the ideology of the immediate post-Reconstruction era.

Holden's well-written study does not fundamentally challenge existing historiography. In fact, he acknowledges reaching conclusions similar to George Brown Tindall's work from the mid-1970s. His contribution is linking conservative ideas developed in a slaveholding society to the intellectual struggles of a subsequent generation of postbellum conservatives. Holden's selection of these particular four conservatives, however, is not well explained. Clearly they represent South Carolina's conservative elite, but how representative of postbellum conservatism were they, and how influential were their ideas? Many of their ideas, especially their concern for elite rule, were hardly mainstream even in conservative South Carolina, as the Tillman challenge proved. While Holden's book thoroughly explores a few intellectuals' revised articulation of older conservative ideas, a different study, rooted in analyzing fundamental economic and social changes, is necessary to understand the modern, broadly supported conservatism that emerged in the twentieth century.

JANET G. HUDSON
Winthrop University

ELAINE FRANTZ PARSONS. *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 241. $42.95.

In this book, Elaine Frantz Parsons notes a difference between her approach and that typical of temperance historians, and she purposefully sets aside one of their primary concerns. The medical versus moral debate on the status of inebriety as a "disease" has been covered so often and so well, she gracefully concedes, as to render her own thoughts superfluous. "This book supplements, rather than challenges, the literature on the social history of alcohol and temperance" (p. 14).

In *Drunkard's Progress: Narratives of Addiction, Despair, and Recovery* (1999), I claimed that "temperance narratives" (my term) constituted a lost genre of American literature, one with unexplored links to contemporaneous slave narratives. Parsons boldly expands such modest claims, positing that "drunkard narratives" (her term) were inexhaustible and ubiquitous throughout the nineteenth century. Drunkard narratives, moreover, underpinned two crucial cultural debates: over the limits of individual autonomy within an environment seen to be ever more determined, and over gender roles within the family and in the public sphere. Thus Parsons is not primarily concerned with how drunkard narratives may have helped to solve American drinking problems, but instead with how they affected the discursive formulation of more abstract problems.

Prior to the Civil War, drunkard narratives contained most of the following elements: the potential drunkard, inevitably male, starts out as an especially promising but naïve young man; the temptation to take the fatal first drink comes from external influences that play on the neophyte's lust for excitement and his wish to bond with ill-chosen companions; once led to the bottle, the victim loses control of his life as the need for drink supplants his normal motivations for economic success and familial happiness; inevitably the drunkard loses control of his own body, and if he is saved at all, it is through a powerful external counterforce. After the Civil War, according to Parsons, there were two variants in drunkard narratives: "the shift from describing a drunkard's fall as a seduction to describing it as an invasion of the drinker's body and will; and the development of a counternarrative to the story of the drunkard's decline: the story of female invasion" (p. 7).

Each of Parsons's chapters explores one aspect of the drunkard narratives: the erosion of the drunkard's volition; his struggle to maintain any sense of manhood; drinking itself as an index to contentment in American life and its location (at home or in the saloon); inebriety as the result of a seduction too powerful for the drunkard to resist; drunkenness more as coercive invasion than as seduction; anti-drink tactics in relation to other social movements for the empowerment of women. Whereas Parsons accepts the conventional feminist critique of the temperance movement—that the radical actions of female temperance crusaders ultimately served the interests of a conservative status quo—she argues "that the relationship between the temperance movement and the suffrage movement was much more organic to temperance discourse than is generally understood" (p. 10).

Mere summary cannot do justice to the subtle unfolding of Parsons's arguments and to her superb use of evidence. She traces the drunkard narrative through pamphlets, newspaper articles, and even songs, but her major sources are novels, plays, and trial transcripts. Her extensive use of the last is a major achievement; no one has dug so deeply into records of the litigation prompted by the rise of "civil damage trials," in which the wives and widows of drunkards took advantage of dramshop laws to sue saloonkeepers for compensation. In Parsons's hands, such trial transcripts become the most revealing examples of the discursive power of drunkard narratives.

Parsons's stress on discursivity is chiefly what marks

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this book as "cultural studies." In this scholarly genre the objective is not to amass data in support of a delimited thesis whose unexceptionability proves to be proportional to the sheer density of the evidence. By contrast, "cultural studies," especially as practiced in English departments, tends to present exemplary or representative data in support of broadly encompassing cultural generalizations. The merits of a given study are seen to owe less to the weight of evidence adduced than to the cogency of the abstract argument. In this respect, Parsons's book is notably successful; and its findings will be embraced enthusiastically by scholars affiliated with the emergent field of alcohol and addiction studies.

JOHN W. CROWLEY
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JOHN W. FRICK. *Theatre, Culture and Temperance Reform in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 256. $60.00.

Eighteenth and nineteenth-century Americans were prodigious drinkers. Untold numbers of citizens guzzled wine, whiskey, beer, schnapps, brandy, rum, and hard cider, as well as dozens of homemade brews that killed on a regular basis, to escape poverty, to cure or prevent various ailments, to socialize, or to feed the demands of alcoholism, a then-unrecognized disease. Strong drink was a defining ingredient in everyday American life. In 1758, for example, twenty-six-year-old George Washington, running for a House of Burgesses seat, paid out thirty-four of his thirty-seven-pound election coffer to buy liquor for potential voters.

John W. Frick, in this carefully researched work, examines the "cultural centrality of liquor" (p. 21) in the nineteenth century, the corresponding mass social movements formed to control or eradicate strong drink, and the dizzying array of temperance dramas and theatrical performances that sprang up to advance the "spirit of reform" (p. 48). In a lively introduction and six tightly woven chapters, Frick argues along two lines. One, is that, by brushing aside temperance melodramas as well as most of the nineteenth-century stage, commentators have ignored American theater and plays as legitimate sources of literary and cultural study. The second is that temperance movements and the dramas they spawned were wildly popular, revealing everything from American artistic tastes to elitist attempts to control the habits and lives of the disenfranchised, including women, African Americans, the Irish, and other recent immigrants. With regard to the latter, Frick is a meticulous, engaging, and reliable guide to a spirited and bustling aspect of American life and leisure that may be new to many general readers and historians alike. He is slightly less successful, however, with regard to the former. It is true that the expansive temperance scholarship slights the importance of theater. But Frick's own book is the seventeenth volume in the influential Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama Series (ably edited by Don B. Wilmeth), nine of which are partly or wholly concerned with nineteenth century topics. And the literary angle is problematic. One of Frick's central plays, *Little Katy, or The Hot Corn Girl*, may not have been published at all, and no extant playscript remains. It is difficult to judge a work as written literature when the entire text has gone missing. Scripts, however, are artifacts. Frick is correct, surely, that the cultural importance of those scripts in the context of live theater's ephemeral world is unjustly pretermitted.

Chapter one summarizes historical, sociological, and scientific inquiries into American drinking habits and the cyclical temperance movements that struggled mightily to alter those habits. This chapter, general in nature, is necessary for establishing the importance of what is to come. Chapter two explores how theater was "employed as temperance propaganda" (p. 14). Chapter three, despite the book's title, digresses (pp. 81–111) into British manifestations of temperance drama. Readers may question the wholesale relevance of this otherwise interesting discussion since so many engrossing revelations in the later chapters strike one as uniquely American in nature.

The book takes off in chapter four, chronicling in a most satisfying way at least three landmark dramatic productions: *The Drunkard; or Ten Nights in a Barroom, Little Katy, or The Hot Corn Girl*, and *The Drunkard's Warning*. Frick in on firm ground here. He confidently takes the reader through questions of authorship, plots, actors, producers, performances, temperance organizations, and audience and critical reactions. He draws sound conclusions based on robust research and an intense scrutiny of existing sources.

Chapter five is equally impressive. It follows the movement of temperance drama in both professional and, significantly, amateur productions from eastern population centers to America's heartland. This nicely rounds out the study by showing the pervasive influence of temperance drama throughout the whole country, in urban and rural areas alike. The final chapter serves as an epilogue, measuring the slow decline (it lasted into the 1930s) of temperance drama and changing American cultural attitudes toward alcohol consumption and its social implications.

While Frick's stated aims are modest and the work dispatches its subject in a moderate 201 pages of text, this is an ambitious book. Its bibliography is extensive, and an appendix listing nineteenth-century temperance plays is indispensable for students of the era. The book, which carries a somewhat hefty price tag, is handsomely bound and presents fitting half-tone illustrations and useful endnotes that reveal Frick's scrupulous scholarship. It will serve as a touchstone for all future inquiries into the temperance movement and

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the sprawling, vibrant American theater of the nineteenth century.

JOHN HANNERS
Texas A&M University, Commerce

RENÉE M. SENTILLES. *Performing Menken: Adah Isaacs Menken and the Birth of American Celebrity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 313. $45.00.

In her own time (the Civil War and the post-Civil War eras), Adah Isaacs Menken was as infamous as Madonna is in ours. Like Madonna, Menken defined herself through sexual adventures and scandal and, like Madonna, she routinely transmutated and redefined herself through increasingly outrageous performance and public behavior. From the outset, even before the public discovered that she possessed writing and acting talent, Menken had achieved celebrity status—what the late Daniel Boorstin characterized as "being well known for being well-known"—by allegedly marrying prize fighter John Heenan, a union that Menken's first husband vehemently denied. Yet, the suspicion of bigamy was raised and a scandal followed. For the remainder of her brief life (thirty-three years), Menken's semi-nude performances and illicit liaisons, many with famous men (poet Algernon Charles Swinburne and novelist Alexandre Dumas among them), provided ample fodder for an emerging mass press. So infamous had Menken become by the Civil War that she was already being compared to another "notorious woman," the dancer Lola Montez, who reputedly carried pistols, challenged adversaries to "duels by poison," and was credited with bringing down a foreign government by carrying on a very public affair with its ruler.

Until 1861, however, despite controversies surrounding her marriage(s), ethnicity (she claimed to be Jewish even though there was no documentary proof of this), and profession (actress), Menken's poetry and intellectual endeavors allowed her to maintain the aura of respectability. On June 6 of that year, however, she debuted a performance considered even more scandalous than her private life. At the Green Street Theatre in Albany, New York, Menken first performed the role that would ultimately guarantee her a place in American theater history: that of the "undressed" Tartar Prince Mazeppa in the play of the same name. Having been stripped of her outer garments by soldiers, Menken was revealed in skin-colored tights and then was strapped to the back of a live horse that was stampeded up a ramp to the fly loft. In performing this stunt, Menken proved more daring than the males who had preceded her in the role by performing the stunt herself instead of having a dummy lashed to the horse (as was the practice of earlier Mazeppas), and her apparent nudity created a sensation that established her as a star even before she brought the show to New York. As Renée M. Sentilles notes, Menken's performance drew audiences to the so-called respectable theater, which, during the war, desperately needed patrons.

In writing the biography of an adventuress like Madonna, Montez, or Menken, it is tempting for scholar and journalist alike to dwell on the more lurid, sensational aspects of their subject's private life. Certainly, in the case of Menken, this was an option; yet, unlike a recent biography of Montez (which Sentilles cites) that is essentially narrative and focuses upon its subject's transgressive behavior, Sentilles's treatment of Menken is interpretative. In her study, Sentilles examines Menken in relation to class, gender, ethnicity, the emergence of a mass media and celebrity culture, the creation of a "respectable" middle class, and, since celebrities are considered commodities, commercialism.

From the outset, Sentilles is most concerned with the "constructedness" of Menken's personae, stressing that Menken *was* the image and that this image—the phenomenon known as *The Menken*—was created for public consumption. Starting from Judith Butler's premise that "gender is all performance" (p. 4), Sentilles carefully traces Menken's construction(s) of her self, her various transformations, and the merging of her private and public lives. In the process, she describes the ways Menken mirrored, challenged, subverted, blurred, and/or transformed the various cultural norms and applicable markers. Intriguingly, in one of the more interesting assertions of her book, despite the fact that Menken's sexuality was arguably her most prominent attribute, Sentilles believes that she more closely resembled Karen Haltunnen's "Confidence Man" than her "Painted Woman."

Deficiencies are relatively few and minor. Sentilles, in describing the differences between theater on Broadway and theater on the Bowery in the 1860s, seemingly ignores the fact that theatrical activity was rapidly becoming centralized in a single district at Union Square with both high-brow and low-brow entertainments in the same geographical area. Also, considering that Sentilles is writing about a sexual adventuress, some readers might find her treatment of Menken's many liaisons (both legal and illicit) to be somewhat clinical and intellectualized. This latter objection, however, may say more about the reader than it does about the author and, given the theoretical scope and scholarly expertise that Sentilles displays throughout her work, it is of little consequence. This is a most interesting and valuable study of a performer, of a woman, and of a particular cultural moment.

JOHN W. FRICK
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FRANK H. GOODYEAR III. *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief*. (The Great Plains Photography Series.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2003. Pp. 211. $35.00.

In this important visual biography, Frank H. Goodyear III rejects lingering nineteenth-century assertions that

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Indian people feared photographic technology, arguing instead that some Native people embraced the camera as an opportunity for new modes of cross-cultural communication. Among a number of oft-photographed Indian people, the Lakota leader Red Cloud stands out, posing for at least forty-five camera sessions over nearly four decades. The 128 known photographs of Red Cloud originated in Washington, D.C.'s studios, on South Dakota's plains, and any number of places in between. Taken together, Goodyear argues, these images constitute a semi-autobiographical text capable of revealing something about Red Cloud's responses to the difficult situations confronting his people. Photography allowed him to become visible to colonial authority, and legitimated by it, while at the same time mediating, questioning, and even undermining that authority. Photography also led Red Cloud to his own project of self-fashioning, not only in relation to American culture but also among his own people. Reading the images Red Cloud left behind, suggests Goodyear, allows us to see strategies, compromises, mimicry, and identity performances invisible in either written or oral texts.

The book arranges in chronological order eighty-one reproductions—usually full page and sharply printed—from Red Cloud's first image in an ornate chair in Matthew Brady's studio (1872) to his last session, on a spindly one in front of a decrepit Pine Ridge agency building (1909). Goodyear generally eschews the interpretative moves that art historians might be tempted to bring to these images. There are no intricate analyses of messages passed from photographic producers to consumers through a visual unconscious. He turns instead to detailed historical research, tracking down the who, how, and where of almost every photograph, placing them in both specific and broad contexts. Understanding relevant political situations and social relationships, he shows, helps to understand the images produced. This is a book that asks less about the meaning of images than about the process of their production.

On occasion, though, Goodyear is willing to use the images to identify Red Cloud's state of mind. Red Cloud's refusal to smile is read as evidence of his reluctance to share with photographers anything other than a statesmanlike demeanor. A single photograph with a young boy is used to suggest that Red Cloud is moderating his attitude toward photography. On the occasions when Red Cloud's participation in crass and exploitive sessions seems most bewildering, Goodyear falls back upon a general explanation: "photography, a vital means of self-expression, brought him needed attention and allowed him to remain in the public spotlight" (p. 128).

Goodyear identifies a number of visual tropes that recur in these photographs. Red Cloud shakes hands with a white man, often with a pipe sealing the friendship (p. 77). Red Cloud interposes an interpreter into the image (p. 67). Red Cloud is seated, with white men standing above him (pp. 22, 92, 113). Goodyear takes from such tropes lessons about Lakota adaptability and the possibilities for photography's role in helping "to bridge the divide that separated the two cultures" (p. 186). This conclusion ends up emphasizing cultural exchange at the expense of a more detailed examination of the workings of colonial power. What might it have meant, for instance, to plop Buffalo Bill Cody into a chair and to surround him with the looming figures of Red Cloud and American Horse? Does "bridging cultures" take full account of the relations of power embedded in Red Cloud's photographic performances? Goodyear is often light on such questions.

The book is at its best when it links specific image production to particular moments in Red Cloud's life and in U.S.-Lakota relations. Treating, for instance, the frequency with which Red Cloud is seen holding the American flag, Goodyear offers a smart explanation of a cultural transition in which flags came to signify prowess as a warrior and leader within Lakota culture. Likewise, he makes a compelling argument for Red Cloud's mid-career move to short hair, white clothing, and a gold-headed cane as a claim to diplomatic authority. In the end, these kinds of historical and cultural readings successfully power this book, making it a unique pictorial biography of a leader whose life has often been crudely parsed—incorrectly, Goodyear convinces us—into moments of significance and insignificance. In this sense, the book should find an important place not only in the recent writing on Native peoples and photography but also in Lakota history and Native American cultural studies.

PHILIP J. DELORIA
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PAUL H. CARLSON. *The Buffalo Soldier Tragedy of 1877.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, $24.95.

By the summer of 1877, Americans were recovering from the shock of General George Armstrong Custer's defeat at Little Big Horn. The frontier army was rounding up the few remaining free Sioux and Cheyenne bands, chasing the elusive Nez Percé through the Bitterroots, and pursuing Apache and Kickapoo raiders into their Mexican strongholds. After spending seventy years in the West, the U.S. Army still failed to grasp the realities of life in the arid region. When Captain Nicholas M. Nolan of the Tenth Cavalry pursued a Kwahada Comanche band across the Llano Estacado in the dry summer's heat, he forgot that water is a gift west of the one hundredth meridian. Stung by his 1875 failure aggressively to pursue Apache and Comanche raiders across the Llano, Nolan made a series of poor decisions that threatened the lives of his men, doomed his mission, and cost the army valuable animals, equipment, and supplies. Drawing on military records and participants' reminiscences, Paul H. Carlson reconstructs the most likely scenario

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that occurred on the Llano those desperate five days in late July 1877.

As ordered, Nolan led the sixty-two officers and men of Troop A out of Fort Concho on July 10 and headed north toward the Llano, in search of Comanches who had left their reservation at Fort Sill to join free Kwahadas. Upon meeting a "posse" of bison hunters who were chasing the Comanches who had stolen their horses and killed a comrade, Nolan and the bison hunters pressed on together. With the help of Chief Quanah Parker, however, the Comanches were able to elude Nolan's expedition and arrive safely at Fort Sill.

Reaching Double Lakes on July 25, the expedition had to dig for water. When Comanches suddenly appeared and Nolan ordered the men to move out, Troop A carried half empty canteens. They would not see water for eighty-six hours. With no one managing the water supply, by nightfall most men had empty canteens. Refusing to push into the nearby Blue Sand Hills where he could find both water and the missing Comanches, Captain Nolan chose to press northward to Silver Lake due to the prostrate condition of his men. On July 28, Nolan suddenly decided to turn back southeast toward Double Lakes, where he was certain of water. The bison hunters refused and headed for Casas Amarillas instead. Reduced to drinking their urine and the blood of dead horses to stave off the hundred-degree heat, Nolan's men lost their hearing and mental acuity. Abandoning everything except their weapons, the bedraggled soldiers walked all night to reach Double Lakes on July 30, where a relief party found them. Disabled survivors and abandoned equipment were brought in, and the soldiers gradually made their way back to their supply base. Four buffalo soldiers lay dead, and Troop A had lost most of its animals.

Although five buffalo soldiers were court-martialed for abandoning the command, Carlson holds Captain Nolan responsible for the tragedy. Only poor judgment or a mental collapse could account for Nolan's mistakes. He failed to check the men's canteens and ration their water, return to base camp when his men and animals were collapsing, heed the advice of men familiar with the Llano, and to stay on course for Silver Lake. Apparently, Lieutenant Charles Cooper took over as Nolan "broke down emotionally." While nature was against the command, Nolan's poor decisions doomed Troop A. In contrast, the buffalo soldiers emerge as heroes in the tragedy as their perseverance and devotion to their comrades under such extreme conditions demonstrated true *esprit de corps*.

Although it had little long-range impact, the buffalo soldier tragedy nevertheless illustrated serious problems that had plagued the U.S. military from its earliest days in the West. Commanders repeatedly underestimated the challenge posed by the land itself. They failed to develop effective means of communication between columns and supply of columns under western conditions. General Patrick E. Conner could certainly commiserate with Nolan regarding his own failed Powder River Expedition of 1865. Commanders' ignorance regarding Native American survival skills and core values doomed many. The critical role of military leadership in adapting strategy and resources to western conditions, establishing Native American relations, facilitating economic development, and establishing the rule of law is clearly evident in West Texas in 1877.

Utilizing personal reminiscences, Carlson gives greater depth to the buffalo soldier tragedy than previous chroniclers. While John R. Cook, Cooper, Nolan, and Mrs. Benjamin Grierson contribute much to the story, African American and Native American sources may have shed additional light on the situation. The book's awkward organization and lengthy background material is confusing, but once Carlson begins his story, casual and advanced readers alike will be engrossed until Nolan's command returns to Fort Concho.

MICHÈLE BUTTS
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ROBERT KELLEY SCHNEIDERS. *Big Sky Rivers: The Yellowstone and Upper Missouri*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xviii, 374. $35.00.

Robert Kelley Schneiders's book is an environmental polemic disguised as a bioregional history of the Upper Missouri ecosystem from pre-European contact up to the present. Schneiders passionately believes that the Upper Missouri should be restored to its pre-contact ecological state through the removal of several of its dams. His call to action is clear: free the river or it will have its revenge. That heartfelt conviction fuels this work with admirable energy. However, the book is weakened by problems of structure, style, and evidence.

The book's greatest strength is its elucidation of the ways in which energy flowed through this ecosystem. There is a wealth of wonderful information here, particularly about rivers and bison and the ways in which their interactions shaped and defined the region. That information, however, serves an overly familiar story. Before European contact, the river's ecosystem harnessed solar energy to create a world teeming with plant and animal life. Native peoples, particularly the Teton Sioux, moved into and through that system living as nomads within the bioregion's natural limits. Then along came Euro-Americans, interested in profit and control. They conquered and contained Indians, commodified the rivers as mere water, and with railroads, dredges, and dams remade the ecosystem for navigation, flood control, and irrigated agriculture. This betrayal of nature's workings, however, brought nothing but havoc and failure. Schneiders pulls no punches: only restoration of the rivers and bison, he claims, can prevent the emergence of a human and ecological wasteland along the Upper Missouri.

This story, if familiar, is both compelling and convincing. However, the writing detracts from its power.

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Bioregionalists face a particular narrative challenge: historians have long depended on stories about people, conflict, and transformation, but how do you tell the story of a place? Schneiders embraces that challenge but struggles for a structure that will serve both place and story. The book is thus framed around the river system itself, with different human and natural actors—bison, Sioux, Lewis and Clark, Euro-American settlers, the Army Corps of Engineers—wandering through at broad intervals. Each group requires its own background, and the resulting structure lacks cohesiveness. Long, detailed digressions lengthen chapters with overwhelming detail on secondary topics, particularly in the latter chapters focusing on the dams. The language itself runs to exaggeration and overstatement; far too many aspects of this history are deemed "incredible." The text is scattered with odd and somewhat useless declarations, including, on Lewis and Clark, the statement that "These men demand attention and analysis" (p. 149).

The scholarly apparatus proves problematic as well. The text is sparsely footnoted. In every chapter, four or five dense pages pass at a time, detailing complex topics, without any indication of sources. In many chapters, the footnotes refer only to primary sources, mostly Euro-American exploration accounts. Some summary footnotes list secondary sources for each chapter, but the overall recognition of other scholars' work lacks breadth and depth. The entire Little Bighorn/Greasy Grass battle unfolds with only four footnotes, referencing two secondary sources. Schneiders also fails to acknowledge scholarly work on key topics, for instance Native American bison hunting. He states that "The Teton Sioux in the far western Upper Missouri practiced conservation after 1855" (p. 191), without any notice of ongoing debate on the question of Indian hunting practices or of the anachronistic use of conservationist standards and labels. Such discussion should at minimum have referenced Shepard Krech's recent work, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (2000).

Environmental historians are often accused of biased environmentalist leanings in their work. They thus strive for objective engagement with their own politics and their sources. No such striving graces this sprawling, dense book, which demands that Americans reverse the tide of history along the Upper Missouri. No matter how many dams we dismantle—and we may very well so choose—history is the one river whose direction cannot be reversed.

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JOHN F. BURNS and RICHARD J. ORSI, editors. *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California*. Assisted by MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI, JOSHUA PADDISON, and TEENA STERN. (California History Sesquicentennial Series, number 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, in association with the California Historical Society, San Francisco, Calif. 2003. Pp. xi, 288. $29.95.

This collection, edited by John F. Burns and Richard J. Orsi, is the fourth volume in a sesquicentennial series commissioned by the California Historical Society. This particular book concentrates on the evolution of legal and political institutions in California, from 1846, when California was captured by the United States after nearly two decades of Mexican rule, to 1879, when California adopted its second state constitution. These were formative years that required great attention to law, citizenship, order, and the establishment of basic institutions of governance.

Nine chapters by nine different authors and a preface by the editors grace this handsomely illustrated work. The chapters vary in composition and thematic expressions, but all stay within the stated goals of the editors, who seek to explicate and to identify basic themes of early California political and legal history. In many ways, California history, as the series editors note, has not been the subject of significant amounts of scholarship. Why this should be so is hard to pinpoint. That higher education in California has not stressed or required California history or that major graduate degree-granting institutions rarely have offered specialized programs or encouraged dissertations featuring California history are certainly factors in this deficiency. What has happened, however, is that truly excellent historians of California have emerged from the public nonteaching and private sectors, and that is a strength not only of this volume but of the writing of California history in general.

A word should be said about the title. "Seeing the elephant" is a common expression associated with the Oregon Trail. It was usually uttered by a traveler who had had a tough time of it during his or her crossing. It might have even resulted in turning around and not making one's California destination. The phrase can also be found in the title of two excellent books on Oregon Trail legal history by John Phillip Reid. Burns, in the first chapter, explains how "seeing the elephant" is a metaphor for California's Gold Rush and thus qualifies for this book's title.

The nine chapters include (in addition to the introduction, which surveys California's statehood and first state constitution and sets the framework for the volume) six chapters on California state law and politics. They provide treatments of crime in California; courts, lawyers, and the evolution of California legal doctrines; the politics of race, with an emphasis on African Americans; the conversion of California from a Mexican province to an American state; California's evolving nineteenth-century functioning state government; and California women's legal status. The book concludes with two essays, one discussing the history of California's county and town governments and another documenting the early relationship of the federal government with Californians.

Of the nine chapters, four in particular stand out.

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Donna C. Schuele's well-written, thorough, and thoughtful discussion of the evolution of married women's property rights, women's suffrage, and the right of women to practice law in California is a model for further state history discussions on this topic, particularly relating to Texas, Utah, and New Mexico. Judson A. Grenier's chapter, entitled "'Officialdom': California State Government, 1849–1879," although somewhat bland in its composition, is essential as a reference, for it provides a comprehensive listing of officeholders from governors to superintendents of public instruction. Edward Leo Lyman has written engagingly of local governments in California. He covers significant ground with his study of San Bernardino all the way to San Francisco. Not only are the issues for county officers and courts carefully considered, but Lyman offers a variety of nuances rarely seen in the historical literature on this neglected subject. Robert Chandler concludes with a consideration of the role of the federal government in California. What is of import in his chapter is its documentation of federal influence during California's early history few other historians have observed. The U.S. government had an impact on the history of pre-Civil War California in a number of ways from early military rule and Indian policies to transportation, control of the sea coast, and the placement of a U.S. mint in the Golden State.

This volume has much to offer the general reader and the professional historian, and its editors and authors can take pride in its fine contribution to California's history.

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FRANK VAN NUYS. *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890–1930*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. pp. xv, 294. $35.00.

More squarely than any other recent work of scholarship, this book by Frank Van Nuys addresses the Americanization movement in its classic early twentieth century years as a great reform cause, a prospect that Edward George Hartmann did not quite capture in *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (1948), that Gerd Korman in *Industrialization, Immigrants, and Americanizers: The View from Milwaukee, 1866–1921* (1967) did not presume to entertain, and that even John Higham in his magisterial *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (1955) did not pursue to closure.

Van Nuys places the Americanization movement in a distinctively novel context. He is the first historian to select the semi-mythic, all-American West, that other United States, extending from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, as the focus for his research. He then turns to the crucial juncture in the West's modernization, even as that vast region was being driven to confront its virtually unacknowledged and formidable ethnic diversity. As Walter Nugent has reminded us, urbanization and industrialization at the turn of the twentieth century were transforming America's once remote, indeterminate, and exploited frontier colony into "an integral part of the United States" (p. 3). In short, nation-building with its commitment to order, efficiency, centralization, and standardization was being equipped with the keys for implementing the absolute mandate to unite a divided America in the throes of a supreme national crisis. A purposively formative process and no incidental engagement, nation-building had received the blessing of Frances Kellor of Chicago and New York, whom Higham called "a presiding genius of the still amorphous movement for Americanization." Most conspicuously of all, in California Progressivism sprang up as a full-throated, innovative political culture with the Lincoln-Roosevelt-Republican League opening the way to singular triumphs for popular government. When the 1912 Progressive ticket of Theodore Roosevelt and Governor Hiram Johnson, "the party of social justice," endorsed the first party plank (drafted by Kellor and Jane Addams) ever designated to promote the welfare of the immigrant, the new West rocketed to national attention.

This book is so wide-ranging and eclectic in its scope that it is essential to identify the author's cogent guidepost chapter titles and part titles. Encapsulating his topical concerns, methods, and tone of historical treatment, they also highlight the plethora of Americanizing agents and institutions that he has chosen to address. The opening chapter, "The Stuff from Which Citizens Are Made," with its part titles, "The Importance of Being White Pioneers" and "Immigrant Wests and Racial Constructs," leaves no doubt of the centrality of the region's preemptive layered racialist frame of mind, represented most famously by the "racial frontier" between whites and others ordained by Chester Rowell, the preeminent Progressive intellectual. Chapter two, "Progressivism, Americanization, and War," proceeds to the heart of the matter with three parts entitled "Progressive Americanization and the California Commission of Immigration and Housing," "Western Progressives, Councils of Defense and Wartime Americanization," and "Post-War Americanization in the West," wherein English, naturalization, and citizenship dominate the bonding agenda. Chapter three, "Some Information on Capital and Labor," with part titles "Employers, Unions, and New Immigrants," "The Wobbly Menace: Labor Radicalism in the West," and "Industrial Americanization," relates to the itinerant seasonal and cyclically employed unskilled disparate labor force (largely of South and East European immigrants) in the mines, mills, and smelters, and unskilled Japanese and Mexican laborers in the fields often confronting business leaders with instrumentalities of their own. Chapter four, "Education and Citizenship," focuses directly on the often hodgepodge classroom pedagogics of the Americanization crusade under four topics: "English, Citizenship and Night Schools," "Americanizing Immigrant Women," "Uni-

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versities and the Question of Professionalization," and "Fear and Optimism: The Americanization Career of Grace Raymond Hebard." Chapter five, "Our Government Thinks We Can," details the role of the federal government in the West, primarily as evidenced in the often conflicting ambitions and cross purposes of the Bureau of Education and the Labor Department's Bureau of Naturalization. The final chapter, "Our Own House Needs Readjustment," concludes with "the collapse of Americanization" and the ultimate canonization of a racially restrictive American immigration policy in the Immigration Act of 1924, in whose passage western legislators played major roles, from Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington State, the zealous chairman of the House Immigration Committee, to Senator Hiram Johnson who triumphantly affirmed, in the name of his fellow exclusionists, that "California's cherished policy is now the nation's maturely determined policy" (p. 188).

From among the hundreds of personages associated with the Americanization movement in the West, Van Nuys is especially taken with Hebard (1861–1936), who in her lifetime personified the Americanization movement in Wyoming and much of the West. A self-made, first-generation "new" woman, professor of political economy and Wyoming State regent of the newly founded Daughters of the American Revolution, she was prideful of her "greatest heritage of all" as "a pioneer daughter of pioneer parents" but passionately claimed to value her work as an Americanizer as "most precious." Even her fear of the "heterogeneous mass" of South and East European immigrants and her preference for "homogeneity" do not diminish her stature in Van Nuys's esteem.

No less admired by Van Nuys, although more thinly portrayed, is Simon Lubin (1876–1936). A redoubtable social worker, business man, and Harvard-trained economist, in 1913 Lubin created the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (CCIH), chairing and coordinating for a decade the best and most comprehensive Americanization program in the nation. Carey McWilliams was to become his latter-day successor. Inspired by a melting-pot cosmopolitan outlook, Lubin, according to Spencer Olin, the most liberal leader of the California Progressives, lent decisive momentum to social reform. All too belatedly and futilely in 1920, Lubin even devised a blueprint for a unique federal super agency, a department of nation-building, his CCIH writ large, to "intensify" the talents of all Americans, native and foreign-born alike, that was to culminate in a Bureau of National Culture "to think through the whole problem" (p. 164).

In so prodigious an undertaking, Van Nuys has hewn a difficult path marked by recurrent cross-stitching that makes it difficult at times to follow his complex narrative. Yet, he has proved himself more than equal to the task at hand. The Americanization movement did not succeed in Americanizing many immigrants. But as Van Nuys persuasively demonstrates, the movement "through its organized channels ... helped Americanize the West when larger processes of national integration are concerned" (p. 195). This is the special achievement of his book and it is impressive.

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Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes. *Going Places: Transportation Redefines the Twentieth-Century West.* (The American West in the Twentieth Century.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 419. $39.95.

In this book, Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes analyzes how the introduction of railroads, then automobiles, and finally commercial airlines sequentially changed the nature of economic and social life in the American West. It is an ambitious undertaking, commendable both in its attempt at tripartite comparative transportation history and in its focus on one geographically discrete area of the United States.

The book is beautifully written, in an engaging style that is accessible to both the scholar and the lay reader. Schwantes has chosen to write a somewhat personal account of developments, leavening the historical narrative with anecdotes drawn from his own life. The result is a work that has a significant degree of humanity to it, something that is further enhanced by the inclusion of a remarkable collection of nearly 100 black-and-white period illustrations, primarily photographs and advertising literature. These visuals have not been widely published before, and those that depict employees or passengers working on, or traveling in, a train, car, or airplane are particularly compelling.

Schwantes is at his best when discussing the evolution and impact of the railway system in the western part of the United States. He presents the West at the turn of the twentieth century as an area that was sparsely populated and ripe for development by railroad interests. These interests, he maintains, continued to define major aspects of life in the West at least until after World War II. It is the development and periodic "reinvention" of the nation's rail system, the latter in response to the changing nature of the competition it faced, that provide the primary underlying themes of this work.

The author's stated intent is to "offer an extended interpretive essay of transportation and its impact on the modern American West" (p. xvi), with particular attention to how transportation modes continually redefine a landscape, or, as he terms it, the "space of place." Schwantes provides a well-reasoned account of how and why the automobile, bus, and truck, and later the airplane, significantly undercut the financial stability of the once dominant railroads. He also draws intriguing parallels between the evolution of the various transportation modes, such as linking the Federal land grants and loans that underwrote railroad development in the late 1860s and 1870s with the govern-

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ment airmail contracts that supported the launching of commercial aviation in the 1920s and 1930s.

However, this book is more descriptive than analytical, and readers looking for an overarching thesis that explains the collective impact of trains, cars, and airplanes on the West will be disappointed. While there are numerous comparisons of two of the transportation modes, primarily to explain the ascendancy of one form over the other, there is little analysis of the combined impact of all three modes. For example, while the author describes how railroad interests capitalized on the fear that towns had of being bypassed by a rail line and observes a similar development for the early named highways (e.g. the Lincoln Highway), he does not attempt to determine whether the siting of major airports generated the same feelings among competing communities. Given the relatively sparse population in the West, the placement of airports and the later creation of airline hubs undoubtedly had profound effects on the development of nearby localities.

Schwantes also elects to follow a chronological, as opposed to a topical, approach to his discussion of the various modes of transportation. This approach leads to a degree of unevenness in the book. There is a considerable amount of information on the development of the railway and airline industries, but little comparable material on the growth of the automotive industry. Similarly, the sociocultural changes wrought by commercial aviation are not discussed to the extent that such changes are examined for railroads, automobiles, and buses.

Nonetheless, Schwantes's study is grounded in a solid core of secondary accounts and provides a well-written synthesis of the transportation developments that "redefined" the West in the twentieth century. As such, it would be an excellent choice as a text or supplementary reading for an introductory course in American transportation history. Although scholars specializing in railway, automotive, or airplane history will not find new material in their respective areas of expertise, some of the chapters might have utility as a source of comparative information regarding the evolution of transportation modes other than the one in which an individual scholar specializes. More importantly, Schwantes identifies and explores aspects of American transportation history that are worthy of further analysis by other researchers.

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DANIEL TYLER. *Silver Fox of the Rockies: Delphus E. Carpenter and Western Water Compacts*. Foreword by DONALD J. PISANI. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 392. $34.95.

This new book by Daniel Tyler is a biography of Delphus E. Carpenter (1877–1951), who was Colorado's commissioner of interstate streams at a crucial juncture in ongoing disputes between states over water rights in the West. "Silver Fox" was a moniker afforded Carpenter by a friend. Silver foxes, large members of the red fox family, have reputations for great patience, strong survival instincts, adaptability, determination, and sensitivity to their surroundings—all attributes that Tyler believes characterized Carpenter. Carpenter, a second-generation Coloradoan from a pioneering ranching family, was from Weld County in the Greeley area, along the Front Range north of Denver. He attended and graduated from the law school of Denver University, reading successfully for the law in a Denver law office. He returned to Greeley to practice law, married a local woman with a ranching background, started to raise a family, and bought a ranch. In 1908, running as a conservative states' rights Republican associated with livestock and irrigation interests, he won a four-year term in the state senate. As a legislator, he concentrated on water law and represented Colorado in a water dispute with Wyoming. A turning point in his life came in 1912, when he unexpectedly lost reelection to a Bull Moose Republican. Carpenter left elective politics, and in 1913 a Republican governor appointed him streams commissioner, a post he held until forced out by a new Democratic governor in 1934. Parkinson's disease rendered Carpenter bedridden for the rest of his life.

Carpenter, in dealing with water controversies, started out accepting the traditional riparian legal principal of first in line, first in right, which benefited water-rich Colorado. However, he came to realize that states not as blessed with water resources would take what they needed, no matter the legal consequences. This was particularly true of rapidly developing California. Moreover, in keeping with many other westerners of his day, Carpenter accepted the Jeffersonian vision of the family farm as a bedrock of democracy, along with Herbert Hoover's precepts of rugged individualism. But over the years, especially after the Supreme Court ruled against Colorado in the protracted case with Wyoming in 1922, Carpenter decided that it was time for a new approach. He concluded that interstate compacts, authorized by the compact clause of the Constitution and usually used to settle boundary disputes between the states, could also be used to settle water cases. He saw state compacts as a way to reduce the number of lengthy legal actions between the states that he believed, no matter who won, almost always resulted in an expansion of federal power over western waters that eroded states' rights.

Carpenter participated in many state compact negotiations, including ones concerning the Rio Grande, North Platte, Republican, and Arkansas Rivers. The complex issues under consideration had to take into account such matters as the projections of the flow of streams over long periods of time and assumptions about the projected rate of western progress. Flood control and irrigation were important, but conservation and recreation were secondary, given an emphases on promoting physical and population growth. It could be said that the long-term civil and generally congenial

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negotiations, carried out by a small number of appointed officials, almost required the use of crystal balls.

The high water mark in Carpenter's career was the negotiations leading to the Colorado Basin Compact of 1922. The states involved were the upper basin states of Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, plus the lower basin ones of New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California. At a final successful meeting at a New Mexico resort, Secretary of Commerce Hoover represented federal interests and served as chair. Carpenter fashioned a compromise under which the upper basin states, despite a seemingly superior legal position, agreed to a fifty-fifty water distribution plan with the lower basin states. An outgrowth was a 1928 act of Congress that committed the federal government to construct the Hoover Dam, dedicated in 1936. While the compact worked imperfectly—Arizona did not ratify until 1944, and California consistently took more water than its share—the agreement was of fundamental importance in formulating a somewhat workable water distribution plan.

Evaluating Carpenter, Tyler concludes: "His legacy of such compact negotiations over irrigation, local county control of natural resources, modification of the prior appropriation doctrine, and defense of states' rights has helped shape the West of the twenty-first century. Whatever his faults, as a builder of the rural West the Silver Fox left ample evidence of a career that succeeded in implementing new strategies for resolving interstate conflict in the twentieth-century west" (p. 25).

Tyler's concise, well-organized, informative, and clearly written biography of a relatively unsung but important shaper of the modern West is the product of over a decade of research, mostly primary, in public depositories and in Carpenter's extensive papers. (Throughout his working career, he kept a detailed diary.) On balance, this book is a major contribution to the study of the formulation of water policy in the West.

LAWRENCE H. LARSEN
University of Missouri, Kansas City

GEORGE FISHER. *Plea Bargaining's Triumph: A History of Plea Bargaining in America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 397. $65.00.

The prevalence of plea bargaining in today's criminal courtrooms might suggest that it is a timeless and necessary institution, one that has no predecessors and is likely to have no progeny. George Fisher challenges this assumption by deeply interrogating the practices and motives of the mid-nineteenth-century criminal court actors who came to rely on informal bargains in place of full adjudication as a mechanism of case disposition. But Fisher's project extends well beyond documenting the antecedents of this practice; he argues that because plea bargaining gained personal and institutional support from all corners of the criminal justice system during the second half of the 1800s, it achieved a dominance that virtually insured its longevity.

The book's argument unfolds over nine chapters and is derived largely from the author's meticulous examination of court records, prosecutors' records, informal court clerk files, and press accounts from mid to late nineteenth-century Middlesex County, Massachusetts. Fisher chose Middlesex as a case study for two reasons: he practiced criminal law there before becoming an academic, and he discovered that Middlesex has a treasure trove of records from this time period. To allay concerns that Middlesex might not be representative of trends throughout the United States, the author also briefly assesses similar documentation from New York, California, and England and concludes that data there confirm his theory.

According to Fisher, in the 1840s local prosecutors regularly began to offer informal deals to criminal defendants in two types of cases—liquor law violations and homicide—to circumvent the excessively rigid sentencing provisions (high fines and capital punishment, respectively) imposed by the legislature for these crimes. By dismissing charges in return for guilty pleas to lesser offenses and by perpetually postponing sentencing procedures (a process that eventually became our system of probation), prosecutors took control of case dispositions and rendered judges and legislators essentially powerless to intervene.

Defendants became full-fledged partners in plea bargaining in the wake of two mid-nineteenth-century developments that were intended, ironically, to enhance their power in the adversary system. As defense lawyers became more common throughout the first half of the century, the presence of a lawyer came to be seen as predictive of success at trial; defendants who could not afford lawyers thus were anxious to bargain before trial to lessen their sentencing exposure. Second, in 1866 the Massachusetts Supreme Court granted defendants the right to testify in their own defense. Because the public consequently came to expect defendant testimony, defendants with criminal backgrounds were put in a double bind: face cross-examination or give the jury a reason to presume guilt from silence. A far better solution was to plead guilty in advance of trial.

Finally, after decades of resistance to plea bargaining, judges came on board when their civil dockets swelled with massive numbers of personal injury suits brought against factories and railroads. Judicial officers at the turn of the century thus willingly approved (and sometimes brokered) criminal case deals in order to reserve more time for civil matters.

By emphasizing the practices and motivations of criminal court actors as the principal cause of plea bargaining's rise, Fisher explicitly challenges the structural theories posed by other historians of plea bargaining. He contends that Mary Vogel's argument about the use of "episodic leniency" to quell political

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and social unrest is elegant but misplaced, a result of her exclusive focus on police courts and public disorder offenses in "The Social Origins of Plea Bargaining: Conflict and the Law in the Process of State Formation, 1830–1860," *Law and Society Review* 33:161 (1999). Fisher also takes issue with the claim of plea bargaining's public popularity made by Mike McConville and Chester Mirsky in "The Rise of Guilty Pleas: New York, 1800–1865," *Journal of Law and Society* 22:443 (1995). He reinterprets their historical evidence to argue that the antebellum public remained largely unaware of plea agreements and did not manifest support for the practice of bargaining when it surfaced. According to Fisher, support for plea bargaining began and remained with criminal court actors, all of whom championed bargaining as in their self-interest.

Having thus secured the approval of the prosecutor's office, the judiciary, and the defense bar, plea bargaining as an institution took on a life of its own. So powerful is plea bargaining as a structural force in the courts, Fisher argues, that only those developments that complement and further plea bargaining (such as probation and the Public Defender) have been allowed to survive; competing institutions, such as indeterminate sentencing, parole authority, due process reforms, and the federal sentencing guidelines, were and are doomed to fail. This is the weakest section of the book. In his zeal to portray plea bargaining as the most important criminal justice development of the past 150 years, Fisher reduces to simple causal status quite complex (and often mutually constitutive) relationships that have long existed between plea bargaining and other features of the justice system. Nonetheless, Fisher's wide-ranging and innovative approach makes a major contribution to our understanding of the origins and stability of plea bargaining as a central feature of our modern criminal courts.

KAY LEVINE
Emory University Law School

WARREN SLOAT. *A Battle For The Soul of New York: Tammany Hall, Police Corruption, Vice, and Reverend Charles Parkhurst's Crusade Against Them, 1892–1895*. New York: Cooper Square Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 482. $27.95.

Before reading this book, I was inclined to dismiss the Reverend Charles Parkhurst as just another in the long line of what George Washington Plunkitt derided as "morning glories." In Warren Sloat's fascinating account, however, Parkhurst emerges as a savvy politician, canny campaigner, and charismatic leader who combined high moral dudgeon with a realistic view of human frailties, genuine empathy for the plight of the lower social orders, and an instinct for pragmatism and coalition building. Parkhurst and his Society for the Prevention of Crime forced respectable and complacent New Yorkers to glimpse the vice, corruption, and brutality that lay just beneath the surface, and to comprehend the intertwined network of policemen, politicians, businessmen, and vice merchants that sustained it.

Perhaps what most distinguished Parkhurst from his contemporary reformers was his willingness to risk his own reputation in order to gain first-hand knowledge. Two of the book's most fascinating chapters are "Forays Into The Underworld" (pp. 17–28) and "Dr. Parkhurst's Circus" (pp. 51–59), which describe several clandestine visits made by Parkhurst and two companions to some of the worst dives and brothels in the city, where they witnessed "exhibitions of a degraded and beastly character" (p. 55). In the latter chapter, Sloat focuses on a grand jury investigation in which defense attorneys used the graphic testimony of the reformers to discredit them and exonerate the brothel keepers. The result, according to Parkhurst was "to weaken the support of uncertain friends and to arouse our enemies to a frenzy of affected loathing and hypocritical loathing" (p. 57). Undaunted, he switched his target from madams and prostitutes to the police-politico nexus that fostered, protected, and profited from their activities. "The problem was not a matter of purity but of politics," as Sloat succinctly observes, "and the solution had to be political as well" (p. 57). Parkhurst accordingly helped engineer the election of a reform ticket headed by Mayor William L. Strong in 1895, one of the most decisive defeats ever suffered by the Tammany machine.

Although the author clearly writes from Parkhurst's standpoint, one of the book's strengths is Sloat's ability to view events from a variety of perspectives. The sections titled "Tammanyville" (pp. 67–106) and "The Eldridge Street Precinct" (pp. 147–98) provide fascinating insights into the world of the crusade's chief targets. Equally enlightening is the author's treatment of the motives and actions of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Police Matters in New York City, popularly known as the Lexow Committee. Largely a creation of Republican "boss" Thomas Platt, the committee's members generally "believed that this collection of foreigners, confidence men, Tammany hacks and frivolous fops could not rule themselves, and thus it was incumbent upon the legislature to set the city aright" (p. 200). Their chief victory was the adoption of a Bipartisan Police Commission, but even that was undermined when Mayor Strong appointed Theodore Roosevelt as president of the board. Finally, there is the viewpoint of the anarchists, personified by Emma Goldman, who lumped Parkhurst, Tammany, the Lexow Commmittee, the police, vice merchants, Platt, and Roosevelt together as the establishment and advocated its violent overthrow. Parkhurst once again departed from the script for "goo-goos" by personally inviting Goldman and her followers to join his anti-Tammany campaign. Evidence of their meeting was discovered for the first time by Sloat in researching the book, and he utilizes Goldman's story as a subplot to throw light on Parkhurst's. The exercise convinced him that the two shared much in common, both being "courageous, charismatic, brilliant, visionary, and

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given to histrionics." It is one of history's strange ironies, Sloat concludes, that the anarchist has become an "icon of our culture," while the mainstream reformer "has disappeared from our history" (p. 441).

Although Sloat clearly demonstrates that Parkhurst was no mere "morning glory," he is generally careful not to overstate the case. By 1898, Tammany Hall once again sat on the seat of power, most of the policemen admonished before the Lexow Committee had been reinstated, and Roosevelt and Platt were openly deriding Parkhurst. The reformist spark struck by Parkhurst, however, helped ignite movements for change among many disparate groups—Social Gospel ministers to muckraking journalists. Although the author acknowledges that there is no direct connection between Parkhurst's crusade and the vast outpouring of reforms that erupted during the Progressive era, he still asserts that the former restored popular efforts to make government accountable, pioneered new methods of direct participation in politics, and reshaped the concept of democracy from an individualist context to one with a sense of community appropriate to the urbanized, regulated, and interdependent city. Perhaps more than anything else, Sloat concludes, Parkhurst's crusade signaled that the "days of public torpor" in the city were over (p. 439).

JOHN D. BUENKER,
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University of Wisconsin, Parkside

ROBERT D. JOHNSTON. *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 394. $35.00.

This book deserved the 2002 President's Book Award of the Social Science History Association. Robert D. Johnston's examination of populist democracy and capitalism in Progressive-era Portland, Oregon, arguably the most democratic and radical locus in that age of reform insurgency, is an engaged and often brilliant exploration of the implications and convergences of race, class, and gender. The greatest of the many important contributions of the study may be its revitalization of the trinitarian cliché of contemporary scholarship. Johnston imparts to what has become a recurrent mantra a vivid renewal. Not the least of the many ironies that surface in the book is Johnston's rediscovery that history's most radical social stratum is the "middling" enclave of artisans, unionized workers, clerks, managers, professionals, politicians, tradesmen, and women that comprise the petty bourgeoisie. After numerous and exhaustive scholarly examinations of the Puritan, American, and French Revolutions, and of subsequent Third World anticolonialist movements, it would seem that this rediscovery would be routine. Such, however, is not the case for three reasons. First, using Progressive-era Portland as an empirical locus, Johnston's abundant research shows that these groups often united for democratic reform and redistribution of political and economic initiatives and resources. Johnston presents an integrated "working middle class" that fought for Progressive reforms, including feminism, and against the rule of monopoly capitalism. Second, Johnston focuses on this class rather than, as is the current preoccupation, on the most oppressed and deprived groups. While sociologists and political scientists have surveyed this stratum, historians have largely neglected it. Finally, it is mystifying, given the historical impetus of the "middling sort" in social change, that historians, who mostly come from this stratum, have so consistently ignored it.

The book offers an overview of middle-class predominance in the campaigns to expand democracy and equality through the single tax movement, the initiative and recall, enfranchisement of women, unionism, and opposition to the rule of big business, especially by promoting public ownership of utilities. While the middle class lost many of these fights, Johnston shows its stamina and vitality. He goes beyond political conflicts to investigate the contours of this enclave. Delving into its values, hopes, triumphs, and defeats, he masterfully recreates its culture and defines it not only on its own terms, but through its relations to the masters of the marketplace and their political agents. In the latter analysis, he establishes the boundaries, at least in this direction, that defined the middling enclave. Johnston's discussion of the anti-vaccination campaign in Portland breathtakingly illuminates the issues that animated the middle class and its struggles and values.

Even this felicitous depiction, however, has its flaws. If Johnston masterfully sets the middle class against the onslaught from above, he less successfully establishes its relationship to those below it due to occupation, wealth, and race. Insufficient consideration of this relationship may be due to its potential to reveal uglier aspects of populist middle-class culture and politics. Johnston's study is a much-needed affirmation of the middle class, but affirmation sometimes becomes excessive glorification.

The basic difficulty lodges in the essence of the book: the analysis of class and capitalism. Johnston adopts the Marxian perspective. Classes are conflict categories, and Portland's petty bourgeoisie is in an aversive and confrontational relationship with the upper class, also defined in Marxist terms as predatory and monopolistic capitalists. According to Johnston, this is the nature of capitalism. But the Portland middle strata evince fundamental features of capitalism, such as private ownership and the profit motive. Johnston argues that the latter impulse was muted by a desire for sufficiency instead of maximization, but he does not show that any of the entrepreneurs and professionals in this enclave had a level of profit or business expansion beyond which they would not climb. In fact, it is probable that, like Andrew Carnegie, when they reached one stage of acquisition, they

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set their sights on a higher stage. Although abundant evidence is offered to show struggles between the petty bourgeois and corporate America in Progressive-era capitalism, equally abundant historical evidence shows that the working middle class and powerful and wealthy elites at times cooperated and that workers, small tradesmen, professionals, managers, and technicians also had conflicts with each other and did not inevitably unite against the upper echelons. Johnston presents a Progressive-era war between the working middle class and the masters of capitalism, but a later epoch reveals collaboration between these groups. After unions achieved legitimacy as representatives of labor in the New Deal, during the heyday of unionism, from World War II to the near present, corporate America and unionized America frequently bargained collectively and acted together in other mutual interests.

Johnston insightfully depicts a nonetheless oversimplified notion of class and capitalism. This reservation, however, is not meant to vitiate the important theoretical and empirical clarification that his book brings to basic issues and forces in American history.

FREDERIC COPLE JAHER
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

ALEXANDER SEDLMAIER. *Deutschlandbilder und Deutschlandpolitik: Studien zur Wilson-Administration (1913–1921)*. (Historische Mitteilungen-Beihefte, number 51.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2003. Pp. 386. €70.00.

In his dissertation, Alexander Sedlmaier seeks to chart "images of Germany" implicit in letters, speeches, and other documents by President Woodrow Wilson and members of his administration from 1913 to 1921. Sedlmaier takes issue with authors who have stressed the president's neutrality and points out that Wilson, even before 1918, was informed by negative "images" of Germany. He explains that Wilson envisioned for himself the role of a "referee" at a peace conference. Taking a hard stance toward Germany in 1918 aligned him with the Allies and seemed to advance these ambitions. Although Wilson, before the armistice, was ambivalent about who was responsible for the outbreak of war, he blamed Germany and its allies thereafter. The author claims that, in Wilson's view, Germany increasingly turned into an embodiment of evil. His main argument is that the president did not develop these views after the armistice but had harbored such opinions before 1918. Sedlmaier concludes that Wilson's simplified and binary views helped to prepare the ground for the hostile atmosphere of the Espionage Act and the Red Scare (p. 357).

In subsequent chapters, the author discusses "perceptions" of Germany by Colonel Edward House and Secretary of State Robert Lansing, as well as advisors William Bullitt and Ellis Dresel. He suggests that, unlike Wilson, House strategically employed negative "images" of Germany in trying to establish closer relations between the United States and England. A reading of private notes and speeches by Lansing prompts Sedlmaier to point out that the secretary of state had hostile feelings toward Germany well before 1917. His fear of Bolshevism, however, replaced that of a militaristic Germany, and Lansing suggested peace terms less harsh than those favored by Wilson. In 1918, Lansing's view coincided with that of Bullitt who, on the basis of a hopeful perspective on developments in Germany, suggested that this country's progressive political forces be supported. Dresel was intimately familiar with Germany but was less optimistic than Bullitt about Germany's political development.

Sedlmaier's use of the phrase "images of Germany" appears to be prompted by the desire to get at attitudes underlying those sometimes discussed in political history. But the author takes too much time describing political developments and accommodating source material, and he leaves too little room for an analysis of his evidence—a strategy that would perhaps have led him to the kinds of implicit notions he is looking for. Furthermore, while he argues that the concept of an "image of a nation" (*Nationenbild*) provides a useful analytical tool, Sedlmaier might have been able to criticize it on the basis of his findings. He points out that Wilson's attitude toward Germany was informed by moralistic ideals tied to the president's hope for his role as a "referee" at a peace conference. The author gives some attention to the relationship between these moral values and Wilson's views of Germany, but his analysis of Wilson's moral convictions takes a back seat—even though his description of documents shows that the latter were more fundamental than the president's preconceived notions of Germany.

AXEL JANSEN
J. W. Goethe University, Frankfurt

EMMA GOLDMAN: AN EXCEEDINGLY DANGEROUS WOMAN. Written, produced and directed by Mel Bucklin. 2004; color; 90 minutes. Distributed by PBS.

Controversy followed Emma Goldman throughout her long life (1865–1940), yet it remains surprising that sixty-four years after her death modern Comstocks still lack the fortitude to face a life so fully lived. According to the *Washington Post*, fifty-one frames had to be cut from the film, no discussion of her contemporary relevance was permitted, living anarchist comrades were almost entirely excluded from the discussion, and more negative criticism had to be added before PBS executives would give the project the green light (March 11, 2004). Nevertheless, Mel Bucklin has produced a provocative, admirable, and highly engaging film.

The film's format is "Ken Burnsesque": talking heads squeezed between and over still shots brought to life as the camera zooms in, out, or across old news-

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paper articles and photos. In this instance, however, there is the occasional added docudrama twist in which events are reenacted, sometimes detracting from the film's impact. Among the dramatizations is a somewhat gratuitous and tawdry sex scene with an actress bearing not the least resemblance to Goldman. The scene breaks no boundaries regular viewers of *NYPD Blue* have not already crossed and could easily have been omitted in favor of more substantive material. The collection of talking heads does depart slightly from the Burns formula. Instead of relying solely on academic experts, comments are elicited from a surprisingly diverse array of poets, playwrights, and novelists (whose connection to Goldman is never made clear). We hear from Tony Kushner, Andre Codrescu, and E. L. Doctorow, along with established scholars Alice Wexler, Martin Duberman, and Barry Pateman, among others. Pateman and Kushner are particularly adept at bringing Goldman to life.

The film is far from uncritical. The contradictions between doctrine and conduct, the political miscalculations, and Goldman's failure to remove her rose-colored glasses in both her personal and political lives are there for the viewer to ponder. In the end we get a rich biography that both informs and stimulates, but not as fully as one would hope. Of course, it is impossible to squeeze into ninety minutes all that is significant in a life as rich as Goldman's, but even in what has been included telling details are missing. Perhaps the most egregious omission is Goldman's role in supplying the gun that Alexander Berkman used in his failed attempt to bring Henry Frick to revolutionary justice. While Goldman is portrayed helping Berkman build a bomb that ultimately fizzled in a test run, there is no mention of the fact that by attempting to prostitute herself Goldman provided Berkman with the financial wherewithal to purchase the gun used in the assassination attempt. Consequently, a somewhat tortured analysis of the question of guilt and the tension in Berkman and Goldman's relationship misses the mark.

A number of other omitted events detract from the film's analysis. For example, when Goldman's lover and manager, Ben Reitman, announced that he decided to marry another woman, viewers are offered no explanation and are left with the impression that once again she was the victim of wishful thinking. But the turning point in the Reitman-Goldman relationship stemmed from Reitman's reaction to being stripped, tarred, "sage-brushed," and abandoned in the desert by a group of San Diego vigilantes. Neither Goldman nor Reitman were able to forget his cowardly response, and thereafter the relationship was doomed. Goldman could overlook infidelity, but cowardice was another matter, and Reitman knew it.

Likewise, much more emphasis should have been placed on Goldman's own writing, her role in stimulating the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union, on her tense relationship with Margaret Sanger, on the revitalizing impact of the Spanish Civil War, on the differences between Marxism and anarchism and much else, but even with these omissions Bucklin has created the most important film dealing with anarchism ever broadcast in the United States. This is a major accomplishment. Whether one is steeped in Goldman lore or meeting her for the first time, viewers will be moved, awed, puzzled, and motivated to learn more about the woman who, even in death, remains "the most dangerous woman in America."

DANA WARD
Pitzer College

JANICE WILLIAMS RUTHERFORD. *Selling Mrs. Consumer: Christine Frederick and the Rise of Household Efficiency*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 283. $22.95.

Janice Williams Rutherford has written the first book-length biography of Christine Frederick, a leading home efficiency expert in the early twentieth century. Between 1912 and 1929, Frederick developed a national, and even international, reputation by advising other women how to be better home makers. Frederick was an apostle of scientific management, claiming that women should approach domestic work as a profession and that manufacturers in turn should develop products to help the housewife with their housework. She famously claimed responsibility for raising the kitchen sink, a change that made it easier for women to clean dishes. By advocating the application of technology in the name of greater household efficiency, Frederick attempted to make housework more satisfying for middle-class housewives who no longer could rely on domestic servants to run their homes.

Frederick had an interesting life. She was born in 1883 into an unhappy marriage between a second-generation Scottish mother and a Boston minister. To flee her husband, Frederick's mother moved with her daughter for three years to Russia. After her mother remarried, Christine grew up in Chicago and attended Northwestern University. Her mother encouraged her to have a career so as not to become dependent on a husband. In 1907, Christine married a well-known advertising expert, J. George Frederick, and had four children. But she also actively pursued her own career, first as a home efficiency expert publishing articles in *Ladies' Home Journal* and then as a consultant to advertisers and manufacturers. She reached the peak of her influence with the publication of *Selling Mrs. Consumer* in 1929, which served as a manual for business on the needs and desires of American housewives. She continued to write into the 1940s, but her influence declined. With her own marriage in shambles, she moved to California in 1949, where she lived until her death in 1970.

Rutherford underscores the contradictions in Frederick's life. She raised her family in a fully renovated old farmhouse on Long Island, New York. When she was not traveling to give lectures, she opened up her

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home to the press as a demonstration kitchen with all the latest power-operated appliances. In a regular newsletter and in her magazine columns, Frederick touted the virtues of many brand-name gadgets. In theory, this technologically sophisticated equipment saved women labor in their domestic chores. But Frederick and her contemporaries advocated a higher standard of cleanliness and order that required more attention and time. Thus, as historian Ruth Schwartz Cowan has observed, technology did not free women from the home but instead created more domestic work. If scientific management and new technology did lighten the load, Frederick thought women would have more time for leisure, not for paid work. Indeed, she viewed career women with skepticism. The purpose of "the new housekeeping" was to make it more satisfying and also to compensate for the decline of domestic servants. Yet, as Rutherford points out, while she preached the view that a woman's highest calling was as a model housewife, Frederick devoted herself to a professional career outside the home.

Rutherford nicely lays out the narrative of Frederick's life and highlights a central tension, explaining that Frederick was caught between a Victorian ideology that relegated women to the home and her own aspirations as a college-educated modern woman. But many other women of this generation did indeed advocate a change in gender roles. Rutherford notes this, of course, but it would be interesting to learn more about why Frederick chose a different path than her contemporaries who pursued public careers as reformers. Why, for example, did she line up on the side of big business rather than join the National Consumers' League or the League of Women Shoppers? And why did she oppose labor and consumer reform? In other words, how does she compare to other activist women of her time? It would also be interesting to know more about why Frederick's influence waned from the 1930s on, just as home economics was becoming an established field of study in the nation's schools. Did middle-class families find Frederick's suggestions in particular less appealing during the Depression, and, if so, why? And why did she also seemingly lose her audience among businesses? Did they no longer need her to translate the needs of modern consumers? Frederick is a thought-provoking figure precisely because she does not fit the prescribed molds of public women of her generation. Rutherford's book is therefore a welcome addition.

MEG JACOBS
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

JULIE DES JARDINS. *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880–1945*. (Gender & American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 380. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

In this book, Julie Des Jardins takes up a fascinating subject: the kinds of history written by American women, both inside and outside the academy, between 1880 and 1945. These dates allow Des Jardins to study women's experiences as the historical enterprise itself was extruded through the die of professionalization. As we know from earlier studies, most especially Bonnie G. Smith's *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (1998), this transformative process shoved women to the margins of the discipline, privileging political history written by men trained in university seminars and admitted to governmental archives. Des Jardins argues that this subordination granted women perspectives on the past that encouraged them to write about and in sympathy with history's underdogs and thus to pioneer the social and cultural history that would explode into prominence in the 1960s. Interestingly, this broad-ranging social and cultural history sometimes depended on and seemed an heir to the kinds of history that middle-class women had generated before the professional turn. Des Jardins draws links, then, between the preprofessional history produced by Victorian women and the emphases of professional history in the late twentieth century.

Des Jardins is successful in showing these links. Her discussion of the nineteenth century shows that preprofessional women practitioners of history used a much wider range of sources for producing history than the emerging academic professionals, and they attended to a wider range of subjects than the professionalizers did. This same range of sources (including newspapers, private diaries and letters, household accounts, oral testimony, and material artifacts as well as government directives) and subjects (local work practices and genealogies as well as great men) would continue to pique the interest of women historians during the twentieth century, both those in the academy (like Lucy Salmon) and those outside (like Mary Beard). Such sources and subjects would prove crucial to broadening history's purview more generally in the 1960s.

The most effective sections of Des Jardins's study focus on women practicing history outside the universities during the twentieth century. Although she tells some affecting and telling stories of women in the academy, she is at her most original when writing about African-American women who in the interwar years established themselves as librarians and archivists and set about to produce and disseminate African-American history to as wide an audience as possible. She narrates, for instance, the accomplishments of Dorothy Porter at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center and Catherine Latimer at the Schomburg Center in Harlem. In one section, she tells the riveting story of how these women, relying on sources that would not have been considered fully legitimate by many university historians, pieced together sufficient evidence to conclude in the 1940s that Thomas Jefferson had fathered children with Sally Hemings.

For all its interest, the book suffers significant

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deficiencies. For instance, to make the case that women historians, because of their marginalization in the twentieth-century historical profession, had a peculiar commitment to the histories of immigrants, African Americans, Indians, and workers, Des Jardins would have had to provide a more comprehensive view of what male historians were doing at the time. Moreover, historical context is largely ignored. Although we learn that some of the historians discussed were practicing during the Progressive era, the Harlem Renaissance, or the Depression, we are not led to see the interests or practices of historians as a part of larger trends in their eras. Theoretical and historiographical contexts are also missing to such an extent that a book claiming to be about the politics of memory makes no effort to distinguish between history and memory or to make a case for their identity: the two terms are simply used interchangeably. Finally, this book, which praises women's social and cultural counterbalance to great man history, winds up as a paean to the great women who were the progenitors of women's history. Sympathetic readers are left with an especially deep sense of gratitude to Salmon, Beard, Porter, Latimer, Caroline Ware, and Eleanor Flexner, women who swam against the tides of professional history, insisting that great men were not the only important topics for historians nor government archives the only place to discover the past.

This book is valuable for highlighting the work of women outside the academy in making social and cultural history possible and, ironically, for reminding us just how important the work of crucial individuals has been in the making of history.

ROBYN MUNCY
University of Maryland, College Park

PETER S. KINDSVATTER. *American Soldiers: Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam*. Foreword by RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 432. $34.95.

"What is combat really going to be like?" Those going into harm's way for the first time ask themselves such a question. Peter S. Kindsvatter, a retired U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, set out to find answers that future soldiers would find useful in a number of oral histories and well over one hundred published volumes of letters, memoirs, autobiographies, and novels written by army and marine veterans of combat in the four major wars Americans have fought in the twentieth century. He argues that these published sources are sufficiently "representative" of the larger soldier population to explain what combat was like for all, and his defense of them is a thoughtful one. Moreover, he convinced this initially skeptical reader that the semi-fictional accounts (novels) written by combat vets are worthy sources for such an enterprise (pp. xvi-xviii). Kindsvatter also makes effective use of a number of relevant studies by military and academic social scientists, reminding us that these studies, most published during or shortly after the four wars, are valuable sources for historians.

The author begins by asking why those who volunteered did so, what levels of enthusiasm those who were drafted displayed, and what sorts of motivational training they all received. He then recounts, in the veterans' words, the harsh environment they faced for months on end in the combat arena and how they coped with that environment. Here Kindsvatter provides fine treatments of the exhaustion men came to feel; their sense of helplessness; the disappointment many felt with their officers; the "mind-games" used to maintain composure and sanity; the importance of the G.I.'s identification with both his "primary group" (squad, platoon, company) and with the larger national unit; the "breaking point" that many experienced; and the causes of this "combat fatigue."

Upending some stereotypes, Kindsvatter shows that World War I "doughboys" were not notably more "enthusiastic" than their World War II, Korea, and Vietnam counterparts. While there may not have been a typical twentieth-century American combatant, neither was there a typical "doughboy," "G.I.," or "grunt." One comes away from his analysis with the feeling that while soldiers experienced somewhat different feelings and reactions to combat, there were many similar reactions throughout the wars studied.

Kindsvatter draws our attention to the criticisms many World War II GIs had with the army's replacement system, one that paid little heed to the soldier's morale. It sent the recovered wounded off to new units rather than returning them to their original ones (a practice which led to many such men going "AWOL-to-the-front"). He also reviews the evidence of a phenomenon that S. L. A. Marshall claimed to have identified in World War II. Marshall alleged that most men were reluctant to use their weapons against enemy soldiers due to their Judeo-Christian sense that killing was wrong. Kindsvatter's sources lend only modest support to this conclusion: while *some* displayed such unease, most men were quite willing to fire on those they faced (pp. 165–70).The book closes with an excellent analysis of the problem faced by those who had arrived on the battlefields with unrealistic "war-in-the-head" notions of combat derived from novels, comic books, and films (the "John Wayne Syndrome").

Kindsvatter notes that the Vietnam antiwar movement "added to [the soldier's] sense of isolation, even alienation." But he accepts uncritically the views of a few that the critics of the war "actively denounced" those who were sent to fight it (pp. 146–47). Critics who made such observations were utterly unrepresentative of the greater pool of critics, let alone the American people, who regarded the soldiers and their craft with the greatest respect. Evidence of this can be found in the results of a poll of the American public conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the

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University of Michigan in 1973, shortly after the last major American combatants were withdrawn from Vietnam. Respondents were asked to rate "how well" each of a number of "American institutions" were "serving the country." Ranked at the bottom of the list of fifteen institutions was "the President and Administration" (this, on the eve of "Watergate"). Ranked first was "the U. S. Military." But I am quibbling. Kindsvatter has woven together the views and research of soldiers and scholars in impressive and effective fashion to provide us with the best analysis of the nature of twentieth-century combat available for the American experience.

PETER KARSTEN
University of Pittsburgh

RUTH NEEDLEMAN. *Black Freedom Fighters in Steel: The Struggle for Democratic Unionism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 305. Cloth $47.50, paper $19.95.

This book chronicles the history of black workers in northwestern Indiana during the era when the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) dominated one of the most important industries in the country. The story begins in the 1930s and continues through to the present, with the bulk of the tale focusing on the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Ruth Needleman has penned a scholarly page turner, appropriate for workers' education or undergraduate classrooms.

Needleman's account joins a rapidly expanding literature on the history of the steel industry in the "union era," that is between the 1930s and the 1970s. Her book challenges the perspective, held by some scholars, that the USWA overcame racism easily and early in its history and emphasizes how bitter and how recent remained the struggles in the "enlightened" North. Needleman joins those scholars who emphasize the importance of racial and political struggles within the USWA, since the outcomes of those battles affected the way the union fought the larger class war.

Needleman provides in-depth biographies of five key activists who individually and collectively helped to shape the workplace, union, and civil rights movement in Gary and District 31, the largest in the union. None of these men were "typical" steelworkers, although she emphasizes the extent to which each of these leaders represents a different type of personality and, more importantly, a style of politics. Taken together, their lives reveal an enormous amount about the world of black steelworkers, and the USWA, during the heyday of both union power and America's industrial might.

The personal histories and personalities of these black freedom fighters come alive, often through the use of their own words. Needleman carefully presents the black workers' world and worldview, discussing the intricacies of racial politics and psychology of the Deep South and the intersections between union and ethnic/racial dynamics in Gary's coke ovens and open hearths. The reader learns an enormous amount about the political and industrial context for her subjects' commitments, calculations, alliances, strategies, victories, and defeats. Despite their frustrations with the union (and each other), each man remained a staunch advocate of unionism in general, and the USWA in particular, although Needleman remains critical of the top-down culture of the USWA.

Needleman provides the most developed existing account of the Ad Hoc Committee in Steel, the most significant black caucus in the union. After decades of at best local or district-wide black organization, activists built a national movement that mobilized pressure on white liberals for a few years before the union cherry-picked its leaders and the movement unraveled—but not before activists launched the lawsuits that resulted in most major companies and the USWA agreeing to a consent decree that changed the seniority system, the chief obstacle to effectively desegregating the workplace. I wished the author had lavished comparable attention on companies' evolving use of bigotry and institutionalized discrimination to maintain their social control over the workforce as she did on the dynamics of union politics.

Needleman's methodology, heavily reliant on oral history, helps account for the book's highly engaging style and also its limitations. Her sympathy and enthusiasm for her subjects result in minor lapses of judgment. For instance, despite a lack of records, she concludes participation at Garveyite meetings in Gary was "always high" (p. 251, n. 38). Some readers will disagree about the ongoing necessity of black or female caucuses in unions, but Needleman deserves praise for engaging the issue often dodged by academics: what are the lessons of history? Her final chapter directly confronts the question raised decades ago by Robert S. Lynd in *Knowledge for What? The Place of Social Science in American Culture* (1945).

Needleman reminds us that even before American industry was threatened by globalization, workers had to fight hard for every advance in wages, benefits, and working conditions. During these years, unionism and liberalism leveraged unprecedented concessions from corporations, resulting in historic victories for working people. In alliance with a much-embattled radical left, African Americans and other "minority" groups slowly pressured working-class whites to live up to the egalitarian ideals of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and thereby allow them to achieve some measure of the American dream. Despite the rapid decline of heavy industry, this is a history that retains lessons for the present, not the least of which are the challenges, possibilities, and rewards of struggling to hold ourselves, each other, and our institutions to our highest ideals.

JOHN HINSHAW
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JOEL DINERSTEIN. *Swinging the Machine: Modernity, Technology, and African American Culture Between the*

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World Wars. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 415. Cloth $80.00, paper $24.95.

This book joins the recent upsurge of popular and scholarly fascination with big band swing. Joel Dinerstein explores the popular music and social dance of the 1930s to demonstrate that African-American musical culture engaged in a dialogue with the long-standing Euro-American faith in technological progress. Focused primarily on African-American music and dance, the book argues that black culture, rooted in West African musical traditions, posed a serious cultural alternative to and critique of American technological values. Rather than treat music and dance as "natural" counterweights to the machine, Dinerstein argues that African-American culture represents a high modernist acceptance and critique of technological civilization. Black bands and dancers absorbed the sounds of modern industry and offered young people the tools to modernize their bodies and survive in the technological age.

The book rests on four premises: American faith in technology declined during the Depression as men were thrown out of work, producing a cultural crisis; African-American musical culture is highly sophisticated and represents an important means that Americans have used to challenge the machine; African-American culture is rooted in West African aesthetics and musical practices, and although it has undergone changes over time, the central cultural impulse has been continuous from Africa through the twentieth century; and white artists, impresarios, and audiences sought the answers black music and dance offered but were highly ambivalent about the worth of black culture. Well into the twentieth century, whites practiced a policy of what Eric Lott has called "love and theft."

Dinerstein examines a variety of fascinating topics. From the folk blues of John Henry, he moves to early jazz, then to locomotives as cultural nostalgia. To make his point that swing bands were modern machines, he argues that they were immersed in train sounds and turned themselves into powerful locomotives of sound. It took twelve to fourteen musicians, interacting like swinging dynamos, to shut out the noise of factories and move and affirm human bodies in the modern age. Euro-American cultural forms, such as Florenz Ziegfeld and Busby Berkeley musicals, emphasized the mass-produced and soulless side of the machine ethic. Tap dancers Bill Robinson and Fred Astaire, and black dances such as the lindy hop, re-grooved the body and provided a human dimension to a soulless age. Dinerstein concludes with the World of Tomorrow World's Fair to show that the Depression-era featured a dialogue between the machine and a modern form of humanism. Most historians focus on the streamlined machine images of the future, but Dinerstein explores how swing music and dancing at the fair propelled human bodies into motion.

The book succeeds in elevating African-American musical tradition to the cultural modernist position it deserves, and the topics covered are truly fascinating. Yet, it works more as an extended argument than a detailed analysis of big band swing, modern youth culture, or the evolution of jazz and dance in the twentieth century. The book is persuasive that Americans sought alternatives to machine values in the Depression but works best as an analysis of male concern with loss of power and dehumanization. It has little to say about young women, general swing youth culture, or the relations between the sexes. At times, the book relies on repetition of its thesis or pursues variations on its theme to the detriment of showing how its theme functioned in the sexual, racial, or political realm. When it comes to an extended analysis of how swing emerged or the fate of the techno-dialogic when swing declined, readers will have to go elsewhere. As to race, Dinerstein is convincing that African Americans have created sophisticated art forms that included both machine aesthetics and an insistence on the primacy of the body and the soul, but it would be nice to know how these values affected whites during the swing era. Presumably the rise of swing music and dance among white artists and audiences suggests how deep the lack of faith in the machine went in the 1930s, but white bands and fans get short shrift. Moreover, while love and theft may have existed in this period, it would be helpful to analyze more precisely the content of the attraction to and repulsion toward black culture and how these impulses operated in the 1930s. Lumping all whites together as Euro-Americans does not help. Nevertheless, Dinerstein succeeds in creating a book filled with intriguing topics, insightful cultural commentary and a fascinating argument. It should prove valuable to American cultural historians.

LEWIS A. ERENBERG
Loyola University Chicago

CAROL ANDERSON. *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 302. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.00.

Until about fifteen years ago, very few scholars examined connections between the field of U.S. foreign relations, on the one hand, and the fields of African-American history and American race relations, on the other. This separation reflected an enduring division between historians who focus on domestic U.S. developments and those who work on U.S. international ties. The growing influence of social history in the 1960s and 1970s—and its hegemony within U.S. history since—encouraged foreign policy specialists to establish their own professional organization, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), and their own research journal, *Diplomatic History*.

Scholarly attention to the intersection between race and foreign relations received a boost in the late 1980s

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from two seminal publications, which embodied two different emphases. Paul Gordon Lauren's *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (1986) unfolded the realm of international diplomacy and how race had factored into it, while, conversely, Mary L. Dudziak's "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative" (*Stanford Law Review* 41 [1988]) demonstrated the critical role that foreign policy considerations played in the struggle for race reform within the United States. Then the dam began to break, and a whole host of new research has rushed downstream into publication since the early 1990s, further illuminating the fascinating and complicated relationships between the color line at home and American relationships abroad with a mostly nonwhite world.

Carol Anderson's excellent new book marks the most recent contribution to this still-rising river of scholarship. Hers is the story of how the onset of the Cold War and domestic anticommunist repression after World War II shaped "the mainstream African American leadership" (p. 5) of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Antiracists at the end of World War II hoped that the defeat of Nazism and the creation of the United Nations organization might lead to the end of colonialism and white supremacy around the world and usher in a new era of human rights. Human rights would extend beyond civil rights—understood as political and legal equality—to include social and economic rights, such as minimum standards for education, housing, health care, and employment. But the escalation of Soviet-American competition between 1945 and 1948 moved American politics sharply to the right, away from more communal values (as embodied in several New Deal programs) and toward more individualistic values (always central in American society but now reasserted with particular force). The tidal wave of anticommunist sentiment crested by the early 1950s, identifying support for "human rights" with the Soviet Union, legitimating only a limited anticommunist version of civil rights for African Americans, and narrowing the entire mainstream of American politics.

This is not an entirely new story. Among other historians, Penny Von Eschen in *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (1997) explained how such important leaders of the black Left as Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois found themselves marginalized in American politics by post-1945 red baiting. What Anderson provides, however, is the most definitive history to date of how mainstream NAACP leaders such as Walter White and Roy Wilkins maneuvered through this gathering political storm. "They surveyed this perilous landscape and chose sides" (p. 166)—that is, they trimmed their sails, downplaying broader concerns about anticolonialism and human rights in order to retain influence with the moderate anticommunist leadership of the Democratic Party, particularly President Harry S. Truman. What they got in return was administration support for a more limited version of civil rights. Then in 1953 they got the Eisenhower administration, which did not support even that.

This book's thesis rests on a superb research base. Its prose is lucid and snappy, if a bit journalistic at times. It tells an important story with admirable even-handedness, despite the ideological minefield of Cold War politics in which it works. Anderson frames the tale of a narrowing mainstream elite black politics as a fateful and ultimately unhappy choice, with the turn away from social and economic rights leading in a direct line to today's continuing poverty and lack of opportunity among a significant number of African Americans. But it is not clear from the book how a different choice by NAACP leaders fifty years ago would have altered the course of American political development. There are too many variables in such a counterfactual scenario to know where it might have led, if anywhere. However, this suggestive but not convincing connection to the present should not obscure the clarity and persuasiveness of the vast bulk of Anderson's fine new book. Its readers, who will be many, will have no doubt of why it won SHAFR's 2004 Myrna Bernath Book Prize.

THOMAS BORSTELMANN
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

BARBARA RANSBY. *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 470. $34.95.

Writing the biography of a legend is a daunting task, and it is one that Barbara Ransby has accomplished thoroughly and gracefully. Ella Baker's name is not exactly a household word outside the ranks of activists and historians of the modern African-American freedom movement. Yet among that population—especially among its more radical thinkers—there is scarcely anyone more revered than Baker, who spent years on the staff of, first, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and then the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and who ultimately was spiritual mother to the more militant and more youthful Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Baker, a generation older than the students who formed SNCC, nonetheless became their most trusted adviser and political muse. She was instrumental in nurturing the vision of grassroots democracy, decentralized leadership, and indigenous knowledge that SNCC came to embrace.

That notion of social change "from the bottom up" and its corollary—that leaders are not born but developed—are at the heart of the shift in the post-World War II civil rights movement once SNCC "invaded" Mississippi after 1960. Those ideas also form the core of Baker's political philosophy—what Ransby calls "radical democracy." This book brings into focus Bak-

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er's quiet but profound contribution to the new phase of militancy that made the Mississippi movement possible and widened its objectives to yield a full-fledged political challenge to the Democratic Party in 1964 and to make possible the emergence of a poor people's movement. The idea that the oppressed should lead fueled subsequent social movements of the 1960s, however inchoately, and it remains a key principle of many community justice efforts today.

Baker is by no means new to civil rights historians. Her significance has been summarized or alluded to in numerous memoirs and histories. In fact, this is not the first biography of her: Joanne Grant, a former movement journalist, produced a documentary film about Baker in 1986 entitled *Fundi*, and in 1998 she penned a sort of "insider's account" that expanded on the film. But Ransby's project is much wider in its scope. This solidly researched study is an example of activist scholarship at its best. The author, who admits that her interest in Baker originated as a "search for political role models, not research subjects" (p. 3), is interested in situating Baker in the canon of civil rights historiography. Yet Ransby is equally committed to conveying a full understanding of Baker's philosophy of social change—in hopes, it seems, that current and future activists may learn from it. The author's approach is broadly interdisciplinary, drawing from thinkers as diverse as James C. Scott, Antonio Gramsci, and Patricia Hill Collins—whose work sets the stage for Ransby's "outsider within" concept (p. 370), which undergirds this portrait of Baker.

In positioning herself in close alignment with her subject, Ransby runs the risk of hagiography, but she steadily avoids that trap, handling her subject's virtues and foibles evenhandedly. To the extent that Baker remains somewhat mysterious at the book's end, it seems that she may have deliberately obscured some of her life's detail, because Ransby has turned her interpretive lens to every possible extant source. As with most biographies, this volume is organized largely chronologically, taking the reader from Baker's birth in 1903 through her death in 1986. Ransby roots Baker's activism in a multigenerational framework that begins with her slave grandmother's refusal to marry a man selected by her mistress, her preacher grandfather's traveling sermons, and her mother's immersion in service-oriented Baptist churchwork, and ends with Baker's pedagogical impact on the 1960s generation and beyond.

The best biographies also succeed as social histories, and this book provides as fine an insight into gender politics in the civil rights movement as any one volume to date. To say that Ransby's work echoes that of Charles Payne (*I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* [1995]) is reductive: this book stands on its own, easily. But both works place the focus—as Baker herself did—on everyday people who made racial change happen. Ransby's work meditates on, refines, and unpacks Payne's thesis that "men led, but women organized." This account revisits several male movement leaders but with their wives' contributions to the movement newly woven into their stories. (Fred and Ruby Shuttlesworth, Amzie and Ruth Moore are examples.) Ransby's treatment of Baker's personal life must also confront Baker's silences surrounding the twenty-year marriage she kept highly compartmentalized. For explanation, Ransby turns to Darlene Clark Hine's "culture of dissemblance." Baker was less silent about her problems with charismatic, sometimes domineering male leaders such as Walter White and, later, Martin Luther King, Jr., toward whom she harbored particular animosity. These problems were gendered, but they were also the product of Baker's commitment to more diffuse leadership. That commitment cost Baker the stature of a King or a Malcolm X. She once told her friend and fellow activist, Anne Braden, "What you give up is a bigger platform." Ransby's book restores some of that platform by showing how widely Baker's influence was felt through several decades of racial justice struggles.

One problem with this work is that some readers may be put off by its length and density. That level of detail is most useful for specialists, but it stalls at times. Ransby and her publisher might consider the path taken by Joel Williamson in condensing *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (1984) for wider accessibility. This profile of Baker and her ideas is too important to be missed.

Catherine Fosl
University of Louisville

Kenneth D. Durr. *Behind the Backlash: White Working-Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940–1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 284. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Reviewing Kenneth D. Durr's book proved more difficult than expected and, after much frustration, I figured out why. It is really two books: one comprising the introduction and conclusion, and the other almost everything in between. The first is balanced and reasoned, with a debatable, but credible thesis. The second is racially distorted, thinly supported, and contradictory, wanting more to justify than to explain backlash against the social and political reforms of forty tumultuous years.

The book investigates how social and economic changes after World War II influenced the political behavior of Baltimore's white working class, tracing the breakup of the New Deal coalition and suggesting why workers joined a conservative alliance that elected Ronald Reagan. Although much of his story is familiar—workers in a postindustrial city saw institutions threatened by outside influences and fought to protect them—Durr challenges a literature that presents workers as parochial and reactionary, hoping instead to show them as complex and adaptable. His argument seems plausible: working-class whites held the neigh-

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borhood as the key institution; neighborhood stability was threatened by civil rights activists; neighborhood cohesiveness was threatened by busing; the neighborhood itself was threatened by freeway and bridge construction; and the workers used whatever means available to protect the neighborhood. At first, they used "the familiar language of segregation," not because they were racist but "because it was the nearest tool at hand." But since it "could not encapsulate what lay at the heart of [their] protest," Durr insists, racist rhetoric later "gave way to a newer one that championed the rights of working people" (pp. 2, 3).

Problems abound in this book and tend to result from Durr's desire to replace race with class as the motivating factor of protest. Durr has a too narrow understanding of racism, describing it as "sheer racism" and "racism pure and simple" (pp. 100, 233). He seems to think that unless you are burning crosses, you cannot be racist. On sources, Durr, an expert in oral history, cites nearly fifty archival collections used to find the voices of workers. He listened only to what he wanted to hear. Excepting the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers papers and the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project, a check of endnotes shows an overreliance on filtered sources, like newspapers. He cites the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People papers, but their testimony made no impact (p. 214). Durr's working-class becomes overly generalized. Nowhere does he establish class unity and yet his workers seem monolithic, despite obvious divisions: he leaves unexplained why some doggedly stayed in the neighborhood while others fled. On secondary sources, the book has none of the nuance of its model, Thomas Sugrue's *Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (1996), and despite extensive use of W. Edward Orser's *Blockbusting in Baltimore: The Edmondson Village Story* (1994), Durr ignores that book's subtlety, preferring to see white homeowners as victims fallen prey to greedy realtors (pp. 98–103). On issues of interpretation, he accepts statements uncritically or without context. His use of the term "southern" is imprecise, at times erroneous, and seems not to understand Baltimore's heritage as a part-northern, part-southern city (pp. 90, 92–94). He accepts the claims of Betty Deacon, his leading antibusing protester, that she is not racist. She wants blacks and whites to "work within their own communities first," keeping power "where it belongs—in the neighborhood" (pp. 171–73). The neighborhoods are segregated and she wants them to stay that way; if that is not racist, what is? Durr insists that whites defended segregated neighborhoods out of a desire to protect neighborhood culture (and home values) rather than because of racism. Had whites just dismissed race, then neither would have been threatened. There is nothing "pure and simple" about racism.

An unoriginal but more convincing argument about working-class Baltimore's zeitgeist exists in the study. In the depths of the Depression, workers supported government action when it benefited them but did not embrace the all-encompassing progressivism of the New Deal Left. By 1950, government increasingly supported reforms for greater democracy. In particular, it chipped away at the perks of whiteness, including a discriminatory industrial labor system and the closed housing market. Over the next twenty-five years, the socially and culturally conservative workers fought to restore what they had lost. Durr understands this. In the 1960s, he observes, "[w]orking whites developed a distaste for big government only when it seemed to undermine their security" (p. 117). Even by 1980, "few thought that the government [was] too 'active': they only wanted it to act for, rather than against, them" (p. 177). They voted for Reagan because he spoke to their conservative values. But because they never became advocates of small government, many returned to the Democratic Party in 1988 (p. 202).

Had Durr trusted his own evidence and more completely thought through its implications rather than force his preconceived square into a round hole, this book might have better illuminated the political views of Baltimore's working-class white community.

STEPHEN GRANT MEYER
Statesville High School

RENEE C. ROMANO. *Race Mixing: Black-White Marriage in Postwar America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 368. $35.00.

Marriage across the color line constitutes a more transgressive act than mere sex, precisely because marriage entails legal sanction. Looking North, South, and West, Renee C. Romano expertly maps changing attitudes and experiences of black-white marriages since World War II, drawing on newspapers, sociological studies, law, literature, film, memoirs, and interviews. The individual stories that punctuate her engaging narrative range from disturbing to heartwrenching, if hardly surprising. Famous personalities pepper the text, but many more of Romano's stories concern people who lived far outside the spotlight.

Romano charts "the erosion of the taboo against black-white marriage" (p. 8) yet wisely argues that this does not translate into diminished racism. She is attentive to class status in both black and white communities, and to the differences between marriages of black men and white women versus those of black women and white men. The book proceeds chronologically, with chapters on black attitudes following those on white attitudes, which may lead readers to assume that black people's ideas formed only in reaction.

World War II challenged racial boundaries in many ways, but in Romano's nuanced analysis, racism and segregation remained intact, even as more liberal ideologies emerged from America's fight for democracy abroad. Even if some white Americans in the 1950s were ready to think about black equality, few included "miscegenation" within that vision. When the topic did arise, whites made arguments about the

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separate creation of the races, degraded partners, unstable households, and harm to the children (all of which reappear in current arguments against gay marriage). The contradictions were glaring: whites who defended racial "purity," Romano points out, never decried the rape of black women by white men.

African Americans, Romano finds, were "not uniformly or unalterably opposed" to marriage across the color line (p. 83), but they did oppose laws that forbade them the choice. Although blacks understood the sham of white "purity" and knew that embracing marriage across the color line would harm the quest for civil rights, black families and communities were nonetheless more likely to accept white in-laws than the other way around.

Romano does not prettify the struggle for liberalization. School desegregation in the 1950s fueled a white discourse that equated physical proximity with "amalgamation." With the 1967 Supreme Court decision striking down prohibitive state laws, segregationists spoke incessantly about the defilement of white daughters, casting the civil rights movement as a "quest for sexual gratification" (p. 195), again, Romano observes, despite the fact that white men had raped black women for centuries. Romano also makes clear that it was not simply white supremacy that was at stake but also white patriarchy. As she astutely puts it, "When segregationists asked, 'Would you want your daughter to marry one?' they assumed that a daughter would ask her father's permission" (p. 212).

In Romano's chronology, as soon as white liberals endorsed greater toleration in the 1960s and 1970s, African Americans pulled back. It is equally likely, though, that black reprovers were reacting to the choices of other black people rather than solely to white liberalism; indeed, Romano refers too frequently to "the" black community, when her own evidence contradicts such a construction. African Americans, she writes, "remained far more tolerant of interracial relationships than whites" (p. 246), even when the Black Power movement cast marriage to whites as assimilationist and traitorous, and even though many black women expressed anger at black men and the white women they married. In keeping with the pattern of white ideas followed by black reactions, Romano does not investigate the ways in which these vocal black critics affected white convictions, either progressive or racist. (And given that she writes sympathetically of black women's accusations that black men "would marry the whitest-looking woman they could find" [pp. 233–34], why the cover photograph of a black man and a pale white woman with exceedingly straight blonde hair?)

This book admirably illuminates the revolutionary changes of the past half century, including "the fundamental truth that integration does lead to increased interracial marriage" (p. 266). In the last two decades, couples who crossed racial lines, and their children, have lived their lives with greater ease and resources (clubs and churches, magazines and the internet). Most significant, though, Romano's epilogue ("Is Love the Answer?") disposes of the notion that marriage across the color line represents a "solution to America's race problems" (p. 287), an idea, she judiciously notes, that has largely been embraced by opponents of affirmative action hoping to prove that racism no longer matters. This important book should be read by everyone who cares about the workings of race and racism, both in history and in everyday life.

MARTHA HODES
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NANCY ORDOVER. *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 297. $18.95.

In this original and provocative study, Nancy Ordover traces the history of eugenics in the United States, from its emergence in the late nineteenth century when anti-immigrant hysteria was reaching a peak to its admittedly obscure role in contemporary debates over the so-called gay gene. Most accounts of American eugenics end with the late 1940s, when the scientific racism animating the movement was supposedly discredited once and for all by the discovery of the Holocaust. But Ordover tells a more complicated story, one in which eugenicist thought continued to shape social policy well into the 1990s. She shows, for example, how scientific racism entered into the debates over the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, which abolished the national origins quota system established in the 1920s. Although their views ultimately did not prevail, the officers of the Pioneer Fund, an organization with deep roots in the eugenics movement, testified before Congress that ending the quota system would lead to a national decline and irreparably damage the nation's struggle against communism. Ordover also shows that eugenicist views resurfaced in the 1990s when Proposition 187 was being debated in California. Some anti-immigrant activists invoked the work of sociobiologists Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein, who claimed in *The Bell Curve* (1999) that Latinos and other immigrant groups tended to score lower than whites on IQ tests for genetic reasons. In the process of telling this story of the persistence of eugenicist, thought Ordover uncovers important connections between eugenics and American immigration policy, scientific racism and sexology, women's struggle for reproductive rights, and racist projects to control population growth. Although other scholars have noted these connections, they have not explored them in as much detail or with as much insight as Ordover does.

Ordover's account of the role of eugenics thought in the search for a gay gene is especially provocative and constitutes one of her book's most original contributions. As she suggests, since sexologists first began to classify nonnormative genders and sexualities in the late nineteenth century, there has been a concerted

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effort on the part of scientists to find a biological basis for homosexuality. Influenced by the new "science" of eugenics, sexologists measured the genitals of male and female inverts in the hopes of isolating a biological difference between them and "normal" men and women. Even relatively progressive sexologists like Havelock Ellis who were convinced that establishing a biological basis for homosexuality would lead to greater tolerance of inverts also believed that homosexuality was a form of degeneracy and that inverts should be prevented from reproducing lest they pass on their "condition" to their offspring. Ordover sees a direct link between this biological determinism and the recent attempts of geneticists to isolate a gay gene. In separate studies that were widely publicized in the 1990s, biologists Dean Hamer and Simon LeVray claimed to have uncovered evidence that homosexuality is genetically determined. Although their research has been discredited by other scientists, many gays and lesbians have embraced it in the belief that it endows homosexuals with an incontestable minority status. In showing that the roots of Hamer's and LeVray's controversial research lie in eugenics, Ordover points to the drawback of such arguments. Given the history of eugenics in the U.S. and elsewhere, there is no guarantee that the isolation of a gay gene will deliver gays and lesbians from the stigma of homosexuality, and Ordover questions the value of this type of government-funded research.

Despite its importance, Ordover's analysis of the eugenicist turn in lesbian and gay politics is marred by a lack of historical precision. As historians of sexuality have shown, the category of the homosexual is an incoherent one. Not only do universalizing and minoritizing models of homosexuality coexist in American society. Americans believe simultaneously and contradictorily that everybody has the potential to make a homosexual object choice *and* that only a minority of the population will do so. But more important, "the homosexual" is the product of what David Halperin has called a "cumulative process of historical overlay and accretion" (see *How to do the History of Homosexuality* [2002]). As Halperin points out, earlier traditions or models of gender and sexual nonconformity have not wholly disappeared but continue to exist alongside of and in direct conflict with a newer model based on sex of object choice. Ordover seems unaware of this incoherence, and she collapses or glosses over important historical differences. She uses "invert" and "gay" interchangeably, for example. But "invert" depends on a model of homosexuality that privileges gender, whereas "gay" depends on one that privileges object choice. Despite this historical imprecision, however, her book is an important study, one that shows, rather startlingly, that eugenics has left an indelible mark on American politics and culture.

ROBERT J. CORBER
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WARREN BASS. *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israeli Alliance*. (Council on Foreign Relations Book.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. 336. $30.00.

At a time when the administration of George W. Bush seems to have provided Israel with a blank check in formulating its policies toward the Palestinians, it is important to re-examine the origins of the alliance between Israel and the United States. Warren Bass's exceptional new book meets that need and presents a fresh perspective on the "special relationship" that has evolved since the presidency of John F. Kennedy.

According to the author, Kennedy, unlike President Dwight D. Eisenhower, was willing to see neutralist leaders such as Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser as something more than communist puppets. The president attempted to improve relations with Egypt in order to defuse tensions in the region. According to Bass, Nasser's refusal to engage Kennedy resulted in strengthening American-Israeli relations.

Bass sees Harry S. Truman as the father of the U.S.-Israel "special relationship" and Kennedy as the father of the U.S.-Israel "alliance." In arguing his thesis, Bass presents three important chapters: the development of the Hawk missile sale to Israel; Nasser's ill-advised foray into the civil war in Yemen; and the intricate dance that the United States and Israel engaged in over the development of the Dimona nuclear reactor. Each chapter explores the goals and strategies of the main players and analyzes why their policies failed or succeeded. In discussing the Hawk missile sale to Israel in 1962, the author downplays the role of the Israeli lobby in the United States. Bass argues that Israeli influence on domestic American politics in the early 1960s was in no way similar to today. According to Bass, the missile deal was a result of Nasser's refusal to meet Kennedy half way as he attempted to reach out to the Egyptian leader. Further, Middle East policy decisions had shifted from a State Department that had tremendous influence under the Eisenhower administration to the National Security Council that Kennedy favored. Obviously, midterm elections were looming in November 1962, but Kennedy grew tired of Nasser's roadblocks and bought into the Israeli perception of a "missile gap" in the region.

Perhaps Bass's best chapter deals with the civil war in Yemen. As Kennedy reached out to Nasser, the Egyptian president became increasingly embroiled in his own quagmire in the Persian Gulf. Washington offered Cairo loans, grants, and other aid for economic development, but Nasser turned down a rapprochement with the United States in the pursuit of victory in the developing Arab Cold War. Kennedy's strategy was based on the larger Cold War with the Soviet Union, and when Nasser decided to commit 20,000 troops to Yemen, it reinforced American ties with conservative Arab regimes, particularly that of Saudi Arabia. Once the civil war expanded to include Saudi support for

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Yemeni royalists against the Nasserite forces and brought Jordan, Iraq, and Syria into the equation, Bass correctly argues that the United States found it easier to move closer to an alliance with Israel that commenced with the Hawk missile agreement. According to Bass, the missile sale is the most under-appreciated milestone in U.S.-Israeli relations, and it set in motion the American approach toward Israel that has remained fairly consistent to this day.

There were bumps along the way, particularly Israel's goal of developing nuclear weapons. Despite some rude and harsh correspondence between Kennedy and Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion over Israel's determination to complete the Dimona nuclear reactor, the "relationship" would emerge as an "alliance." Relying on extensive archival material, Bass develops Kennedy's pursuit of "atomic diplomacy," which may have resulted in the resignation of Ben-Gurion and the emergence of Levi Eshkol as his replacement. The new Israeli prime minister was the perfect partner for Kennedy, who had grown tired of grappling with the combative Ben-Gurion. Eshkol's policy of accommodation, not confrontation (along with a certain level of duplicity), satisfied Kennedy's goal of nonproliferation in the region for the short term. Had Kennedy lived longer, however, would he have pushed the Israelis further and possibly jeopardized the burgeoning U.S.-Israeli relationship? Bass is right on the mark when he argues that the U.S.-Israeli alliance of today was born during the Kennedy administration.

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Howard Jones. *Death of a Generation: How the Assassinations of Diem and JFK Prolonged the Vietnam War.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 562. $35.00.

Had John F. Kennedy lived, it is unlikely that he would have committed U.S. troops to the defense of South Vietnam. So concludes Howard Jones, the author of a number of highly regarded books on U.S. foreign relations, who turns his attention here to the Vietnam War. Like many, if not most, historians of the conflict, Jones views America's involvement in Vietnam as a tragic error resulting from mistaken Cold War assumptions. In a detailed but engaging narrative, he adds his voice to those who argue that the events of November 1963 represent a key moment in this unfolding tragedy because they foreclosed the possibility of a U.S. withdrawal and paved the way for the war's escalation under Kennedy's less cautious and less cerebral successor.

Jones portrays JFK as a committed Cold Warrior, but one far less gung-ho than his senior advisers. On the one hand, he believed in containing communism and preserving an anticommunist South Vietnam. On the other hand, his "visceral distrust for military figures" (p. 114) tempered his approach to the Cold War and the burgeoning Vietnamese insurgency. Consequently, Kennedy sought to keep the U.S. response in Vietnam within manageable limits. Although he agreed to send more aid to the government of Ngo Dinh Diem, he was leery of militarizing the conflict and opposed his advisers' calls for the introduction of U.S. combat forces. The war, he insisted, could only be won or lost by the South Vietnamese.

Jones argues that, in early 1962, Kennedy—optimistic about the prospects for success but afraid of becoming too deeply entangled—began to consider paring back the U.S. role. He favored a phased withdrawal, with the expectation that by the end of 1965 the South Vietnamese would be capable of standing on their own feet with minimal U.S. support. The events of November 1963, however, derailed this plan. First, Kennedy backed Diem's overthrow because the latter's failings threatened the goal of turning over the war to a stable and effective government in Saigon. Unfortunately, Diem's removal only heralded more political chaos and dragged the United States deeper into the ensuing mess. Second, Kennedy's assassination put Lyndon B. Johnson in the oval office, which led to the war's escalation and the "death of a generation"—American and Vietnamese.

The book's thesis is not entirely original, of course. Defenders of Camelot, from former Kennedy-era officials to the filmmaker Oliver Stone, have declared that JFK would have extricated the United States from the Vietnamese quagmire. Several historians have also advanced similar interpretations to Jones's, notably John Newman, Fredrik Logevall, and David Kaiser. This book's contribution lies in its depth and detail. Although much of the material will be familiar to specialists, Jones has drawn on an extensive documentary record to provide us with a full and vivid account of the period. His treatment of the Buddhist crisis and Diem's overthrow is particularly substantial and informative.

Whether the thesis will persuade all of Jones's readers is another matter. Few would deny that Kennedy found the situation in Vietnam troubling, but his intentions remain elusive and the subject of considerable controversy. If, as Jones argues, the withdrawal plan represented a serious attempt to disengage (rather than, say, a public relations exercise), was it premised on a successful outcome to the war, or did JFK seek to get out come what may? Jones seems to pull his punches on this question. He states that, by the time of his death, Kennedy no longer believed a complete victory was possible; only that the insurgency could be reduced to a level that the South Vietnamese could manage on their own. Jones contends that this conclusion almost amounted to an admission of failure. Yet it presumably meant that JFK continued to anticipate the survival of an anticommunist South Vietnam, the basic goal of U.S. policy since 1954. On several occasions, Jones even implies that Kennedy had come to see the war as a "lost cause" (p. 12) or "failing effort" (p. 456), perhaps suggesting a willingness to accept the South's fall. Yet this possibility does

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not seem to square with his portrait of a president committed to containment and the preservation of America's credibility. Given these imperatives, would JFK have acquiesced in the South's collapse if he had lived to face the situation that confronted LBJ?

Jones's book will add grist to the mill of those who believe that Kennedy had developed an exit strategy, or that he would not have responded as Johnson did later. Skeptics, though, will probably require further convincing.

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THE FOG OF WAR. Directed by Errol Morris; produced by Errol Morris, Michael Williams, and Julie Ahlberg. 2003; color; 107 minutes. Distributed by Sony Pictures Classic.

In a taped telephone conversation in 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson asked Robert McNamara, whither Washington's mission in Vietnam? The secretary of defense admitted that "The frank answer is we don't know what is going on out there." That exchange, reproduced in Errol Morris's Academy Award-winning documentary, *The Fog of War*, underlines the film's message: for all its statistics, all its strategic planning, all its economic and military power, not only could Washington not master Vietnam, it could not see it.

What makes *The Fog of War* a stunning historical work is not its vivid retrospect of a "great man's" life but how it implicitly emplots that life within a longer and wider world history of the failures of applying social science in international relations, of imperial interventions self-justified as civilizing missions. Its excavation of the religiosity of reason, of the messianic devotion to "rational" knowledge, recalls Carl Becker's still-magnificent essay *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (1932) for its close analysis of the evangelical fundamentalism that has characterized secular thought in the West since the Enlightenment. Absolutist faith in ethnocentric models has repeatedly led to perfectionist crusades that fail to question the methodological presuppositions that determine policies of devastating social consequences, until it is too late.

If John Dos Passos's *The Big Money* (1936) was about the second postwar period, rather than the first, it would certainly have included among its biographical sketches one of McNamara: the poor, bright boy who works his way through the University of California at Berkeley in the Depression; goes on to study and teach at Harvard's Graduate School of Business; applies that expertise to U.S. victory in World War II; parlays wartime military success into postwar corporate achievement; and arrives at the helm of government during the Cold War's peak. Like Dos Passos's cinematically juxtaposed words, Morris's evocatively edited images and sounds provoke insights that surpass their subject's known story. This is done, in the best modernist tradition, as counterpoint to the machine culture the film finds simultaneously inspiring and terrifying. Its stirringly rhythmic music, composed by Philip Glass (once again Morris's collaborator), serves as a moving but nonmanipulative explication of this message. Glass's whirring variations essay the high modernism of U.S. public culture *ca.*1950–1970, not only of IBM mainframes but also the architecture of the Cold War corporate and military headquarters that housed them. The score's lack of sentimentality effectively syncopates McNamara's frequently maudlin regrets for the destructive underside of the technological innovation that brought new forms of mass killing and artistic (including musical) expression in the twentieth century.

More important than its record of McNamara's recent recantations is how *The Fog of War* mobilizes memories to expose the irrationalities committed in reason's name. In one striking sequence, about his wartime work developing strategic-bombing plans for General Curtis LeMay, McNamara recalls that in a "single night, we burned to death 100,000 Japanese civilians in Tokyo: men, women, and children." When from off camera Morris shouts, "Were you aware this was going to happen?" McNamara pauses, leans into the frame, and explains: "I was part of a mechanism that in a sense recommended it." As the soundtrack intensifies, the scene quickly jump cuts between close-ups of hand-written statistical entries, then segues to archival aerial footage of a bombing mission from which not explosives but animated numbers, signs of the mechanized knowledge that guide the destruction, drift toward ground zero.

I first saw *The Fog of War* at its New York Film Festival premiere in October 2003, and I remained after its final reel to hear the director discuss his work. It was not very illuminating; there was little Morris could say that his film had not already said better. His comments did amplify his movie's most compelling rhetorical move: the empathy and frustration McNamara's seeming incomprehension of his own contradictions caused Morris. By exposing its author's ambivalence, *The Fog of War* finally is ethical but nonjudgmental. This is not Michael Moore's Gonzo filmmaking, which, à la Oliver Stone, satisfies muckraking expectations but raises few new questions about the past or how to represent it. By granting no easy closure, the film refuses to reduce history to preconceived notions about what happened, what is happening, what will happen. We are with Morris as he wrestles with McNamara to understand the past.

There are many who will object to this film's sympathetic portrayal of McNamara. Perhaps most upset will be those who (unlike Morris) supported the Vietnam War and find the ex-defense secretary's jeremiads, either on screen or in print, to be self-indulgently hypocritical trivializations of the enormous costs of a noble cause. The war's critics might also object, finding McNamara's mea culpas "too little, too late." Both views, however, miss the film's focus, which is not as much McNamara as the culture of knowledge,

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the hubris of "civilization," the international insecurity created by the pursuit of national security. *The Fog of War* reminds us that war itself is the ultimate enemy, one served by the rationalizations that underwrite official violence. In making this point himself, McNamara recalls his World War II days: "LeMay said if we'd lost the war, we all would have been prosecuted as war criminals. And I think he's right. He, and I'd say I, were behaving as war criminals. LeMay recognized that what he was doing would be thought immoral if his side had lost. But what makes it immoral if you lose but not if you win?"

Religion's revival in both Washington's foreign-policy rhetoric and that of its most virulent international enemies is currently on spectacular display. However, faith in progress through efficient destruction remains intact too, directly descended from Becker's heavenly city of reason. As we ponder this moment's particularities, we might usefully revisit McNamara's wish: "Maybe we make the same mistake three times but hopefully not four or five."

SETH FEIN
Yale University

THE TRIALS OF HENRY KISSINGER. Produced and written by Alex Gibney. Directed by Eugene Jarecki. Narrated by Brian Cox. England, Australia, Denmark. 2002; color and black and white; 80 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

The Trials of Henry Kissinger is a feature-length historical documentary that traces Kissinger's life and career from his youth in Nazi Germany through his tenure as assistant for national security affairs and secretary of state under presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. It examines Kissinger's predilection for secrecy and power, including his involvement in Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign intrigue regarding the Vietnam War, but it emphasizes his role in planning and implementing policies, strategies, and decisions that may have included the commission of international crimes. These were the secret bombing of Cambodia in 1969 and after, the invasions of Cambodia and Laos in 1970 and 1971, the military overthrow of the Chilean government and the accompanying assassinations of General René Schneider in 1970 and of President Salvador Allende in 1973, and the United States-approved Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 and the attendant mass killings and deadly famine.

The filmmakers took inspiration from a two-part article by Christopher Hitchens published in the February and March 2001 issues of *Harper's Magazine* entitled "The Case Against Henry Kissinger." Written and published during the period of the establishment of the International Criminal Court (1998–2002) and the arrest of and legal proceedings against former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet Ugarte (1998–2001), Hitchens's indictment of Kissinger garnered considerable international attention. In *The Trials of Henry Kissinger*, however, Hitchens makes only a few brief appearances as one of many talking heads. Other interviewees—journalists, jurists, relatives of victims, ambassadors, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officers, and Kissinger's aides, as well as Kissinger himself—comment on historical events and Kissinger's motives, decision making, and guilt or innocence at appropriate intervals in the voice-over narrative.

The documentary is not so much an indictment of Kissinger as it is an exploration of the possibility of his criminal behavior. Even though the script and visual content of the film concentrate on those topics that reveal Kissinger's likely involvement in international crimes, the narrator's tone is measured, and there is little obvious departure in the verbal and visual narrative from facts to be found in the most recent and best-researched histories of Kissinger's role in the making of American foreign policy.

There are, however, a few minor errors of interpretation, at least one unsubstantiated claim, and omissions of contextually relevant decisions and events. The film implies, for example, that Kissinger was the prime architect or promoter of strategies such as the "madman theory," the bombing of Cambodia, the Chilean coup, and the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, when in fact Nixon and Ford were in charge, and Kissinger was their confederate and implementor. Regarding the coup against Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1970, the script claims that it was instigated by the CIA, which is possible but, as far as I know, undocumented. One of the most unfortunate omissions in terms of the argument of the film is the inadequacy of its treatment of the history and status of international criminal law. The uninitiated viewer does not learn that the main provisions of prosecutable international crimes date from at least the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials in the aftermath of World War II, which in turn drew on international rules and laws rooted in the past. Today there exists a coherent aggregation of treaties and conventions that defines international crimes as crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The purpose of these treaties and conventions was and is to establish a regime of international law that would serve, minimally, to mitigate the horrors of war and, maximally, to prevent war. At the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, one of the main principles upon which verdicts were based and punishment administered was that those who wielded power and authority were as guilty as those whose hands committed the crimes—if they had been responsible for setting a policy that led to crimes or were negligent in enforcing the rules. If Kissinger is to be charged, this is the principle that is probably most apt.

And if Kissinger is guilty, so, too, were others above and below him. Kissinger's conduct regarding Indochina, East Timor, and Chile, moreover, was not a historical aberration. The U.S. government before and after Kissinger had and has been engaged in coups against governments, assassinations of individuals, and other acknowledged international crimes.

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Toward the end of the documentary, the narrator comments, "Perhaps only a legal inquiry will reveal the truth." Considering the historical pattern of others' complicity, it is not likely that there will be such an inquiry. Seymour Hersh, an investigative reporter and longtime critic of Kissinger, remarks at the very end that, in the absence of a criminal trial, he takes solace in thinking that in the twilight of his life Kissinger's real trial is to live in fear of prosecution and to feel remorse for his deeds.

JEFFREY KIMBALL
Miami University

THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND. Directed by Sam Green and Bill Siegel. Produced by Sam Green, Carrie Lozano, Bill Siegel, and Marc Smolowitz. 2003; color and black and white; 93 minutes. Distributed by Shadow Distribution.

Given the level of vitriol directed at the Weather Underground—from the right and left—over the last thirty years, one of Sam Green's and Bill Siegel's greatest achievements in this uneven film is to have approached the organization as a legitimate historical subject at all. As the most militant and notorious faction to emerge from the student left, responsible for a sustained bombing campaign against government and corporate interests in the 1970s, the Weather Underground has been an easy target for many activists-turned-scholars and other pundits. In the film's introductory segment, however, against the backdrop of ghastly images from the Vietnam War, several Weatherpeople explain their declaration of war against the United States government as rising from their personal horror and anger over the war. Their own testimony about the ineffectiveness of marches and protests brackets a clip of Martin Luther King, Jr., describing the "abominable, evil, unjust war in Vietnam," and moments later, King's assassination. Revolution seemed the only answer, and they took their inspiration from other revolutionary struggles all over the world.

In addition to relying on vivid archival film footage, much of the film's strength comes from an impressive set of interviews with Weather Underground leaders such as Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Mark Rudd as well as with a handful of the rank and file. Todd Gitlin, grinding a decades-old axe, is the filmmakers' all-purpose Weather critic; Kathleen Cleaver provides context on the Black Panther Party and government repression; and an FBI agent explains the government's perspective. In addition, the film makes good use of three Weather memoirs, two of which are unpublished.

Unfortunately, the film fails in its rendering of key chapters in the Weather Underground's history. First, in quickly summarizing the organization's roots in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), it allows Gitlin to overstate the extent to which the Weather Underground can be charged with "running away with the student left." In fact, no one ran away with the student left, because SDS had dissolved into a number of factions in 1969; most of the student left abandoned those factions. Second, and most important, in its dissection of the New York townhouse explosion that killed three Weatherpeople and revealed the production of antipersonnel bombs (to be detonated at a U.S. Army dance at Fort Dix), Ayers and Rudd say that Terry Robbins, who died in the blast, led an "autonomous" (read: rogue) collective and imply that Weather as a whole did not subscribe to killing anyone. Gitlin, however, generalizes from Robbins to claim that all Weatherpeople were "ready to be mass murderers." Who is right? The film does not say, although it is clear that the organization made a deliberate decision to avoid killing or injuring anyone in future bombings.

Green and Siegel succeed most in recovering the Weather Underground's world view and, by extension, the period's national mood, when Weather people both reacted to and perpetuated a national sense of horror and dread. In both interviews and archival footage, activists articulate their view of the war as "obscene" and their sense that to do nothing to stop it amounted to "violence." In one of the film's best segments, Ayers gives a kind of walking tour of the October 1969 "Days of Rage" in which hundreds of helmeted street fighters trashed bank windows, scared shoppers, and clashed with police in Chicago. Likewise, the detailed anatomy of the 1971 bombing of the California Department of Corrections (in response to prisoner George Jackson's death) is one of the film's highlights for its use of emotive narration over arresting moving images. Sadly, there is not enough of this. Another sixteen bombings are acknowledged individually in screen text, but the viewer gets little information about the motives and execution of each action.

Such criticisms are no doubt unfair given the constraints of the medium. This is not a monograph, after all; to provide the proper context on the larger New Left, antiwar movement, Vietnam War, race relations in America, worldwide revolutionary struggles, and the National Security State would be all but impossible in a ninety-three-minute film. For undergraduates, however, the film is an engaging introduction to its subject. Those interested in a more complex analysis can then read Jeremy Varon's *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (2004).

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VALLEY OF TEARS. Directed by Hart Perry. Produced by David Sandoval. Written by Juan Gonzalez. 2003; color and black and white; 82 minutes. Distributed by Seventh Art Releasing.

Valley of Tears is a documentary film that recounts events between 1979 and 1996 in the small community of Raymondville (population 8,800) located in south

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Texas, close to the Mexican border. The film opens with a day-by-day account of a strike begun spontaneously by those who did the backbreaking work of harvesting onions, a work stoppage that received support from the Texas Farm Workers Union. Even though the strike was defeated when a powerful grower, Othal Brand, bought the entire crop from the small local grower, the film portrays the transformation of Raymondville's Mexican-American population that resulted from the strike. In the wake of the walkout, residents no longer accepted a second-class status in their own community and became far more assertive in demanding their rights as Americans. Future battles were not fought on the picket line but in the voting booth, and the film's last two segments focus on the fight to gain control of the local school board and the district attorney's office in Willacy County.

Since the film does not employ a narrator and there are no interviews with academics or other experts, almost all of the commentary is provided by community activists. Black and white stills are used to trace Raymondville's history from the nineteenth century, when landowners employed Mexican laborers to clear the land of mesquite and cactus, through the community's heyday in the 1940s, when an "onion queen" received her crown during the annual onion festival. The film's most dramatic moment is the revelation of an incident in the 1920s when, after two deputies had been killed at a dance, Texas Rangers arrested twenty-five to thirty Mexicans who were then "shot trying to escape." Unfortunately, no further information is provided about the massacre, other than the fact that no one was ever tried for the murders.

The film quite effectively portrays how a strike can become a community effort that transforms a struggle for wages into a fight for dignity and respect. The high point comes when strikers and their supporters march through the center of Raymondville, evidently the first time such a demonstration had ever occurred. Predictably, growers and their allies blame "outsiders" for the unrest, and twelve workers are arrested, leading to further organizing around the trial where all charges are dismissed. While the film presents a blow-by-blow account of the strike, it provides very little information about the working lives of the farm workers other than the fact that they are forced to become migrants when the harvest in Raymondville is completed.

The second segment portrays an engaged Mexican-American community attempting to win control of the school board from the local elite. The challenge to the plantation mentality that dominates this brown/white town resembles battles fought in the Deep South in the civil rights era. In Raymondville, complaints focus on the "astronomical" school dropout rate, the lack of bilingual education, and the teachers' low expectations for Mexican-American children. In this segment, the immediate battle is also lost when the "establishment" finds a Mexican American to run against the insurgent candidate, but the struggle has awakened residents to their potential political power. Here again, the focus on activists leads to a very shallow portrayal of the community, and the viewer has no sense of whether churches or other institutions even exist.

The last segment focuses on the inspiring story of Juan Guerra, who in 1996 was elected district attorney of Willacy County. Guerra attended Raymondville High School, where teachers told him he should become a television repairman. Rejecting this advice, Guerra graduated from college and then taught in Raymondville schools for five years before going on to law school. His first effort to win the district attorney's office in 1992 failed due to vote tampering, but, aided by a sophisticated computer analysis of residents, Guerra won office in 1996. In one of the film's final scenes, Guerra tours the courthouse, showing the viewer where Mexican Americans had been held in jails and even hanged.

As with many documentaries, the filmmakers' goal is to get the viewer to empathize with the underdog. The conclusion, though, is ambiguous. Certainly, the Raymondville of 2002 is different from the Raymondville of 1979, and Anglos and Mexican Americans have evidently developed a more harmonious relationship. Mechanization has robbed workers of many of their jobs, however, and the community's future is unclear.

Raymondville is a microcosm of struggles carried out in numerous towns and cities throughout the Southwest, and the filmmakers do not try to extend the perspective of the analysis beyond Willacy County. The determinedly local focus of this film will limit its potential use. It will be most beneficial for high school and college courses dealing with Mexican-American and/or Texas history. In any class in which it is shown, teachers will need to complement it with historical material on Chicano and farm worker struggles. Used in this way, *Valley of Tears* can be a very useful addition to classroom materials.

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ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN. *Reel History: In Defense of Hollywood*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. viii, 232. Cloth $35.00, paper $17.95.

Robert Brent Toplin's appraisal of Hollywood historical films provokes questions about interdisciplinary dialogue. Who are his implied readers? Should a historian investigating film be better informed about screen studies? By discussing the genre conventions of what he labels "cinematic history," Toplin begins by providing a useful summary, but it enlightens only those uninformed about the work of Thomas Schatz, Robert Rosenstone, and others. Although his tone is at times defensive, Toplin does make a credible argument in favor of genre films like James Cameron's *Titanic* (1997) that may not be wholly accurate but dramatize history for large audiences. Ang Lee's *Ride with the Devil* (1999), however, is cited as a noble experiment that violated conventions structuring film

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spectatorship and thus failed at the box office. Straightforward in his approach, Toplin makes a case for period films but fails to explain why they often lapse into kitsch or camp and are instantly parodied. Audience reception is difficult to gauge in a postmodern age of rapid recycling.

Bestowing awards named after Herodotus and Mel Brooks, Toplin praises *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) and *The Longest Day* (1962) for representing history, criticizes *Amistad* (1997), *Mississippi Burning* (1988), and *The Hurricane* (1999) for distorting history, and devalues *Santa Fe Trail* (1940) and *They Died with Their Boots On* (1942) for mangling history. Also elevated to his pantheon are televised dramas like *Eleanor and Franklin* (1976), *The Execution of Private Slovik* (1974), and *Denmark Vesey's Rebellion* (1982). As "the principal creator" of the last, Toplin writes insightfully about its production in the most interesting chapter of the book. So far, so good.

But several statements in this book are obvious ("all cinematic history calls for considerable artistic creativity"), repeat what is passé ("Many critics . . . argue that documentary film is far less biased and is generally more objective"), or are incorrect ("Dramatic film is not a very good communicator of contradictions") (pp. 156, 28, 23). Also problematic is literal mindedness. Citing Claude Lanzmann on the "unrepresentability of Auschwitz" as a dilemma in *Schindler's List* (1993), Toplin concludes that "the ideal film was evidently an interview-oriented documentary without dramatic representations." *Shoah* (1995), in fact, is replete with drama if not reenactments. But more important, was Lanzmann not addressing weighty philosophical issues? Similarly, Toplin reacts to Sara Horowitz's objection to Steven Spielberg's portrayal of Jews as "small in stature, large-nosed, disheveled, and unkempt" by assuming she prefers "good-looking Jewish heroes and heroines" (pp. 121–23). What about the problem of racial stereotyping, a characteristic of kitsch that, like sentimentality, pervades many Hollywood (historical) dramas?

Worse is a chapter about "the study of cinematic history" that begins with an observation about the "chasm between 'historians and film studies specialists'" and proceeds to dig a deeper hole. Scholars enthusiastic about postmodern films that foreground the construction of history are criticized for embracing Hayden White on "the relativity of historical truths" and turning a blind eye to "directors' manipulation of historical details" (p. 166). A preference for self-reflexive films like *Walker* (1987), contra Toplin, does not endorse playing fast and loose with the facts in every production. And as Stanley Kubrick showed in *Full Metal Jacket* (1988), a film without claims to accuracy can still dramatize historical truth. Dismissal of unconventional works, moreover, precludes discussion of ways in which postmodern practices, including digitized images, have erased or reworked genre conventions, invaded studio films, and spun off video games.

While indicting film scholars who write about "cinematic history," Toplin characterizes film studies as a Marxist enterprise. (Why not dismiss social or quantitative history for the same reason?) Unfortunately, his understanding is reductive and erroneous. Somewhat dizzying is his marriage of Antonio Gramsci and psychoanalysis: "Film scholars also eagerly employed psychoanalytic concepts from Jacques Lacan and other writers to explain why audiences were psychologically predisposed to accept capitalist hegemony" (p. 169). Apparently, Toplin is conflating psychoanalytic and semiotic constructs of a spectating subject, based on readings of Louis Althusser and Lacan, with concepts of *cultural* hegemony articulated by Gramsci and Raymond Williams. Widely critiqued as ahistorical, the Lacanian subject was textually constructed in terms of gender, not class.

Since film scholars, like historians, do not constitute a monolithic group, a great deal of intradisciplinary debate, such as David Bordwell's deconstructing of theoreticians, has already occurred. Contrary to Toplin, Noel Carroll does not constitute a lone dissenting voice in the discipline. Granted, many film scholars write thickets of jargon. Still, their work on issues of representation, narrative, realism, genre, spectacle, and ideology, not to mention visual style, should inform discussion about historical films. A dialogue between historians and cinema studies specialists remains a useful undertaking that will require more sustained effort.

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WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON. *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 276. $29.95.

Historians who glance at William R. Hutchison's new book should not think that its contents are limited to religion. Not that religion is itself uninteresting, but Hutchison goes to the heart of pluralism broadly construed, and the subtitle of this subtle and provocative book well expresses his portrait of a pluralism that emerged only reluctantly in America. Its lessons apply not only to diversity in religion but to diversity in ethnicity, race, and even economic standing.

Hutchison argues that religious pluralism involves much more than the religious diversity from which it comes. Pluralism is, he rightly says, "understood as the acceptance and encouragement of diversity" (p. 1). The burden of the book is to document and explain just how difficult it has been to wring pluralism from diversity in the United States.

Hutchison sees little enough diversity, much less pluralism, in colonial America. "Colonists had been at least 85 percent English-speaking Calvinist Protestants, and . . . this quite homogenous population . . . spent two centuries constructing a culture to their own specifications" (p. 21). Legal and social impediments

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placed on Jews, Catholics, and other religious minorities made pluralism an impossibility in the colonies.

One could joust with Hutchison on diversity in early America. Even English colonists felt sufficiently nonhomogenous to wage bitter battles over religion as well as culture. Non-Christian Africans comprised thirty to sixty percent of the southern colonies' population by the 1760s. And many eighteenth-century descriptions of colonial religious diversity, plus the protections guaranteed to religion generally by the First Amendment (not just to Christianity), suggest that if pluralism was not yet a glowing ideal, colonists of many persuasions and kinds had more than lit its candle. The use of an 1848 engraving, "The First Prayer in [the Continental] Congress" (p. 23), depicting an overly earnest clergyman leading prayer for clusters of Founding Fathers on bent knees, says more about antebellum revivalists' invention of America's "Christian origins" myth than it does about spiritual homogeneity in the revolutionary era.

Yet Hutchison's account of diversity, pluralism, and their travails in nineteenth and twentieth-century America is quite another matter. It is full, strong, and sophisticated and constitutes the reasons historians should read this book. Hutchison offers a wonderfully enlightening tour of reactions to nineteenth-century America's rapidly growing religious diversity, even chaos. He offers a sensitive and enlightening account of anti-Catholicism and anti-Mormonism, accompanied by especially apt illustrations. He makes clear the links between revivalism, social reform, and bigotry leading in the Gilded Age to a failed but vigorous drive for a "Christian amendment" to the Federal Constitution. He offers a description of the ambivalence of the Social Gospel and "social religion" to both diversity and pluralism, followed by insightful discussions of efforts to achieve inclusion by liberal Jews and Catholics. He stresses the surprising malleability of Chicago's Dwight L. Moody, who is intriguingly discussed in a chapter that concludes with Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich. He stresses the religious and cultural diversity evident in the 1893 Columbian Exposition's World Parliament of Religion (paralleled by a "World's Congress of Beauty") that Horace Kallen would help to rationalize several decades later. And he ends on the "Protestant-Catholic-Jew" triad that emerged just before and during World War II, which the immigration historian Marcus Hansen explicated and the sociologist Will Herberg excoriated.

Hutchison's dissection of diversity's struggle toward pluralism in nineteenth and twentieth-century America is a tour de force, reflecting broad learning, fascinating details, and discerning judgment. He writes lucidly on every subject. The juxtapositions are endlessly fascinating. Who indeed would have linked Moody to Tillich? And the judgments are sharp. Hutchinson's own photographs of the famed chapel at Colorado's Air Force Academy contrast the Protestants' soaring space, which still transfixes visitors and cadets alike, with the consignment of Catholics and Jews to the basement—diversity but perhaps not pluralism.

Hutchison may shortchange religious diversity before 1800. But his account of the odd and often tortured path from religious diversity to spiritual pluralism after 1800 in a succinct, readable book should attract anyone fascinated by one of America's most amazing and perplexing features.

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E. BROOKS HOLIFIELD. *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 617. $35.00.

E. Brooks Holifield's book is a detailed, carefully researched history of American Christian thought from the colonial period until 1865. Beginning with the Puritans' search for clarity about conversion, Holifield moves carefully through various theological writers, standing in traditions as diverse as Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Roman Catholicism, and ends with the religious and theological discussions of slavery. Considered only as a summary of a complicated intellectual tradition, this book is a masterpiece. Despite the vast research into antebellum religious thought over the last century, no other work has the same comprehension and rich attention to detail.

Yet, Holifield's work is not a survey in the usual sense of that word. It sets forth a paradigm for the interpretation of early American theology that stresses the interaction of two important theological motifs: the understanding of theology as a practical discipline that sustains the church and, especially, the religious life of ordinary believers, and the search for empirical or historical evidence of the truth of Christianity, especially the truth of the biblical stories.

The belief that theology or the explication of Christian teaching is practical goes back to the ancient attempt to classify knowledge as either speculative and scientific or as technical and ethical. Although Christian theologians have often claimed that their work was scientific in the sense of following a set method of study that proceeded from first principles, most have assumed that the primary purpose of theology was the life of faith. In colonial and early nineteenth-century America, this latter understanding of the purpose of theology was more intense than in the general Christian tradition. Most American theologians, after all, represented traditions that stressed personal faith and commitment. Puritanism, pietism, evangelicalism, and the Missouri Synod Lutherans' curious mixture of pietism and scholasticism all fit this paradigm. American Catholic theology, despite Catholic seminaries' dependence on standard scholastic manuals, also conforms to this general paradigm.

Holifield's second heuristic is equally insightful. The rise of modern science was a central element in the development of the modern European mind. From

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Nicolas Copernicus onward, Christian thinkers faced the difficult task of presenting the Gospels in terms of a new world view not rooted in ancient Greek thought. In English-speaking countries, theologians discussed the relationship between theology and the new science in the language of the empirical philosophical tradition. According to this perspective, knowledge was the result of the rational analysis of experience. Human beings proposed various hypotheses, and then they tested these hypotheses. Part of the test was an examination of the facts or evidence that supported the claim. The rigorous thinker was expected to show that his or her position was sustained by a careful examination of the facts and experiments that supported it. In theory, any other investigator could verify or falsify the premise by an examination of the same evidence. Although this type of thought had serious problems, some of which were indicated by David Hume, it was popular because it was practical and easily understood. Empirical thinkers, after all, usually called their position "common sense." Basically, as Holifield noted, British and American theologians followed this paradigm in arguing for the existence of God, the divinity of Christ, and the reliability of the Bible.

What contributed to the decline of these motifs as a way of understanding Christianity? Holifield makes two important points. First, the empirical theologians were intellectually outgunned. In the early nineteenth century, the epicenter of science and philosophy moved from England—the land of Isaac Newton and John Locke—to Germany. German science, deeply influenced by René Descartes and later by Immanuel Kant, presented theologians with new intellectual challenges. In addition, Holifield suggests, very cautiously, that the slavery debate may have contributed to the decline of this style of theological argument. Clearly, both sides in that classic struggle used the same theological methods and arguments to reach diametrically opposite conclusions. It is an interesting suggestion, but perhaps only a suggestion. After all, the evidential style had largely disappeared from European and English theology by this time, and it had been clearly challenged in America by more advanced thinkers.

Holifield's interpretation of theological development meets one test of good history: it makes a complex historical development available to others interested in the subject. Judged by that criterion, scholars of early American intellectual history will be using and debating Holifield's work for some time.

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GILLIS J. HARP. *Brahmin Prophet: Phillips Brooks and the Path of Liberal Protestantism*. (American Intellectual Culture Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. xi, 237. Cloth $80.00, paper $32.95.

Gillis J. Harp has written a book on two levels. The reader will find a thoroughly researched, gracefully written, learned, and insightful account of nineteenth-century Episcopal preacher Phillips Brooks's religious thought. But the book also contains evangelical ammunition for today's partisan religious wars against moderate and liberal believers.

Harp argues that Brooks "both reflected the intellectual and cultural tensions of his time and helped, in turn, to reshape American Protestantism" (p. x). Unlike earlier scholars who emphasized Brooks's evangelical affinities, Harp argues that Brooks's theology is more properly understood as "humanistic, Romanticized Christianity" (p. 9) and owes more to Samuel Taylor Coleridge and F. D. Maurice than to "Evangelicalism in its classic doctrinal form" (p. 67).

Harp places Brooks within general American Protestant, not merely Episcopal, thought. Comparisons extend from Ralph Waldo Emerson past Horace Bushnell to Charles Hodge and Dwight Moody. There are certainly reasons for doing this; Brooks's father was a Unitarian and his mother an orthodox Congregationalist. Yet this context can obscure as well as reveal. Episcopalians did not always define "Evangelical" the same way Congregationalists or Presbyterians did. Some of the cited quotations show Brooks using the word to separate himself from Oxford's high church ritualism rather than from incipient theological liberalism.

At its best, Harp's study brings Brooks into much sharper focus. Literary romanticism was more important in shaping his liberal Christianity, and science and the higher criticism were less so. Brooks's views on social questions appear more complex. He spoke against slavery and for black suffrage and integration. Although not a socialist, he understood capitalism's inequities, supported moderate reforms, and inspired more radical activists. He also helped the transition from expository preaching to a "more emotive and literary style" (p. 111). He was the preacher as poet, drawing support from Bushnell and Emerson on language, metaphor, and analogy. Brooks understood preaching incarnationally; the message was embodied in the personality and character of the preacher.

The more polemic dimension of this book paints Brooks in negative colors. In sum, Brooks contributed to a "diminution of the faith" and left a "problematic legacy" (p. 207). He meant to adapt Christianity to the modern world, but instead created a "halfway house between orthodoxy and secularism" (p. 213–14). Harp faults Brooks for the "displacement of propositional content" with feeling and moralism (p. 182). More dangerously, Brooks made the individual conscience sovereign and understood theology as historically and institutionally constructed, which undermined biblical and creedal authority. Brooks's theology was insidious because it still used evangelical language, albeit with different meaning. For instance, he spoke as if incarnation were central and his theology were Christocentric, yet he discarded the substitutionary atonement.

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Harp considers this "humanistic rather than Christocentric" (p. 189). Indeed, could Brooks even be called a faithful Anglican when "the Prayer Book, the Articles of Religion, and the two Books of Homilies all teach explicitly the propitiatory character of Christ's atoning death" (p. 178)?

Brooks was confident the faith could survive "without an infallible bible and/or an authoritative confessional standard" (p. 174). Harp, however, sees a line from Brooks to modern Anglican radicals such as John Shelby Spong and John Hick. Ultimately, "without defined boundaries and with constant redefinitions of what constitutes 'core doctrine,' the church's message has become, in the eyes of many, incoherent" (p. 211). Brooks may have thought he was merely making faith more accessible, but "in retrospect, the cost for doctrinal coherence and authentic unity has been high" (p. 216). Harp paints Brooks as a sad case who might have strengthened evangelical orthodoxy but instead "chose denominational peace over principle" (p. 216).

This argument, that liberalism damaged Christianity (and by implication still does), has been with us at least since James Turner's *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America* (1985). But one wonders, in these days of divisive denominational warfare and religious violence worldwide, whether Brooks's irenic message is not needed more than ever. He was, after all, someone who spoke eloquently for gender and racial equality, who had compassion for the poor, who was appropriately wary of dogmatism, and who could countenance different expressions of faith without self-righteousness or fear. This does not seem such a terrible legacy at all.

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Bruce J. Evensen. *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. 232.

Awaiting the much-publicized arrival from Liverpool of the men who had taken Britain by storm, New York reporters scrambled to capture their disembarkment. So determined were they to scoop their competitors, some rented boats to intercept the ocean liner before it docked in hopes of getting the first interview or photograph. English newspapers had detailed these men's every move throughout their recent tour of the United Kingdom and Ireland, making their names household words. Now American writers were eager to introduce them to U.S. audiences.

For many Americans of a certain age, such a scene could only describe the arrival of the Beatles in 1964, the most famous Liverpudlians to reach American shores. But the year was 1875, and the men expectantly awaited were evangelist Dwight L. Moody and his sidekick, songleader Ira Sankey, who were returning from a two-year preaching tour. They had left the United States as virtual unknowns and had been welcomed in Liverpool by only a handful of well-wishers, but they returned home as international celebrities. In this lively, engaging narrative of nineteenth-century America's most popular preacher, Bruce J. Evensen views Moody's meteoric rise at the "historical intersection of mass media and popular religion" (p. 13). The author examines how newspaper publishers, eager to boost circulation in the depressed economy of the 1870s, found that Moody and his revival meetings could be turned into headline news. Moody was ambivalent about all the attention. On the one hand, he repeatedly denounced his celebrity status and the spectacle that the news media made of the revival he led. On the other hand, he exploited the power of the press to publicize his evangelistic work. Moody knew that the press was a two-edged sword that could criticize as well as promote. While faithful followers heralded the Moody-led revival as a spontaneous outpouring of God's spirit, critics saw it as the manifestation of one who knew "the business of getting up a revival" (p. 74).

This book a well-researched, skillfully crafted monograph that has appeal for the general reader as well as the student of American revivalism. Evensen situates his story within the context of industrialization and urbanization in late nineteenth-century America. Within that setting, evangelism was transformed into a mass movement by borrowing organizational and promotional strategies from such business leaders as Cyrus McCormick of Chicago and John Wanamaker of Philadelphia. As the dynamic head of the revival, Moody emerges as an innovative evangelist who adapted the engines of mass merchandising to reach millions with his message. To newspaper publishers, Moody was a commodity worth selling. As a scholar of the history of journalism, Evensen relates how newspapermen capitalized on Moody's growing popularity. Upstart newspapers such as the Boston *Globe* saw circulation skyrocket as a result of their aggressive promotion of the revival, and established dailies such as the Boston *Herald* protected their competitive leadership by increasing their own coverage of the revival, even if they did not endorse it. Evensen does more than offer a detached analysis of the business of revival. As a "child of revival" (p. 12) who attended mass meetings led by Moody's twentieth-century counterpart, Billy Graham, Evensen tells a story of life-changing faith for many who experienced a religious "conversion" at Moody's revival services.

Evensen's book is an important chapter in the history of American revivalism as well as that of American journalism. Evensen places Moody at the center of a chain of evangelists from George Whitefield in the eighteenth century to Charles Finney in the early nineteenth to Billy Sunday and Billy Graham in the twentieth century. He recognizes that Moody benefited from the innovations of those who preceded him while influencing those who followed. Finney had pioneered many of the "man-made measures to spiritually excite the slothful" (p. 50), such as advance newspaper publicity, that Moody would transform

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through exploiting mass media. And Graham acknowledged his indebtedness to Moody for his role in the rise of mass evangelism. Although he had access to powerful new instruments, such as communication satellites and the Internet, Graham believed that he and Moody shared the same goal: reaching a mass audience by all available means. This book merits a wide readership.

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ETAN DIAMOND. *Souls of the City: Religion and the Search for Community in Postwar America*. (Polis Center Series on Religion and Urban Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 199 $35.00.

So much seemed so right about postwar America. The nation weathered an uncertain demobilization period, and patterns of mass consumption not seen since the 1920s returned. Americans sought higher education in record numbers, bought new cars and household appliances, and, with the help of a consumer-friendly federal government, managed to realize the dream of independent home ownership. Suburban development, cut short by the Great Depression, resumed with a fury as former orchards and farm lands were plowed up to make room for rows and rows of prefabricated homes. Many Americans coped with the fears of the Cold War with the help of their religious beliefs. Membership in religious denominations skyrocketed during this period. A cape-wearing Roman Catholic bishop, Fulton J. Sheen, won an Emmy award for a religious program on the new national medium of television. Biblical epics like *The Robe* (1953) and *The Ten Commandments* (1956) drew huge crowds to American movie theaters. In the 1950s, Americans inserted the later controversial words "under God" in the pledge of allegiance and replaced "E Pluribus Unum" with "In God We Trust" as the national motto.

But even as people were planting tulip bulbs around their new suburban homes and taking their television sets out of packing boxes, the postwar era already had its critics. Perhaps the most famous were David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (1950) and William H. Whyte's *Organization Man* (1956). Both books addressed the underside of the new American culture, critiquing it as one of isolation and rank careerism in which the bond of human solidarity had been shattered and the meaningful life seemed to elude the grasp of most. Critics of the religious revival of the era were just as trenchant. Gibson Winter, sounding much like the medieval Pope Boniface VIII, issued his now famous manifesto in the pages of the *Christian Century* against the "Suburban Captivity of the Churches," decrying the fact that "any remnant of corporate thinking which still existed in Christianity . . . has been lost in this suburban encounter." Postwar America's suburban idyll was inhabited by lonely islands of men and women, incapable or unwilling to forge bonds of solidarity with one another. Even the depth and sincerity of their religious beliefs were suspect. Etan Diamond challenges this dour view of postwar America. On the winding streets and in the cul-de-sacs of suburban Indianapolis, he finds the ligaments of community. Moreover, he believes that religion played a significant role in creating that community.

Diamond urges his readers to reconsider the term "community" as it applies to suburban America. He puts aside notions of physical proximity and cultural homogeneity, aspects of urban communal life, and insists that suburban communities are best viewed as what this reviewer calls "associations of intention." Suburban community was largely a mental construct consisting of deliberate, voluntary efforts on the part of often spatially separated suburban dwellers to come together for common endeavors and mutual support. No institution in suburban Indianapolis facilitated this communal identity more than the suburban church.

Focusing almost exclusively on Protestant communities, he argues that churches provided an important middle ground for people to meet each other and to work together on projects that enhanced church life: building drives, church dinners, educational programs, and recreational leagues. Shared concern and preoccupation with children was another important source of suburban bonding, and congregations created parochial schools and cooperative Sunday schools; they invested heavily in youth activities designed to keep children loyal to their religious affiliation while allowing them to meet wholesome "others."

Mainline Protestant groups also advanced the cause of suburban solidarity by dissolving the boundaries of strict denominationalism in a "church comity" plan that built churches on the basis of location so as to not compete with each other for finances or over build in one location. Sunday schools and joint church activities contributed as well to a neighborly homogenization of suburban life. Needless to say, this plan did not extend to Roman Catholics, who built parishes based on their own demographic projections and the direction of central offices, nor to evangelical Christian groups who did not approve of the denominational blandness of the mainline churches. Diamond also argues that community was created by noting who was not there: specifically, the suburbs were devoid of people of color, reinforcing a kind of communal existence that defined itself by negatives.

In one of the best sections of his book, Diamond explains the fate of long-time rural and small town churches that stood in the path of suburban development. Old church buildings and congregations met the newcomers with a mixture of joy and ambivalence. Members were initially grateful to have "young blood" and new faces, but when newcomers upset established ways and recognized hierarchies, rural churches came to a crisis point where they had to either adapt or die.

Diamond devotes two chapters to the "plight" of the church in the urban center as demographic changes brought scores of African Americans to the city. A

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penultimate chapter examines a government proposal to help alleviate the fractured state of community life in Marion County by the creation of a unified city/county government called Unigov in 1970. Although churches played a role in helping to facilitate this new structure, their role is somewhat obscured in this lengthy section, which seems to detour the reader from the major thrust of the book.

Some may challenge the assumptions of this book. Were the Indianapolis suburbs really typical of the broader pattern of U.S. suburban growth? It would seem that the relatively small amount of attention paid to Catholic suburban development in the text might throw into question whether Marion County's suburban communities were a true microcosm of developments elsewhere. Others might question Diamond's redefinition of community. For example, those who embrace a more organic model of urban life might not be so willing to jettison physical proximity as a defining characteristic. Automobility, which helped create communities of intention, also created the phenomenon of "church shopping," viewed by some as an evasion of the challenge of remaining with a particular church congregation through thick and thin. The behavior of the church suburbanites might be understood not as a new variant of communitarianism but as another manifestation of American consumerism: picking and choosing their religious beliefs in the way one chooses laundry detergent or a brand of cigarettes.

These differences of opinion notwithstanding, Diamond has written a fine book that offers an important perspective on the meaning and function of religion in postwar America.

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QUENTIN J. SCHULTZE. *Christianity and the Mass Media in America: Toward a Democratic Accommodation.* (Rhetoric and Public Affairs.) East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 440. $84.95.

A thriving democracy, argues Quentin J. Schultze, requires a careful balance of the universal—a common culture accessible to all—and the particular—languages and ideals specific to ethnic or religious "tribes." This balance is particularly important in a culture infused with religious language and belief. A scholar of communications theory, Schultze works through the implications of this argument by investigating the relation of Christianity and mass media, blending history, theology, sociology, and media studies. This book is a set of case studies comparing and contrasting how American mass media and Christianity understand the world. The result is frequently thought provoking but too often needs some judicious editing.

Schultze is trying to do a great deal in one volume, which is both a blessing and a curse. It allows for some rich interdisciplinary discussions and synoptic comparisons, but the book sometimes shows the burden of too many agendas. Schultze is thinking theologically about media, analyzing rhetorically how Christians think about the media and vice versa, reflecting on the political role of the universal and the particular in liberal democracies, and looking historically and sociologically at the relationship of religion and media. He is very widely read, drawing on thinkers from John Dewey and Martin Heidegger to theologians known largely in the evangelical Christian community and theoreticians known mainly to others in communication studies. It all makes for a dense set of arguments; each chapter could be a book.

The author pursues his interests through a diverse set of case studies. An analysis of how evangelical Christians have written about communications technology reveals intriguing parallels with science fiction. Schultze describes how five religious periodicals—three Catholic, one mainline Protestant, and one evangelical—editorialized on broadcast regulation in the twentieth century, identifying complex intersections of public interest and communal self-interest. In his most historical chapter, he relates how evangelicals came to dominate religious radio—despite government regulators and mainline Protestant leaders—because they could function best in a market system. The result, unfortunately in Schultze's view, was the cooptation of evangelicalism by consumer capitalism.

More theoretical chapters reflect on the intersection of the "Christian metanarrative" and popular culture. In some cases, popular mythologies reinforce Christian messages, but more often those mythologies have supplanted or erased orthodox Christian ideas, including the language of evil and sin. Schultze argues that many Christian critics of popular media forget that the mass media operate in a multicultural and market-driven society. He resists their moralism and knee-jerk condemnation of the media. A chapter on the secularization of journalism is critical of the entire journalistic enterprise and its "informational fundamentalism." It would have benefited from the nuanced understanding of market forces Schultze displays in other chapters.

Schultze concludes by arguing that American culture needs balance to thrive. Drawing on Alexis de Tocqueville's assertion that democracy needs religion, Schultze states that culture needs religious communities' resistance to multinational media firms and idolization of technology. To survive, in sum, American democracy needs to embrace religion. Although he writes generically about the importance of religion, all of his examples of religion are Christian. In some cases he discusses Christianity broadly, acknowledging diversity in American Christianity, while elsewhere the term stands for particular communities in the evangelical tradition.

The likely target audience for this book is going to be those in media studies. Evangelical Christians will welcome Schultze's advocacy, while those of a more secular bent may benefit from his perspective. Its value for historians is less clear. Except for his contemporary material, Schultze's sources come from the secondary

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literature, drawing on the research of others. As a result, most of his historical sections cover well-cultivated ground, although he places other historians' narratives in a broader context.

This book would have benefited from editing more careful to focus his broad agenda and sharpen some of his points, which sometimes seem to repeat themselves. It might have also caught several strange phrases that interrupt the flow and mar the richness of Schultze's argument.

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STEVEN P. BROWN. *Trumping Religion: The New Christian Right, the Free Speech Clause, and the Courts*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 187. $35.00.

Sometime in the late 1980s, the way in which major Establishment Clause litigation was conducted before the Supreme Court underwent a major change. Since the late 1940s, litigation challenging religious practices in the public schools had focused on the core strategic principle that government could not sponsor, endorse, or otherwise align itself with religion. It did not matter whether consensus prevailed in the public schools over, for example, the desirability of prayer or Bible reading, or whether a school sponsored other student clubs that focused on political, social, or community topics. All that mattered was whether a school board, school administrator, teacher or, in some cases, student attempted to promote religion on school grounds and on school time. Leading the charge against these time-honored practices were such groups as the American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union, which regularly challenged religious practices in the public schools and, for the better part of a forty-year stretch between 1945 and 1985, almost always won.

By the late 1980s, the separationist impulses that once animated the Establishment Clause decisions of the Supreme Court began to recede. Moreover, a litigation environment once dominated by separationist organizations began to take on a much more plural and confrontational character. Groups such as the United States Catholic Conference, which had been active in Establishment Clause litigation for several decades, and the Christian Legal Society, which had begun to establish a litigation presence in the late 1970s, were now joined by a loose federation of groups associated with what political scientists often call the New Christian Right, which rose to political power after the election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States in 1980. Determined to meet the liberal, separationist groups head-on at the intersection of law and politics, these groups began to challenge many of the Court's key decisions limiting religious practices in the public schools and government funding for parochial schools. Over the last decade or so, a conservative religious bar has emerged and become a major force in the politics of Establishment Clause litigation.

Steven P. Brown provides the first full scholarly account of this extraordinarily important development. Brown offers a comprehensive description of the network of organizations that make up the legal arm of the New Christian Right and their rise to power and influence. He also offers excellent background on the individual lawyers, such as Jay Sekulow, who have assumed a prominent role in identifying and directing important cases. But even more important than Brown's account of this phenomenon is his discussion and analysis of the legal strategy the New Christian Right groups chose to advance their goal of allowing government to sponsor, even if indirectly, the religious preferences of the majority. Beginning in *Board of Westside Community Schools v. Mergens* (1990), in which the Supreme Court upheld a 1984 federal law (the Equal Access Act) requiring public schools to permit religious clubs to meet before or after school hours if other "non-curriculum" groups were permitted such privileges, New Christian Right lawyers advanced the argument that the Free Speech Clause, not the Establishment Clause, should control constitutional analysis. Challenging the view that the Establishment Clause placed limits on government support for religious activities initiated by students in public schools, New Christian Right lawyers framed the debate as one involving free speech. If secular groups had the right to meet in public schools, then religious groups should have the same rights. Viewing it any other way amounted to religious discrimination.

The Court has taken this view and run with it. Although it has continued to hold the line against state-sponsored prayer in public schools, the Court has ruled that the Free Speech Clause requires public schools to accommodate meeting requests of non-school-based community groups and prohibits public universities from denying funding to religious publications if other student organizations are eligible for student subsidies. In addition to these cases involving religious practices, the Court has also issued several rulings (see, for example, *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* [2003]; *Mitchell v. Helms* [2000]; and *Agostini v. Felton* [1997]) broadening the ability of religious schools to receive government funding. The rationale in all these cases has been conceptually identical to the equal access cases: to deny religious schools benefits available to secular schools amounts to discrimination. New Christian Right groups have been active participants in all these cases, whether as sponsors of litigation or as amicus curiae.

Anyone looking for a comprehensive, scholarly, yet accessible discussion of how and why the New Christian Right has changed the context and direction of Establishment Clause litigation in the last fifteen years will find this book a superb road map.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

MATTHEW RESTALL. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 218. $28.00.

In the June 2003 issue of this journal, Camilla Townsend outlined for nonspecialists the shaky ground on which many stories about the Spanish conquest of Mexico rest: namely, she debunked the notion that the Nahua confused the conquerors with gods. Scholars of the field had long appreciated the erroneousness of that notion, but the findings of specialized fields rarely make their way quickly into the broader consciousness. Matthew Restall's book seeks to debunk seven of the most popular myths about the Spanish conquest of the Americas. As a specialist in the ethnohistory of early colonial Mexico, he is well suited to the job, a task he takes on with insight and good humor.

Restall's book is divided up into chapters on the seven myths, following a solid introduction to the issues. His choice of myths is based on the popularity of seven as a frame of reference: seven deadly sins, seven cardinal virtues, seven days of the week. Although there are many myths about the conquest and settlement of the Americas, Restall focuses on those he considers to be widespread in the popular imagination. If pressed, other scholars might well choose a different set. What is central, however, is that myths pervade the popular history of the region and epoch, and even influence more serious, scholarly studies as well.

The first myth is that a few inspired and inspirational European adventurers formed the key to the discovery and conquest of the New World. This holds that Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés, and Francisco Pizarro were key to the entire process, which occurred principally due to their efforts. This myth ignores the long tradition of warfare on the Iberian peninsula, the decades of ocean navigation practiced by the Portuguese, and a host of other historic realities. Of course, the principal accounts of the conquest were written by the participants, who consciously sought to paint their efforts as crucial to success, mostly in an effort to gain more rewards.

The idea that the conquerors were soldiers is the next myth to fall. Quite simply, as James Lockhart pointed out thirty years ago, soldiers receive a salary. The conquerors of the Americas were entrepreneurs who invested their own effort, arms, supplies, and livestock in the fighting of the battles. As investors, they anticipated reaping a dividend in proportion to their investment. Consequently, horses and dogs usually received portions of any wealth gained by the conquerors.

Closely linked to the first chapter is the third, which Restall calls "Invisible Warriors." This examines the myth that a few hardy European adventurers were able to bring down entire empires of native peoples. Scholars for years have noted that while the principal accounts of the conquest were written by European conquerors, the actual fighting was frequently done by thousands upon thousands of native troops who accompanied them.

The fourth myth, the myth of "completion," looks at the notion of the conquest's inevitability. The conquerors' accounts presented their actions as inevitably leading to some wonderful conclusion, as something already accomplished, even as divinely inspired. Their motivation was clear: they sought to reap the benefits of the conquest even before pacification had been concluded, to be the first to claim the victory and thereby the greatest share of reknown. The other motivation was far more institutional, insofar as it inspired monarchs as well: they sought to portray the conquest as part of a divine plan in which the Spanish crown was an agent of God. In this way, Spain could better forestall the claims of other European powers.

The role of intermediaries is the focus of the fifth chapter: namely, communication through interpreters. The Spanish had a serious communication problem with the natives in that each was unintelligible to the other. Restall studies the use of communication and miscommunication in creating myths of the conquest. The conquerors claimed that the natives actually understood what was happening to them. Critics of the regime pointed out that the natives could not understand Spanish, let alone the implications of subjugation to the Spanish crown. Again, Lockhart made great use of this notion when he developed the idea of "double mistaken identity." According to this idea, each side believes that signs are functioning in a manner understood by them and each side is unaware of the fact that the other interprets the signs differently.

The myth of native desolation forms the sixth chapter. Numerous scholars have posited that, in the wake of the conquest, the natives fell into a sort of cultural and emotional ennui. This myth holds that native cultures simply could not withstand the force of conquest and were left helpless in its wake. In fact, the native cultures responded to the Spanish invaders as they had reacted to other dramatic changes, with resilience and adaptation. Rather than inhabiting a desolate countryside, many natives, individually and collectively, seized on the opportunity and continually challenged the Spanish at their own game.

The last chapter deals with the truly critical myth of European superiority. The conquest is frequently explained by European advantages in weaponry, in skill, in inspiration. This began in the very moment of the conquest, when the conquerors believed themselves superior. They saw themselves as the vanguard of civilization beating back hordes of barbarians. Even at the time, this myth did not convince many.

The last half of the last chapter provides Restall's own take on the conquest. He holds that, as with any complex issue, synthesis is difficult, but a few themes do stand out, and five factors were critical. The role of European disease has generated significant interest and debate. The disunity of the native peoples, allow-

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ing the Spanish to enlist thousands of native allies, also ranks as an important consideration. The Europeans had domesticated animals bred and trained for war, including dogs and horses, and implements of war such as steel swords and the cannons already mentioned. The Europeans capitalized on native customs, especially of warfare, to gain a tactical advantage. Lastly, Restall posits that the historical moment, the great flow of events that led up to the conquest, cannot be underestimated. In addition to all these, I would posit that we need to consider intent. The Spaniards launched their efforts with the intent of conquest and settlement. The native peoples were in a reactive mode. When the natives took the initiative, their counterattacks were frequently successful. The struggle was not as onesided as the conquerors would lead us to believe.

This is an important book. It should be read by all high school world history teachers, and by professors of the same. Although not all of Restall's points are as strongly reasoned as others, the book is a powerful indictment of the myths that we all inadvertently rely on to explain a complex and distant period. It will undoubtedly stir up discussion about the reality of these myths and what others one might find in both popular and scholarly writing in this field, and others.

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CARLOS A. FORMENT. *Democracy in Latin America 1760–1900.* Volume I, *Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru.* (Morality and Society Series.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. pp. xxix, 454. $35.00.

Carlos A. Forment provides scholars and students of Latin America's Middle Period with a challenging study of the nature and extent of democracy in what has generally been considered an authoritarian political landscape. This first of two volumes juxtaposes Mexico and Peru; its sequel will compare Argentina and Cuba. Forment's creative and evidentially expansive approach employs scale and subject to rebut the commonly held historiographical wisdom that the postindependence world of politics and public life consisted of unstable government, authoritarian rule, and an exclusionary, personalist, and clientelistic politics. In scale, he digs down to the community and local level, relying on newspapers, essays, books, pamphlets, and other forms of published writing. In subject, he breaks public life down into civic, economic, and political components.

What Forment finds is an increasingly energetic associative life in civic society and economic society (especially in Mexico, less so in Peru), which Latin Americans of various social strata regarded as their "internal domain" and the symbolic center of their public lives, operating distinctly from political society, an "external domain." Nevertheless, the mass movements for independence that broke old habits of hierarchical subservience—and the voluntary associations (especially after 1850) that fostered new habits of social equality, self-rule, and collective sovereignty—retained elements that weakened democratic life in the new nations. Public life remained segregated racially, ethnically, and by gender, joined by the gulf between commoners and the "respectable." Lacking sufficient trust, given old prejudices and the reality of authoritarian governments, various groups remained loyal to their respective communities and engaged in antipolitics, which, while creating and preserving democratic life, also inhibited efforts to remove authoritarianism from political society.

Forment presents a comprehensive, innovative argument. Problems arise, however, in the details. The large majority of the sources derive from the *gente alta*, the respectable. His analysis (such as that in covering the late imperial period) shows what they wanted to see happen and what they perceived to be happening, but it does not distinguish this as only one perspective (assuming, in fact, that it *was* happening). Here and in other places, rationale seems to be confused with the actual reason, given the evidence presented or available monographic studies. The latter research also belies Forment's background portrayal of the colonial era (projecting post-1750 evidence for the tightly controlled, absolutist Bourbon monarchical state over the whole 300 years of imperial rule), and its relation to particular facets of the postindependence years (overlooking the Tupac Amaru rebellion and Comunero Revolt of the early 1780s as multi-ethnic, multiclass precursors of the independence movements). Then there are some glaring factual errors regarding Mexico. Unlike the retardation of civil society in strife-torn Peru from 1820–1850, it is inferred that Mexico's success in such regard stemmed from a context of peace and stability. More serious is Forment's characterization of the *Porfiriato*, especially since most of the evidence given is pre-1885. *Porfiristas* are portrayed as ex-conservatives and imperialists, when the core of his early (and many late) supporters comprised liberal military veterans. The role of alliances with state political cliques in Porfirio Díaz's success, and that of many *gente alta* (whether regional notables or emerging middle class) in challenging and bringing him down, is ignored. Additionally, civic Catholicism is asserted as the discourse of public life, yet actual examples of it are few and far between. The term is often equated (and used interchangeably) with voluntary association.

In addition to some lapses in the provision of evidence for conclusions, there is a periodic practice of using multi-sourced footnotes following a quote, the precise source of which is left undetermined. Stylistically, there is also the tiresome practice of listing subsection content in introducing chapters and sections, instead of using interpretative analysis to set up what follows.

In making such a broad, innovative interpretation,

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boldness is required. Using an abundance of primary sources, Forment reveals a world of increasingly vibrant civic, associational life, and multistrata agency in nineteenth-century Mexico and Peru up to 1880. The trick—and, in the failure to do so, the source of this work's shortcomings—is not to let that boldness exceed the evidence at hand.

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PETE SIGAL, editor. *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 223. Cloth $50.00, paper $20.00.

In the introduction to this uneven but valuable collection of essays, editor Pete Sigal suggests that its two goals are "to understand the debates" and "to develop an integrated analysis of male homosexualities in colonial Latin America" (p. 17). Given the rawness of the field, it is no surprise that these essays leave as much unanswered as they resolve. Readers participate in Michael J. Horswell's search throughout the Andes for a "third-gender subjectivity," in Richard Trexler's discourse on gender subordination and berdache, and in Sigal's exploration of Mayan ceremonial constructs of transsexuality. Case studies of sodomy as practiced in coastal and highland Peru (Ward Stavig), by Portuguese and Brazilian Carmelites (David Higgs), by Brazilians in the Northeast (Luiz Mott), and by Mexicans trapped by the Inquisition (Serge Gruzinski) complete the collection.

One question running throughout is methodological: "to Foucault or not to Foucault?" Contributors disagree. Should male same-sex relationships in the colonial era be contextualized as sodomy—a term defining the act performed by the individual—or did participants share an internalized sexual self-awareness more resonant with some nineteenth-century Foucauldian "homosexual" divide? The evidence suggests a complex transition yet to be worked out. Mott argues that "an embryonic gay subculture" had begun to form that "self identified and was socially recognized" (pp. 191–92). Higgs finds a "clearly queer identity in seventeenth century terms" (p. 155) that includes a "gay sexual subculture" (p. 157). Sigal sees signs of shared identities given shared situations. Gruzinski recognizes "a community of desire and exterior rejection" (p. 210) but considers the concept of seventeenth-century homosexuality to be an "anachronism" (p. 201). Trexler distinguishes between "homosexual behavior" and "homosexuality as a lifestyle," the latter not existing until the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries (p. 88). These essays fruitfully complicate the issue, suggesting the imperative for even more careful listening to the voices of participants. Situational variables matter: was a sexual encounter a one-hammock stand on a ship bound for the Indies, or did it involve multiple meetings, surreptitious partnerships, clandestine subsocieties, and secret codes? Finer attention to both the execution and the response to control—whether exercised by the church or by the state, and whether directed against the act or against the individual—might add complicating layers.

Another locus of authorial contention revolves around the quest for a "third gender" or, in the tortured prose of Horswell, a "metonymic signifier for those gendered subjectivities that fall outside the classic dimorphic gender categories" (p. 27). Horswell and Trexler are at the extremes here, with the first suggesting that Andean tendencies toward gender parallelism opened spaces for a "third gender subjectivity" that constructed "passive same sex sexuality in positive . . . terms" (p. 33) whereas Trexler says no. Horswell's search for this "liminal" third sex remains unconvincing, for even through he permits himself the largest canvas—his research embraces Andean sources from precontact to the 1970s—he concludes with unproven linkages. For example, it stretches to suppose that a shawl worn by a male figure in an early colonial Guaman Poma drawing and in a twentieth-century modern ritual might be "vestiges of third-gender ritual participation" (p. 40). Sigal less confidently forwards that his deconstruction of transsexual fantasies (although apparently not acts) attached to Maya ceremonies might also suggest the "possibility" of a third gender (p. 114). Trexler firmly rejects third-gendered conclusions as "identity politics within a discourse meant to circulate mainly among other gays" (p. 88). He insists that the practice of berdache (sodomy/transvestism) was almost universally a denigration of the effeminate male and commonly the product of "coercion and force" imposed on the defeated or the young (p. 89).

In contrast to such broad theorizing, the case studies in this collection reflect their documentary origin; most rest on ecclesiastical or civil sources generated to punish sodomites caught in the act. Yet throughout, contributors read through the records not only to chronicle coercion and punishment but also to uncover leniency. Stavig finds an "ethical relativism" that promoted some "distance between law and practice" (p. 137); Higgs traces how fellow Carmelites in Portugal and Brazil conspired to shield the flagrant António Soares from penalty; Mott explains how "ultra-effeminate or publicly recognized homosexuals" might enjoy "a certain freedom" in Brazil (p. 175); Gruzinski considers a "threshold of tolerance" in Mexico City and Puebla (p. 208). Yet scholars have only begun to probe the limit and extent of such forbearance, as well as those precipitates leading to its dissolution. One provocative interstice rests on the Hispanic distinction between private and public worlds, as colonials distinguished between a private world populated by family, kin, and close friends and the public world of outsiders. As Stavig notes, as long as a sexual relationship was "discreet" and kept out of the public sphere where it would not cause scandal, there could be a "degree of tolerance" for private acts that did not become "notorious" (p. 137). Such differential paying of social price

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was common when there was trespass in colonial Latin America, as the private sphere customarily cooperated to shield members from the penalties attached to unsanctioned acts or their consequences. This included premarital intercourse, out of wedlock pregnancy, adultery, illegitimacy, and no doubt even sodomy.

There is a familial and social silence in this collection. The men who appear here float almost disembodied without context but for their interactions with sexual peers. Yet they surely belonged to private circles; they were sons, brothers, uncles, cousins—and some were husbands and fathers. They also moved in the public sphere: they had occupations; some belonged to the elite, others were plebeians; and some were Spanish, others creole, some casta, others indigenous. No doubt the prejudice directed against them varied widely from community to community, as well as throughout the empire. As Gruzinski notes in this welcome translation of his classic essay, "Las cenizas del deseo," the placing of men who committed the "nefarious sin" within "a global history of sexual and affective relationships" remains to be done (p. 198). This collection represents a wonderful start, providing insight into a topic central to the history of sexuality, masculinity, gender, and family in colonial Latin America.

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R. Andrew Chesnut. *Competitive Spirits: Latin America's New Religious Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 189. $35.00

R. Andrew Chesnut offers a provocative thesis that brings the important question of religious change in Latin America up to date. This process of change has been ongoing at an accelerated pace since the 1950s. The author focuses on Brazil, Guatemala, and Mexico, countries that have witnessed the greatest number of adherents turning away from traditional and progressive Catholicism. Chesnut believes there is a free market-based competition for the bodies and souls of nominal Catholics, those who identify themselves as Catholic but do not follow church precepts or attend Mass. The driving force in this competition is pneumacentrism, which means any religion that has as its central focus communication with the spirit or spirits. Spirit-based religion offers the two main religious products now sold in Latin America: salvation and faith healing.

By far the largest group in Latin America selling pneumacentrism are the Pentecostals. Through the use of modern marketing techniques, media, and innovative salesmanship, Pentecostals have increased their numbers to the point that Pentecostalism may become the majority religion in Latin America, an idea first proposed by David Stoll in *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (1990) and David Martin in *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (1990). In recent times, however, Pentecostalism has faced stiff competition from the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) and the African diaspora religions of Candomblé, Macumba, Vodou, and Santería. The CCR uses techniques that mirror those of Pentecostalism: baptism of the Holy Spirit, glossolalia (speaking in tongues), and faith healing. In addition, the CCR invokes a more powerful image for their followers: the Virgin Mary. It is Mary who speaks to the millions of Catholic women who come to the CCR. The result is a new form of Catholicism that eschews traditional values and the cause of the more progressive liberation theology. In fact, the CCR is a rebuttal to liberation theology, which has called for a "preferential option for the poor" as elaborated in the late 1960s by the Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez. The traditional Catholic Church, while alarmed by the CCR, nonetheless has given it a cautionary go ahead. The CCR, unlike liberation theology, concerns itself with the spiritual and not the political or the social.

Of the three competitive "spirits" mentioned by Chesnut, the African diaspora religions allow believers the most freedom. People do not adhere to these religions because they want to perfect their souls. They accept the weaknesses inherent in the human condition. What concerns diaspora adherents is survival and correcting perceived injustices. If a husband cheats, the wife visits a medium to ask for the casting of a spell to correct the evil that has been done. The action is ritualistic payback. However, diaspora religions also share one important commonality with Pentecostalism and the CCR: women visiting a spiritual guide for healthcare.

Intrinsic to Chesnut's argument is that religion in Latin America is no longer content with finding followers through traditional proselytizing. In vogue now is a new religious economy in tune with neoliberal economic theory. For the author, religion is big business, and its marketing techniques are the key to any denomination's ultimate survival. This thesis is all well and good, but the use of terms like "free market in faith" (p. 10) and "to the top of the religious charts" (p. 129) grates. As Latin Americans who study religion point out, this is reducing a complex process by attempting to fit it into a capitalist model. Certainly, the product is important, but is it only a question of salesmanship or are there other forces at play that propel individuals to make their religious choices? Chesnut's theory is the supply-side version of religious change, one that minimizes the demand equation. Certainly, religion throughout the ages has been in the business of luring converts; was not Paul the primary salesman for early Christianity? Ultimately, it has been the combination of what the religion has to offer and what the believer needs that has controlled religious change.

In sum, Chesnut gives readers a thought-provoking study of Latin American religion by offering his new religious economy model. As valuable as this model is, however, it is not the only one. As history shows, patterns of religious change can be altered very rapidly by circumstance and new variables. It remains to be

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seen whether Chesnut's neoliberal interpretation will stand the test of time.

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HERMAN L. BENNETT. *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640.* (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 275. $39.95.

In a still small but growing field of scholarly interest, this book invites us to rethink our current understandings of slavery by examining the case of sixteenth and seventeenth-century New Spain. By tackling the themes of power, community formation, and subaltern agency, Herman L. Bennett investigates key theoretical concepts that have informed recent scholarship on slave systems. More importantly, his work seeks to understand the intricacies of these processes in ways that reveal an unexpected interconnectedness between them.

Structurally, the book's introduction and opening chapter provide a useful panoramic view of the black presence in early colonial Mexico, paying special attention to the factors that triggered and sustained Mexican slavery, as well as offering a glimpse of the demographic landscape. Chapters two and three assess how African-based populations were defined by the crown and clergy, and how the Inquisition intruded into their lives. Chapter four interprets over 4,000 marriage petitions from 1584 to 1640 to discern how Africans managed to forge ethnic subcommunities in Mexico City. Chapters five and six offer a series of detailed and provocative case studies that demonstrate how peoples of African descent lodged petitions over marriage, and how they confronted and manipulated the institution of the Inquisition.

Several key arguments are raised throughout the book. First, Bennett challenges the existing body of literature on slavery, suggesting that outside of the well-known plantation complexes (such as Cuba, Brazil, and Saint Domingue), alternative models of slave societies have not been fully theorized or explored. He asserts that urban slave systems (such as in Mexico City) may have represented true slave societies as much as the more discussed plantation complexes. In other words, urban zones may have been more than just "societies with slaves" (p. 14); they were places where slave life permeated colonial culture in ways that scholars have previously ignored. Interpreting Mexico City as a true slave society yields rich comparisons with sites not usually associated with New Spain, such as Charleston, Havana, Rio, or Salvador.

Bennett's second major argument rests in a reassessment of the power of absolutism. He reminds us that slave masters did not necessarily exert singular control over their slaves, and that in the Spanish domain, the competing authority of the church and crown increasingly interfered in the management of slave life. This was especially true in urban centers, where the seat of colonial authority rested. Bennett cites the church as a notably intrusive actor. It defined African slaves "as persons" and, more importantly, as Christians who were subject to the norms of Christian orthodoxy. Unlike Indians, who experienced an energetic conversion process, New World Africans were considered Old World Christians from the moment of disembarkation. This placed blacks under the full weight of canon law and Christian policing; at the same time, they enjoyed all the benefits of Christianity, including the rights of baptism and marriage. The Spanish crown, which endorsed these rights, also understood some of the contradictions inherent in slaves' religious status. Christian values enticed some slaves to conceive of themselves as freedmen. Marriage, especially, was seen as a marker of freedom. Both the crown and clergy clamped down to ensure that Christian rights would not mutate into something greater.

Nevertheless, Bennett finds that slaves managed to use their Christian status to temper the regimen of slavery in their favor. Through a series of fascinating cases (mostly in chapter five), Bennett shows how slaves successfully petitioned church officials to uphold their conjugal rights in opposition to their masters' will. Church officials complied, in part, because they believed they were responsible for supervising a set of moral codes that stood above the authority of individual slaveholders. Bennett reveals how marriage became a means for black self-definition, sanctioned within the structure of the church. Africans built and fostered ethnic ties, they curtailed their masters' ability to relocate them arbitrarily, and in some cases they successfully acquired access to family time that allowed them brief breaks from the ordinary slave routine. Bennett does not wish to overstate the amount of agency afforded to slaves. In chapter six, using Inquisition cases, he reminds us that the same instruments used to challenge slave masters were also used to impose orthodoxy and control.

Throughout the book, we are impressed by how quickly Mexico's blacks came to understand the nuances of the Spanish legal and religious systems. Barely a decade after the Inquisition was initiated, they knew some of the best strategies for circumventing punishment and for using the Inquisition to their advantage. Bennett also shows the key role of gossip in informing and buttressing institutions of colonial power. Although he primarily discusses the processes of absolutism as imposed from above, he also manages to show how absolutism was supported and deepened by networks of collaborators who either feared the system, or knew it well enough to manipulate its contradictions. Another interesting topic that appears as a subtext in the book is the remarkably broad social geography encountered among Afro-Mexicans. Some of the protagonists appearing in Bennett's cases demonstrated considerable geographical mobility over their lifetimes. At the same time, blacks shared intimate knowledge about one another across tremendous spaces, as well as across time. People in Oaxaca, for

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instance, knew minute details about the lives of those living in Mexico City. That this level of knowledge was not something that was contained within the sphere of the elite is insightful; it speaks volumes about how tightly interwoven early colonial society must have been, even for African slaves and freedmen. Similarly, within Mexico City, slave status did not prevent blacks from interacting with one another.

Many scholars may see this book as a partial resurrection of an earlier historiography, a twenty-first century revival of arguments forwarded by Frank Tannenbaum. To his credit, Bennett recognizes the parallels but does not aspire to tread old ground. This book is a more probing work that goes beyond the form of Spanish legal codes to examine the cultural and social effects of the law through concrete cases. Indeed, Bennett is at his best when guiding us through the documents. He has a knack for exploring the human story behind the cases, providing an unusually rich textured feel for colonial life. This book represents a significant contribution to the growing literature on the African diaspora and an important advance in the historiography of colonial Mexico. Accessible to graduate students and undergraduates alike, it promises to be a book that will be read, discussed, and debated for years to come.

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Robert McKee Irwin. *Mexican Masculinities*. (Cultural Studies of the Americas, number 11.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2003. Pp. xxxvi, 282. Cloth $54.95, paper $19.95.

This study seeks to engender in a decidedly male homosocial fashion *los hijos de la chingada*, Mexico's infamous "sons of the screwed," through a literary history covering the period from the early nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century. Robert McKee Irwin has selected novels, newspapers, popular literature and other writings from this span of 150 years—covering independence from Spain, liberal reforms, the Revolution of the 1910s, and the ideological consolidation of national identity in the form of Mexicanness—to demonstrate the significance of reading history through a lens focused on homosocial and homosexual desires and homophobic dread. Too often the bonds of men as men have been ignored in previous literary histories of Mexico as well as in the historiography of the region.

Irwin shows in his study of literary protagonists how homophobia in one form or another has been a major guiding principle in Mexican cultural history. From nineteenth-century novels like José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi's *Periquillo Sarniento* of 1816 through Luis Inclán's *Astucia* (1865), the fluidity of Mexican masculinity in this period is highlighted. Irwin thus challenges the archetype of Mexican machismo as having existed at least since the Spanish conquest. Interestingly, women may have featured more significantly in some of the novels of this period than in those appearing in the next century.

Notions and practices associated with criminality in the early twentieth century characterize the literature discussed next, notably the case of the Famous 41, a group of transvestites arrested in 1901 when their private ball was raided by Mexico City police. This event, Irwin shows, was significant as an illustration of the sex scandals of the time and also reveals the links between masculinity (and male effeminacy) and masculine sexuality. He offers an exegesis of Ignacio Altamirano's *El Zarco* (1901) and Mariano Azuela's *Los de Abajo* (1916), the latter originally published in Texas and evidence of the significant impact of images of masculinity along the U.S.-Mexico border. In these books, passionate men were labeled as problematic and in need of control by one means or another. Upper and lower-class versions of men and masculinities became more fully developed, anticipating the emerging national identity literature of writers like Samuel Ramos and Octavio Paz.

A bit too dismissive of the Mexican Revolution of the 1910s as having no more than symbolic significance, Irwin takes the reader through the "great virility debates" in literature in the 1920s and 1930s, exploring the role of homoeroticism, a theme that gives shape to the male camaraderie and ethos of that period. Examined here is the poetry of Xavier Villaurrutia and the manifesto of modern homosexuality in Mexico, Salvador Novo's *La Estatua de Sal*, written in the 1940s. By focusing on national identity and demonstrating that Mexican novels could hold their own in world literature, such writers paved for the ensuing equation of the ideas and practices associated with Mexicanness, Mexican maleness, and Mexican male sexuality.

This is an unabashedly literary history, and it would be unfair to expect a historiography of Mexican masculinities. Still, even on its own terms the book might have benefited from reference to critical work on gender and sexuality in modern Mexican history like Steve J. Stern's *Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (1995) or Silvia Arrom's *Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (1985). Irwin does effectively integrate the historical work of Pablo Piccato on crime in early twentieth century Mexico.

All in all, this is a refreshing and important addition to studies of gender and sexuality in Mexico and provides a challenge to historians and others to make more explicit connections among homosociality, homosexuality, and homophobia in national identity research. Most of the book is devoted to reconsidering literary conventions through lenses like homoeroticism, challenging us to reenvision what José Vasconcelos once famously called the cosmic race (of racial mixing, *mestizaje*) along the lines of cosmic homosexuality, and insisting that the full range of Mexican literature (and U.S. masculinities) lead us through a new "genealogy of Mexicanness as constructed

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through notions of masculinity, male homosocial bonding, and male sexuality" to arrive at nothing less than "the trials and tribulations of *los hijos de la Chingada*" (p. 229).

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ROBERT MCKEE IRWIN, EDWARD J. MCCAUGHAN, and MICHELLE ROCÍO NASSER, editors. *The Famous 41: Sexuality and Social Control in Mexico, c. 1901*. (New Directions in Latino American Cultures.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xii, 311. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.95.

The title of this book refers to a 1901 case in which Mexican police raided a private ball and arrested forty-one men for participating in "nefarious" activities. Some of the men dressed as women, and the nation stood in shock as the police paraded their prisoners in public. Many of those arrested were then sent to Yucatan to assist the soldiers in quelling an insurrection. The prisoners, deemed insufficiently masculine for proper military service, were assigned to the mess halls. The ensuing media coverage resulted in an overarching cultural phenomenon that some of the authors argue led to the "birth of homosexuality" in Mexico. Indeed, today in Mexico the number forty-one signifies homosexuality. Throughout this century, politicians and violent homophobes have used the term to excuse and perform some extraodinarily violent acts; more recently, others have inverted the signifier in order to perform gay community and liberation.

This volume refers back to the arrest of the forty-one, but the contributors wisely use the term as a symbol to move beyond a simple analysis of the repressive incident. The collected essays emanate from a symposium at Tulane University in 2001, the one-hundredth anniversary of the raid. The first part of the book incorporates media coverage of the event and a novel written in 1906, sources extraodinarily useful for the classroom. Both the media coverage and the novel can be used by a skilled instructor to present to students various elements related to popular concepts of gender inversion in turn-of-the-century Mexico.

The next section includes two chapters that engage in literary interpretations of the events, one by Carlos Monsiváis, the other by Robert McKee Irwin. Both chapters show that the event itself produced a major cultural upheaval that today continues to situate Mexican male homosexuality. Hence, we see from Monsiváis that authorities used repressive apparatus extensively throughout the time period in question. We also find that the events related to the Mexican Revolution, as many working-class Mexicans found the ball emblematic of the corruption and decadence of the elite during the reign of Porfirio Díaz. Irwin's chapter shows the ways in which the number forty-one became a signifier of Mexican homosexualities.

The more historical chapters of the next section include one by Robert Buffington, which argues that the events of that night gave rise to a particular brand of working-class homophobia expressed in attitudes toward the political elite and the bourgeoisie. In critiquing these figures, the working-class penny press of the period from 1900 to 1910 cross-dressed political leaders, ridiculed the *joto* (the effeminate homosexual) as signifying societal decay, and challenged bourgeois masculinity. In each case, the press asserted that working-class masculinity was the proper model for society, while the effeminate, homosexually perverse elite were to blame for societal woes. Victor M. Macías González analyzes the creation of the fop among elite men in Porfirian Mexico and argues that merchandising during this time was directed toward elite men, who performed their masculinity through appropriate consumer activity. Excess, however, was linked to femininity and homosexuality. Buffington and Macías show that the constructions of masculinity and femininity were intrinsically class based, something made clear in various aspects of the media coverage of and the novel about the forty-one.

Pablo Piccato examines the role of sexuality in the Mexico City prisons of the period, contextualizing criminologist Carlos Roumagnac's writings with a series of sources written by prison administrators regarding disciplinary problems. Piccato argues first that those who study sexuality in prison must provide specific historical contexts for such sexual practice rather than relying on broader understandings of Mexican concepts of honor. Second, he shows that male homosexual activity in prison was rather strictly coded as acts of violence and domination, while female homosexual activity does not appear to have been implicated with the same level of force. While Piccato's documentation regarding female homosexuality is rather sparse, his point warrants further study based on more practical context. Cristina Rivera Garza studies sexuality in the mental asylum, arguing (based on the case of one female patient) that the sources show two interlocked discourses of insanity, produced by the patient and the psychiatrist. The patient tended to emphasize her background and environment (particularly her relationship with her adulterous husband), while the psychiatrist tended to emphasize the relationship between the woman's emotional problems and her physiological makeup. Rivera Garza shows that these discourses were woven together in the coercive environment of the asylum. The final essay, by Silvia Molloy, focuses on the poems of the famous turn-of-the-century writer, Amado Nervo. Molloy challenges current interpretations of Nervo by arguing that Nervo appropriated feminine voices to signify women's absence. His sentimentality and his popularity with young women stemmed from his ability to harness that feminine voice. This voice, according to Molloy, emanated from Nervo's association with men, and particularly with his close friend, Luis Quintanilla.

Although this book makes a fascinating contribution to the study of twentieth-century Mexican homosexuality, I found the contributions uneven. The chapters

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by the literary scholars, in comparsion with those by historians, could have used more context. Further, the editors should have done more to make it clear how these chapters relate to each other and to the broader theoretical and historical project. Finally, while this is no critique of the contributors, the work clearly lacks the necessary foundation of a theoretically informed social and cultural history of homosexualities in modern Mexico. Overall, this book contributes greatly to our understanding of sexuality in twentieth-century Mexico, and it will be useful to scholars, students, and activists.

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MICHAEL P. COSTELOE. *Bonds and Bondholders: British Investors and Mexico's Foreign Debt, 1824–1888*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xxii, 359. $69.95.

As we all know, debt matters. For governments, debt (the flip side of credit) frequently means survival. This was certainly the case for the newly independent nations of Latin America through the first half of the nineteenth century, and it has generally been so for new governments around the world that inherit some combination of weak administrative institutions, stagnant economies, and (often) existing debt. In early nineteenth-century Latin America, debt frequently meant income to pay salaries, to raise an army (or to satisfy disgruntled soldiers), and to keep foreign creditors at bay. No far-reaching development concerns here, and little meaningful investment in physical or social infrastructure, but simply buying the ability to stay in power through another year.

Michael P. Costeloe's new book is not a general history of Mexico's nineteenth-century debt. As he nicely outlines in a brief literature review at the beginning, there is already a fine body of work on this subject. Instead, Costeloe offers a definitive and often lively reconstruction of an arcane component of what is probably, for many historians, already an arcane subject. That subject is bonds and bondholders: the pieces of paper that were the physical manifestation of Mexico's nineteenth-century debt, and the men and women who held them across the Atlantic. Costeloe has published extensively on central topics of early national Mexico, and few historians know the time and place better than he.

Mexico, in a story oft-told, contracted foreign debt totaling $32,000,000 in 1824–1825, defaulted three years later, and as a consequence was shunned by European credit markets until 1888. Mexico was not alone in this situation. Following Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat at Waterloo in 1815 and Latin American independence in the 1820s, many states turned to London to finance reconstruction, state building, or survival. By the late 1820s, most had defaulted on their original loans; in Latin America, only Brazil made payments over the next half century. Mexico, like the others, was essentially caught between two demands. At times of domestic crisis (near constant in a half century that witnessed more presidents than years), not a centavo could be spared for dividend payments, let alone the principal. At the same time, Mexican officials like Lucas Alamán knew well that access to foreign investment and credit was necessary for political survival and economic investment, but this access was impossible without an arrangement for regular dividend payments. Foreign bondholders became quickly exasperated with what they perceived as Mexico's "suicidal contempt for good faith" (p. 175), and Mexico, in desperate attempts to show that good faith, at one point offered bondholders vacant lands in Texas, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Sonora, and California as compensation. Not until the Dublán Conversion of 1888 was Mexico able successfully to renegotiate the original debt of 1824, end its outlaw status "on every Bourse of the civilized world" (p. 229), and open the door to a growing volume of new loans and investments.

Costeloe presents the outlines of this story in clear and concise fashion at the beginning and end of the book. Its core treats the minutiae of the bonds and bondholders. Part one offers descriptions of the negotiations for the original debt and for subsequent conversions, as well as every possible detail of the physical artifact: ink, paper, design, seals, signatures, printers, and numerical identifications. The second part of the book examines those people in Europe who held Mexican debt (the bondholders) and those who acted on their behalf through the sixty years of negotiation and renegotiation (the Committees of Bondholders). Like the story of the bonds, there is much antiquarian detail here, from individuals to expenses for rent, coal, and housekeeping in their London offices. As Costeloe points out, the thousands of individuals who lent millions of pounds sterling to Mexico are largely invisible in the existing literature. But like mutual fund investors today, the "country clergy, doctors, solicitors, widows, and spinsters" (p. xxi) who bought "Mexicans" were not central agents in this affair. Although they sought investment opportunities, and as a consequence held the lion's share of Mexico's foreign debt, most simply invested in what financial agents and brokers happened to be pushing in London and provincial Britain at the moment.

Is this book, then, simply a descriptive catalogue useful to "scripophilists" (collectors of old bonds and related memorabilia), and not terribly useful to historians? It is true that the average historian of Mexico will have little interest in much of the detail here. Nevertheless, the exhaustive and systematic research that underlies this project firmly establishes the author's broader and important conclusions. Debt was not foisted upon Mexico; debt negotiations did not play out on a tilted field; winners were few and losers widely dispersed; and the British government played little active role. Indeed, negotiations did not involve "powerful banks, influential financial institutions, or

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the British government" (p. xx), and Costeloe puts to rest any notion that the first loans and subsequent agreements (mostly conversions) can be interpreted as a form of financial imperialism. They were instead the result of hard bargaining by skilled and experienced parties on both sides, and the terms often favored Mexico. When default came quickly, the costs fell heavily on both sides of the Atlantic.

This is not a book for a broad audience, but it should be an essential and definitive reference for anyone working on the details of Mexico's nineteenth-century finances, as well as a useful handbook for bond collectors worldwide. It is difficult for this reader to imagine any future descriptive work on the Mexican bonds and bondholders surpassing this one in its care, detail, and clarity.

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JULIO MORENO. *Yankee Don't Go Home! Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920–1950.* (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 321. Cloth $59.95, paper $21.95.

The U.S.-Mexican border links two societies whose differences at times have seemed unbridgeable: one poor and weak, the other rich and powerful; one Hispanic, Indian, and Catholic, the other overwhelmingly white, European, and Protestant; one habitually violent, factional, and repressive in its politics, the other orderly, bipartisan, and democratic. A result of this asymmetry is that the direction of economic, cultural, and political changes has tended to run from north to south rather than from south to north.

The reception of those changes in Mexico has long provided a rich field of investigation. Julio Moreno joins the growing number of historians who want to know how the United States influenced the values, beliefs, and everyday behavior of Mexicans (rather than, say, the country's economic growth rates or its foreign policy). He focuses on the three decades that witnessed the birth and consolidation of the one-party state—authoritarian and anti-clerical in practice, socialistic and nationalistic in tone—that emerged from the revolutionary civil war of 1910–1920.

Two defects doom this book. The first is the author's failure to define the problem at hand, which prevents him from proposing any coherent conclusions or even affirming what might be original about this study. Just who, the reader keeps asking, is doing what to whom? And why does it matter? The haze thickens as Moreno repeatedly introduces disparate topics without showing how they are related. Much of the evidence is a mishmash of impressions drawn from the author's reading of advertisements and other ephemera published in Mexican newspaper and magazines. Crude bits of what passes for "culture theory," decorated with politically correct characterizations of class and gender imagery, heighten the sense of aimlessness and aridity.

The second defect, common enough in research on "cultural" change, is the total absence of any systematic measure of the effects that the author claims to be assessing. For example, how many Mexican newspapers ads does it take to show convincingly that advertisers promoted a "consumer democracy" (p. 113)? And how do we know whether anyone read them? Or, if they were read, that they made any difference? Evidently, all it takes to make a case is one or two examples, out of the millions of ads published between 1920 and 1950. Were there advertisers who rejected or were indifferent to "consumer democracy?" Moreno does not say, and without a systematic method of analysis, or at least a justification of the author's choice of total subjectivity, the reader cannot assess the truth of his claims.

Moreno refers sporadically to three large arguments: Mexico was a developing capitalist country whose leadership sought industrialization from 1920 to 1950; U.S. companies doing business in Mexico often appealed to "Mexican values and practices in their advertising" (p. 129); and both Mexicans and Americans "consciously 'syncretized' values and practices" as they created a "middle ground that allowed the coexistence of apparently conflicting values" (p. 6). The banality of the first two aside, the meaning of the third is not obvious and remains unstated, making it hard for the reader to resist the conclusion that it has no meaning.

More disturbingly, the author tends to make extraordinary assertions backed by little or no evidence, or by evidence that seems irrelevant. That "Government leaders in the 1930s saw advertising as the driving force of Mexico's industrial and commercial growth" (p. 25) is simply unbelievable; the only source cited is the headline ("La publicidad y la crisis") in a 1933 newspaper. The source for the claim that a U.S.-sponsored survey of Mexican public opinion during World War II found that some proportion (unspecified) of Mexicans "were openly hostile to the United States" and that this finding "presented a crisis in American diplomacy" (p. 45) is an unidentified 1942 radio transcript. No evidence at all is offered to support the highly doubtful statement that in 1940, "a top priority for American national security" was to make Mexican public opinion more favorable toward the United States (p. 45). Nor will the reader find any support for the incredible assertions that "U.S. efforts to change public opinion in Mexico revolutionized the Mexican information industry," that an obscure U.S. wartime propaganda agency "initiated an unprecedented boom in Mexico's communication, advertising, and entertainment industry," and that both of the above turned out to be "fundamental to the reconstruction of U.S.-Mexican relations during World War II" (pp. 46–47).

Two carefully written, well-documented chapters, on the opening of the Mexican branches of the J. Walter

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Thompson advertising agency and of Sears, Roebuck and Co. in the 1940s, stand out for their coherence and their likely interest to business historians. They are the heart of the book that one wishes Moreno had written.

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KRIS LANE. *Quito 1599: City and Colony in Transition.* (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 292. Cloth $45.00, paper $21.95.

In this book, Kris Lane gives a different twist to the long and noteworthy tradition of regional studies in Latin American historiography by building his analysis around a single year. The approach has its difficulties, but done well—and Lane does it very well—it allows for a blend of narrative and analytical techniques that yield results as satisfying as those produced by more traditional approaches.

The introduction outlines the geographic and cultural reality of Quito and its environs around 1599, and provides some sense of social and ethnic groupings and their relative importance in the cultural landscape. Readers looking for specific data on population density, the size of cities, or the comparative value of different economic activities will be disappointed. Instead, the introduction gives only the broadest contours of the geographic and cultural climate that provide the background necessary to understand the individual and group histories that bring the year 1599 to life.

"Castaways," a word used intentionally for its multiple meanings, is an excellent first chapter. It struggles with the reality that much of history is chance and fate: in this case, winds and waves conspiring to upset the ambitions of some men and create opportunities for others. Historians are left with the problem of presenting unusual and expected events in some type of coherent pattern. The same challenge appears in the following chapter on "Captivity and Redemption," only this time in the highlands and with a different ethnic group. The contribution of this chapter is not so much the retelling of the familiar details of urban slavery, especially its power as a social marker, as the religious insights on the slave-master relationship. Manumission became a type of indulgence, giving the departed soul a chance for redemption, but manumission only occurred when slaves purchased their own freedom, a final sign of the earthly greed that drove slave owners.

Other social-psychological nuggets are found throughout the book. Indian women are depicted as successful small-scale merchants, doing such a good job that some non-Indians claimed Indian status so that they, too, could become petty traders. This curious reversal of status was triggered by a law that gave tax exemption to Indian traders. Women joined men in striving for an increase in social status, even if it meant fudging the record, but when commercial opportunity presented itself, women moved in the opposite direction and lied to get recognition as Indians.

Lane's concern with broader cultural issues also runs through his description of the great Jívaro Revolt of 1599. The revolt frames a discussion of gold mining and ethnicity on the frontier and helps to illustrate the difficulty of separating myth and reality in historical analysis. If Lane had tried to place the revolt in the context of some of the other great myths of early Latin American history, it might have been possible to make more sense out of it. Even without a definitive statement on the revolt, the suggestion that it was tied to issues of sin and redemption is a good one and might serve as a way of approaching some other Latin American myths.

Historians who use events and personalities to drive their regional studies often have problems capturing broad patterns of change. To overcome this difficulty, Lane moves his narrative back and forth between different regions. He starts on the sparsely populated coast, moves to the highlands, the true center of Quito, and then to the wilds of the Amazon basin. In the end, the narrative takes on a dynamic quality, which makes it easier to detect the causes and consequences of social and economic changes in early Quito. Much of Lane's success in creating a dynamic image comes from the sophisticated use of sources. Particularly impressive is the ability to infer cultural likes and dislikes from notary records. This is tricky work at best, but it does point the way for a more interpretative reading of documents that too often are seen as simply legal and formulaic.

The book is much like Quito itself, complex and layered with meaning. Beneath the humdrum of everyday life Lane pushes the evidence to try and understand the values that drove behavior. On a deeper level, he is interested in the epistemological question of how to reconcile the big and the little, the obvious and the hidden, and the ultimate inadequacies of our understanding. These are questions that trouble most historians, and he reminds us that regional studies offer a good way to try and answer them.

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KIMBERLY GAUDERMAN. *Women's Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Law, and Economy in Spanish America.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 177. $35.00.

Kimberly Gauderman sets out to overturn the assumption that Spanish colonial society was patriarchal, boldly asserting that "the colonial government viewed patriarchy as disruptive to a social order that culturally and institutionally undermined all forms of centralized control" (p. 126). Along the way she raises provocative questions and adds to our knowledge about women in seventeenth-century Quito. Ultimately, however, by oversimplifying the concept of patriarchy as the absolute authority of husbands and fathers (p. 30) and

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relying upon a relatively thin basis of evidence in the legal realm, she fails to make a convincing case for her main thesis.

Gauderman argues her case against patriarchy primarily in the first three chapters of the book. Chapter one draws upon previous studies of the manner in which the stability of the colonial regime relied on the checks and balances of overlapping legal jurisdictions and competing political authorities. Gauderman then extends this model to the family, in which a woman's natal kin retained an interest in protecting her property rights, the church emphasized the right to free choice of marriage partners, and mothers could use their own property to dower children against the wishes of fathers. Gauderman's use of a model of flexible colonial authority is intriguing, but her emphasis on decentralization overlooks the ways in which competition among colonial subjects could strengthen the power of the monarch as the arbiter of conflict. Moreover, while she correctly contrasts the maintenance by wives of an independent juridical identity within Spanish law to the English practice of coverture, she misrepresents the tendency of historians to assume that "all societies in Europe had identical social structures" (p. 28) and to interpret their sources "within a pancultural and transhistorical model of patriarchy" (p. 29).

Chapters two and three turn to an analysis of lawsuits in seventeenth-century Quito. Gauderman rightly highlights the ways in which Spanish law protected women's property rights. Other historians have interpreted such laws as a reflection of the need to protect the weaker party; Gauderman emphasizes instead how such protections undermined male authority within the family. Similarly, in chapter three, she challenges the existing assumption that the church rather than the state was more receptive to women's marital complaints. In contrast to most studies of domestic violence in colonial Latin America, she cites the social censure and harsh punishments meted out to abusive husbands as evidence that "[f]ar from being considered male prerogatives, domestic violence and adultery were defined as criminal offenses" (p. 128). Such challenges to the dominant paradigms may prove productive in the long run, raising questions to be pursued by future researchers. For the case at hand, however, Gauderman recounts some compelling anecdotes from the criminal archives but never discusses her universe of cases nor the frequency of particular sentences. Furthermore, it is not clear the degree to which the enforcement of laws protecting women were particular to mid-colonial Quito or might reflect more general practices throughout colonial Spanish America.

Chapters four and five turn to women's active participation in the colonial economy. Gauderman, acknowledging that her findings confirm those of other historians, points once again to the difficulty of reconciling such agency within a patriarchal model. Beyond stating this thesis at the outset, however, she does not develop her argument against patriarchy as thoroughly in this section of the book. Chapter four gives an overview of female entrepreneurs as owners of textile workshops (*obrajes*), shops, and bakeries. Chapter five is a more focused analysis of ways in which indigenous market women pursued their trade, sometimes successfully changing local policies on taxation and monopolies and in other cases simply evading regulations.

By oversimplifying the scholarship on patriarchy in colonial Spanish America, with which she takes issue, Gauderman ends up overstating her own argument. However, she does raise issues that could be taken, along with other recent and forthcoming works, to construct a more nuanced model of patriarchy, attentive to the criss-crossing authorities based upon class, ethnicity, and generation as well as gender. She rightly calls for complicating a model of "separate gendered spheres" (p. 71), both in the economic realm and in women's strategies to elicit the aid of neighbors and officials by publicizing the violent behavior of their husbands in the supposedly private realm. She correctly asserts that we should be more attentive to change over time; studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries confirm her hypothesis that representatives of the early modern Spanish state were more willing than later liberal officials to intervene in the family. Though she does not make a convincing case for leaving behind the patriarchal model, Gauderman does raise provocative questions that researchers in this field should consider.

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RICHARD W. SLATTA and JANE LUCAS DE GRUMMOND. *Simón Bolívar's Quest for Glory*. (Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 86.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 344. $39.95.

As the bicentenary of Latin America's wars of independence approaches, we may expect an outpouring of innovative new books on the South American liberators. This work, with its lively prose (but without notes), might have been the precursor, but it is traditional in tone, approach, and interpretation. The volume originated in Jane Lucas De Grummond's research, which began over fifty years ago and concluded in the 1980s. The first woman to receive a doctorate in history from Louisiana State University (LSU) in 1946, De Grummond was also the first woman to teach at LSU. Between 1951 and 1970, she published five other books, but her work on Simón Bolívar remained in manuscript form at her death in 1991. Richard W. Slatta edited her work, provided the many quotations, and added other material. He estimates that the book as it stands is "approximately 60 percent Slatta and 40 percent De Grummond" (p. xii).

With its emphasis on military events, this study properly appears in Texas A&M University Press's Military History Series. Anecdotes, accounts of Bolí-

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var's sexual exploits, and Slatta's interjections of geographic, biographical, and historiographical material enliven the text, but they sometimes interrupt the flow of the narrative. The material on Bolívar's background and education is rather scanty, and accounts of crises in his life (such as the death of his wife) do not break new ground. The authors often reduce Bolívar's motivation to his own ego or to a personal dislike of Queen María Luisa, Manuel de Godoy, or Ferdinand VII. Without a nuanced discussion of liberalism and radicalism in the Atlantic world, we are left with the classic view that Spain's unremitting tyranny alone inflamed creoles to revolt. Historians who consider the Spanish context more fully are dismissed as "hispanophiles" (pp. 51, 66).

The authors acknowledge that there may be "various" Bolívars, but they fail to explore any maturation either in his thinking or his military skills over the years. They suggest that from the time of the "*patria bobo*" to the collapse of Gran Colombia, Bolívar was an authoritarian who sometimes wore a conveniently democratic mask. The authors conclude that Bolívar's "gigantic ego and almost fanatical quest for glory clouded his judgment and made him appear a megalomaniac" (p. 289).

The emphasis on Bolívar's egotism and authoritarianism places the book well short of hagiography, but in most controversies, the authors take Bolívar's side. For example, they excuse Bolívar's surrender of Francisco Miranda to the Spanish as a principled act that reflected the younger man's distaste for Miranda's toleration of a liberal Spanish monarchy (p. 66). Colombian Francisco Paula de Santander is more sinner than sinned against as his "power and ambition" drove him to undercut and conspire against Bolívar (p. 76). Such interpretations may indeed have the weight of evidence behind them, but they are fairly standard within the ranks of Bolívar's defenders.

When the author (presumably Slatta) does venture into new territory, the interpretation hovers like the Chesire Cat's smile without being fully integrated into the text. Slatta suggests, for example, that Bolívar may have suffered from bipolar disorder, but he provides no analysis of how that disorder could have affected his life or career. References to Bolívar's megalomania and voracious ego are fairly standard, but again we do not receive a thoughtful analysis of how these qualities affected his career aside from the obvious tensions they provoked with other ambitious leaders. The authors conclude that Bolívar was unable to make the transition from military leader to statesman, yet the book's emphasis on military events and campaigns leaves little space to evaluate fully Bolívar's political ideas and diplomatic initiatives. Although the traditional comparison with George Washington is invoked, the reader is little wiser about why Washington made the transition to statesman and Bolívar did not. Perhaps Washington had no ego or ambition?

It is high time for historians to reconsider the personalities and careers of men like Bolívar and José de San Martín. A new historiography for a new century should benefit from a fuller consideration of ideological and cultural issues, the roles of women and the popular classes, and the Atlantic world context. Slatta's and De Grummond's work is a useful starting place, but it will be shelved with the classics of the past rather than with the new works that challenge us to reconsider what we thought we knew about the era and its leaders.

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NANCY P. APPELBAUM. *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846–1948.* (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 297. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

The clarity of fence boundaries and the opacity of muddy water capture the sensibilities of Nancy P. Appelbaum's analysis of the town of Ríosucio in the coffee region of central Colombia. A mythic fence divided the residents of La Montaña and those of Quiebralomo even as their communities were combined in the early nineteenth century to form Ríosucio. For Appelbaum, fences are akin to regions, the study of which constitute an important genre of Colombian historiography. For many authors, regions are clearly separated by terrain, race, economic activity, and history. Appelbaum, however, muddies regional analysis by envisioning a region as a "malleable social construct that manifests and reinforces power relations in society" (p. 20). *Raza* (or race) is problematized in a similar fashion, with Appelbaum preferring the conception of "racialization" "to explore how various identities—regional, national, local—became endowed with seemingly inherent characteristics" (p. 11). Racial labels were contested, however, so that the racialization of regions provide the author with "a language that competing factions . . . have used in their debates over power and the distribution of resources in and among their local communities" (p. 20). In 1846, Ríosucio was located in the northern Cauca, but increasingly came under the sway of settlers and politicians from Antioquia. The study of Ríosucio and nearby communities in the half century before and after 1900 allows the author to investigate the intersection of two important nineteenth century processes, the Antioqueño colonization of the coffee region and the privatization of lands held by indigenous communities.

This book consists of three parts bounded by a conceptual introduction and conclusion. Part one, "A Country of Regions," contains three chapters that cover the years from 1846 to 1886. Part two, "The White Republic," also with three chapters, begins with the Regeneration government of Rafael Núñez in 1886 and ends with the Liberal electoral victory of 1930. Both of these two parts adhere to a more standard historical narrative that stands in stark contrast to part

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three, "Remembering Race, Region, and Community." These two chapters probe the memory of Ríosucio as a mestizo community and of San Lorenzo as an indigenous community, linking what is remembered in these communities to the historical narrative and contemporary events.

Antioquia and the Cauca were racialized as regions early in the nineteenth century. The "progressive" Antioqueño *raza* was whitened in juxtaposition to the blacks of the Cauca and to the "backward" indigenous population that inhabited collectively held lands (*resguardos*). Partisan differences further differentiated the Cauca and Antioquia, as Conservatives built a party that included the popular sectors in the latter, while multiple conflicts in the Cauca separated Liberals into contentious, racialized classes. As settlers from both regions moved into the territory around Ríosucio, indigenous leaders often formed allegiances with political leaders (from both the Conservative and Liberal parties) and land speculators. (Appelbaum does a superb job in tracing the relationship between indigenous leaders and local politicians, demonstrating both their resistance and acquiescence in the process.) This facilitated the loss of collective land holdings, especially after legal changes in 1873 favored the privatization of those lands in the name of "progress." Settlers were most interested in lands at an altitude favorable to coffee production and in zones of gold mining. The alienation of indigenous lands accelerated under the "white Republic" of the Regeneration, insofar as Law 89 of 1890 placed indigenous peoples under the patronage of "civilized" whites and allowed their leaders to incorporate Indian communities into the nation by the sale of resguardo holdings. Importantly, the sale of community lands prompted some communities to resist — usually to no avail — the loss of lands, but with positive implications for community identity.

The "Antioquenization" of the coffee region around Ríosucio was symbolically completed in 1905 with the creation of the Department of Caldas. The creation of a new region by the "progressive" and "white" raza from Antioquia provides the author the intellectual space to consider the "memory" of this region. Part three offers two dramatically different memories that are intimately linked to racial identities shaped not only by the historical process of the nineteenth century, but also by events of the late twentieth century. Appelbaum is at her finest in this section, forcing the reader to reconsider Colombia's claim for a mestizo identity in favor of a "racially plural nation" (p. 27). This nuanced and well-written investigation will stand as a landmark in contemporary Colombian historiography.

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ANA PAULINA MALAVASSI AGUILAR. *Entre la marginalidad social y los orígenes de la salud pública: Leprosos, curanderos y facultativos en el Valle Central de Costa Rica (1784–1845)*. San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. 2003. Pp. xxv, 278.

Research on the medical history of Central America is in its infancy. Colonial epidemics and the transfer of technology and medicines from the more developed world to the Central American nations have received some attention, but, as Ana Paulina Malavassi Aguilar notes, much of the published work so far has been written by professional physicians and scientists with little interest or training in the social, economic or political worlds in which medical history can be set. Malavassi Aguilar is somewhat of a pioneer although, as she readily admits, her book has the disadvantage of having little previous research, especially in the case of leprosy, on which to build. Her study's great advantages are the relative freshness of her evidence and themes—at least for her locus, Costa Rica—and her desire to link her medical history to the times.

In her prologue, the author gives a brief outline of what we know about the history of leprosy, its origins, spread, and treatments old and modern. She concludes this chapter by noting that the solution in Costa Rica, between 1784 and 1845, was the social exclusion of the leper.

Chapter one discusses the emergence of leprosy as a colonial problem. There is little mention of it until the 1770s, when a concentration of cases in Churuca (or Chircagres), a section of the capital Cartago, began to trouble the authorities. Discussion of how to isolate lepers led to the compilation of several incomplete lists of those infected, but Costa Rica was notably backward in its colonial public health facilities and nothing was accomplished. Most lepers worked until incapacitated, when invalids were then cared for by their families. Modern theories of infection were confined to intellectual and bureaucratic elites.

The second chapter, "The Institutionalization of Exclusion: The General Lazareto and the Death Penalty," covers the years just after Costa Rican independence. Modern ideas of contagion and quarantine became more general, but the new government was slow to act, and after debate it set up a *lazareto* before any public hospital. Funding and general care were minimal, and the terrible conditions led to escapes, which, in turn, impelled the government to decree the death penalty for such acts. Of the thirty-one people executed between 1826 and 1847, three were escaped lepers. Inmates continued to leave from time to time, however, in search of food, clothing, and family help.

Chapter three, somewhat repetitiously, discusses the evolution of thinking about the nature of leprosy among both elites and ordinary people. The author notes, as part of these considerations, that exclusion and isolation were not considered as necessary for those suffering from tuberculosis, obviously much less dreaded than leprosy in spite of higher death rates, although clothes and other possessions were often burned after death.

The next chapter, the most theoretically and socio-

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logically interesting of the book, studies the competition between popular medicine and the emerging modern medical profession. The authorities favored the latter and tried, with little success, to restrict or ban the activities of *curanderos* (folk healers). Governments were defeated by their weak authority, the lack of trained physicians, and the ingrained cultural attachments and indigence of the populace. In passing, Malavassi Aguilar notes that medical personnel of both kinds were often unable to distinguish among leprosy, syphilis, and other skin lesions, and that the introduction of arsenic pills in the *lazareto*, while no cure, did alleviate symptoms in some cases.

Chapter five discusses life in the *lazareto*, 1833–1850. Food was scarce, clothing lacking, and state support intermittent. Poor lepers were interned there; the few of any social standing evaded confinement. The institution's two main buildings, segregated by gender, were little more than prisons. Most lepers, as before, came from Churuca, the focus of infection.

The government wanted the leper colony to be self-sufficient, but this was never achieved. Many of the inmates were too ill to work, placing a greater burden on those who could. Some inmates turned to hunting, fishing, begging, and theft. Although mutual help and cooperation were exemplary, the fate of the few children born within the institution was especially harsh.

Malavassi Aguilar finds that control of leprosy was part of the state's gradual imposition of social control and vigilance over the populace, who were to be transformed into "civilized" and "loyal" subjects of the new nation, which had taken over many of these tasks from the colonial church. As for leprosy, it remained a problem in Costa Rica until the introduction of sulfas and antibiotics in the late 1940s.

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IVÁN MOLINA JIMÉNEZ. *Costarricense por dicha: Identidad nacional y cambio cultural en Costa Rica durante los siglos XIX y XX*. (Colección Identidad Cultural.) San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. 2002. Pp. 168.

"*Costarricense por dicha*" ("Costa Rican, fortunately") was the response various San José residents gave in 1904 to census takers' questions about their nationality. Iván Molina Jiménez examines the construction of a national identity from "an uncommon perspective that integrates the ethnic anxieties of late nineteenth-century intellectuals and liberal politicians, the interest in 'the social question' of young radical writers after 1900, the awakening of painters to the rural landscape of the Central Valley (and especially the adobe houses) in the 1920s and 1930s, the forces shaping mass culture, and the expectations and demands of the popular sectors in the cities and countryside" (p. 11). His seamlessly written account is among the most erudite efforts to understand the varied factors that gave Costa Rica a political and social trajectory unusual for Central America.

Inventing the nation, Molina Jiménez says, was successful in Costa Rica, as opposed to elsewhere in Central America, where "tropical tyrannies" prevailed. The centralization in the capital of cultural production and state authority, the expansion of primary education and literacy, the founding of "national" institutions (e.g. the library, museum, and theater), and the broadening of the (male) franchise, with its attendant grassroots debates, all contributed to deepening citizens' loyalties and persuading them of their good fortune as Costa Ricans. Official discourse, however, remained highly ideological, emphasizing racist claims about Costa Rica's "whiteness" that marginalized the country's mixed-race and minority inhabitants and that reflected the elite's emulation of Europe and disdain for the rest of Central America. The dominant groups' enthusiasm for public health campaigns, Molina Jiménez shows, was motivated less by altruism than by hopes of fortifying the "white, Costa Rican race" and thus reducing the need for Chinese and Afro-Caribbean labor. Similarly, efforts to modernize the police and penitentiary system sought to control "dangerous classes" that refused to participate in national myth making and that threatened the self-satisfied, insular society of the middle and upper classes.

A strength of this book is the attention given to urban and rural landscapes as elements shaping everyday life and citizens' appreciations of their position in the nation. For example, the residential proximity and daily interaction of members of different strata that typified Costa Rica's diminutive cities in the early twentieth century frequently surprised foreign observers. High-ranking officials and ex-presidents ambled through crowded streets unaccompanied by bodyguards, greeting average citizens. This practice—suggestive of deeply rooted coexistence between social groups—contrasted markedly with the rest of the Central America, where the geography of cities mirrored the rigid stratification of societies and authoritarian rulers moved only with armed escorts.

The idyllic vision of Costa Rica in official discourse and travelers' accounts did not go unchallenged. Early twentieth-century intellectuals influenced by liberalism, Social Christian doctrine, anarchism, and communism drew attention to "the social question," a phrase that connoted both the widespread poverty that accompanied coffee and banana-based, export-led development and the necessity of state-directed efforts to ameliorate it. Radical politics affected literary movements that, in journalism and fiction, highlighted class tensions. Curiously, this critical stance was largely absent from the graphic arts, particularly the painting style that dominated the first decades of the twentieth century and that portrayed bucolic scenes of adobe houses, usually devoid of human figures and of modern elements such as glass window panes and zinc roofs, both actually common after the 1880s. Molina Jiménez suggests that early twentieth-century painters' obses-

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sion with picturesque adobe houses was both the result of acerbic attacks directed at works with controversial social content and a nostalgic attempt to recover a lost golden age and escape the poverty that surrounded them, especially during the 1930s depression. Given the Europhile, antinational inclination of elite tastes, writers had few alternatives beyond broadening the "cultural market" for their wares among artisans, workers, and peasants, many of whom were drawn to critical literature. These groups could not, however, afford paintings, and the adobe house motif became artists' way of insinuating anodyne national content into the living rooms of the affluent.

The final sections of the book analyze changing identities during the heyday of the welfare state (1950–1978) and the subsequent period of neoliberal restructuring. Here it is difficult not to partake of Molina Jiménez's own palpable disappointment as he dissects with surgical precision the transition from a society based significantly on universal entitlements, cross-class solidarity, and a shared, if often mythic, national identity to one characterized by a competitive, corrupt, and individualistic ethos, increasingly differentiated class-specific cultures, growing utilization by the affluent of private health care and education, and deterioration of the state infrastructure used by the poor.

This book will naturally interest Central Americanists. Beyond that, it is a model of how to weave the diverse and contentious strands of a nationalist project into an analytically coherent and beautifully written narrative.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CLAUDE CALAME. *Myth and History in Ancient Greece: The Symbolic Creation of a Colony*. Translated by DANIEL W. BERMAN. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 178. $39.50.

This is a translation of a book, updated and slightly revised, that originally appeared in 1996 as *Mythe et histoire dans l'Antiquité grecque*. The present publication, following on translations of other writings by Claude Calame, attests to the wide interest his work has elicited.

That work is notable for its idiosyncratic ability to tease coherence out of disparate texts, thereby opening up new vistas. Employing anthropological, poststructuralist, and Greimasian semiotic approaches, Calame attempts to understand the symbolic processes of discourse, often embedded in mythic narratives, by which ancient Greeks sought to understand themselves and their past. Here he investigates the traditional tales surrounding the foundation of Cyrene, the great Greek colony in Libya dating from the seventh century B.C. The principal sources are appealing in their concentration and difference of format: three Pythian Odes of Pindar, a prose excursus in Herodotus, self-consciously learned Alexandrian poems by Kallimakhos and Apollonios, and a fourth-century B.C. inscription. Calame explicates the sources' shared and recurrent patterns of metaphor, theme, and structure as well as the subtle ways they alter their mythic inheritance to suit the authors' individual contexts. He thus establishes those concerns of fecundity, encounter with a native population, relation to the mother city, and divine sanction or heroizing of the founder that form what he calls the "symbolic creation" of a Greek colony.

This is not "history," as Calame readily admits, in the modern, rationalist sense. And perhaps Calame's detailed exegesis will interest literary critics more than historians. The latter, however, may find worthwhile his insights into the workings of the cultural imagination lying beneath our ancient texts, as one antidote to the historicist attitudes prevalent in much traditional scholarship. For Calame considers "resolutely nonhistorical" (p. 6) most of the approaches to myth, mythology, and even "history" developed over the last two centuries. He convincingly demonstrates that in the ancient texts, from all periods, truth and falsity, plausibility, fact, and fiction often coexist within and across genres in a way that confounds modern inquiry looking for "what really happened." Noting the fluidity of meaning in key words like *muthos* and *logos*, such that Isokrates can use *muthoi* apropos of the Trojan and the Persian Wars, while Herodotus's tales are called *logoi*, Calame questions the polar opposition or evolutionary momentum often foisted upon these terms.

Thirty years ago Geoffrey Kirk took a similarly skeptical view of universalizing theories of myth, but Calame's message bears repeating, for old verities die hard. The translator of the recent Budé edition of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* had to spend the greater part of two hundred introductory pages detailing the errors of method and argument still bedeviling the modern quest for the "historical" Socrates, that elusive figure preserved in what antiquity called the *logoi Sokratikoi*.

Calame's approach, however, can sometimes run away with the evidence. Commenting on the prevalence of oracles and divine intervention throughout Herodotus, in contrast to their minor importance in Thucydides, Calame observes that the Alexandrian Menekles of Barke considered Herodotus's Cyrene account "*muthikoteros*." Calame shifts the emphasis on Herodotus from "father of history" to author of a prose poem more akin to Homer and Pindar. Yet Thucydides, notwithstanding his cranky imperviousness to Herodotus's blarney, found little to fault in his predecessor's treatment of the Peisistratids' downfall, for example, let alone of the Persian Wars. Oracles in Herodotus have as much to do with the actual fifth-century debate over their validity as with the imperatives of mythic narration.

Translating even a relatively short work by Calame is a frankly Herculean task. Ostensibly in French, his book is written in technical jargon that is a deterrent to

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the very clarity it seeks. Translator David W. Berman has provided a useful introduction to help the uninitiated into these arcana, and he has tried to preserve consistency by using what has elsewhere become the standard English for Calame's Greimasian lingo.

This is not, however, a thoroughly satisfactory rendering. Basic mistranslations include "intrigues" (p. 77, par. 3, 1.3 and p. 103, 711. from bottom) for French *intrigues*, meaning "plots" (scenarios, not conspiracies); *grâce à* means "thanks to," not "dear to" (p. 79). Other, more critical mistranslations also occur. Read, for example, "the very failure to act" for "the fault of the action" (*le défaut même de l'action*), where Calame refers to the Therans' neglecting to do what the oracle commanded (p. 89). French *repli* here means "folding in," not "withdrawal" (p. 90). Read "Not content regularly to prefer an eyewitness to a second-hand account and to privilege autopsy over hearsay" for "Not content in principle to prefer visual evidence for a narrative meant to rely more upon the eyes than the ears" (p. 23). Read "This focalization is realized in particular by the role taken by the actors portrayed in each narrative" for "This focus is realized in particular by the specific figures that place the actors on the scene in each narrative" (p. 93).

This sample of inaccuracies unfortunately warrants a caveat lector!

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Page duBois. *Slaves and Other Objects*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 290. $45.00.

This, like Page duBois's earlier books, is a stimulating and polemical text directed primarily at a general readership, and specifically at those in the United States who may idealize ancient Greek cultural achievements unaware of the ubiquity of their slave systems, or misinterpret Greek slavery under the influence of the racial basis of slavery in the Americas. Her analysis starts from the fascinating fact that a "founding father" of American professional classics in the nineteenth century, B. L. Gildersleeve, was also a passionate defender of the U.S. South during and after the Civil War. The book's aims are to demonstrate the centrality of slavery to an understanding of a wide range of texts and material evidence, and to argue that this centrality has been systematically ignored, in collusion with the obfuscations of the Greeks themselves, by those displaying archaeological evidence in our museums and by many literary scholars and historians interpreting the texts. In my view, the first aim is admirably achieved; the second at times spoils a good case by overstatement. The book will have a considerable value in persuading readers of the importance of slavery to virtually all aspects of the political and social life and ideologies of the Greeks, but duBois's denunciations may give those unfamiliar with more recent scholarship an unfair picture of the benighted state of classical studies (an impression that can be readily corrected by many of the works in her full bibliography).

Throughout the book one finds assertions of modern scholars' collusion with the sources in overlooking or misrecognizing the ubiquity of slavery, but these are often left vague, or substantiated only by picking on relatively soft targets such as the traditional displays in the great museums, of general books on the Greeks before the 1960s, the 1940 edition of the standard Greek dictionary of Liddell/Scott/Jones, or translations and comments by conservative (male) literary scholars and philologists like B. B. Rogers on Aristophanes or Denys L. Page on Sappho. By contrast, duBois's notes and bibliography reveal the wide-ranging, comparatively informed debates inspired by Moses I. Finley, Geoffrey de Ste Croix, and Orlando Patterson on slavery, or Kenneth Dover and Michel Foucault on sexuality. The academic divide between historians and literary or philological scholars has indeed often encouraged readings divorced from social contexts and conflicts, but my impression is that this failing is exemplified far less often these days. There is a modern debate, however: while duBois's explicit targets are often old straw men, her implicit targets may rather be the populist-conservative "defenders" of traditional classics and polemicists against postmodernists, as exemplified by Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath's *Who Killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom* (1998).

Throughout the ten brief chapters that explore these twin themes, effective and original observations abound, although at times relatively familiar points appear dressed up in over-elaborate postmodern language and over-bold generalizations are not always supported by the texts cited. Hobbyhorses from previous books recur. For example, in chapter three, focused, surprisingly, on dildoes (*olisboi*), the primary argument is that Greek discourse about dildoes (in Sappho, comedy, and in Hellenistic mime and epigram) was not a matter either of "perversity" or "liberation," "phallocratic" or "feminist" sexuality, as are allegedly our nineteenth and twentieth-century discourses, but present the dildo in a "heterogeneous set of overlapping cultural networks that resemble very little our sexological fixing of this same object as fetish or as toy." The relevance of this to slavery only appears when the author seeks to integrate conceptions of the dildo with those of slaves, in that both are "objects" or "commodities" to which wives may resort; the argument places much weight on a papyrus fragment that presents women discussing the uselessness of dildoes compared to the "real thing," and suggesting they "share the matter with the slaves" (i.e. very probably, hinting at sex with the slaves). The fair point that the presence of slaves can affect the representation of dildoes in such playful Greek texts seems insufficient to justify the whole chapter.

The next chapter demonstrates the frequency with which slaves' bodies were subject to abuses such as

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whipping, sexual exploitation, judicial torture, and tattooing, and claims that these facts need to be faced, above all by American scholars and students. Chapter five points out shrewdly that Aristophanes's *Wasps* derives much comedy from representations of such abuse and that this may link thematically with Bdelycleon's argument that jury service is paradoxically a form of "enslavement" to the demagogic politicians; duBois then observes how comparable uses of the powerful metaphor of enslavement in the discourse of interstate warfare and politics are given vitality for citizen audiences by their awareness of the slaves all around them. Chapter six on tragedy focuses on Euripides's presentation of aristocratic women being enslaved by war and argues that it was easier for the audience to respond to the anxiety of enslavement when it happened to women; by contrast, men enslaved in tragedy normally recover their freedom. The chapter on Plato focuses on the main slave speaker in the dialogues, the slave boy who shows he can be guided to do mathematics in the *Meno*; the account perhaps exaggerates the degree of intelligence displayed, in comparison with that of Meno or Anytos, but persuasively reveals contradictions. Plato's view that "even" a slave is sufficiently human that he can be brought to see geometrical truths thanks to his "remembering soul" attributes more reason to the slave than Plato may elsewhere, or than will Aristotle.

More coherent and successful is the chapter on the "Aesopian" fable and its use in Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle, which ends with an illuminating comparison to "Uncle Remus"; while recognizing the multiple interpretations these fables may be open to, this account privileges the reification of status or class difference. Most illuminating of all is the chapter on Aristotle, which points out that the theory of natural slavery has often been one-sidedly interpreted as identifying categories of slaves who deserve and benefit from enslavement; the necessary correlate, that ruling slaves properly is an essential part of being a truly free man, has been rather left out of account, and focus on this aspect of "manhood" might cause a modification in our views on how Greek social conceptions of the person differ from our more individualized ones. Characteristically, duBois suggests that the main reason for this neglect derives ultimately from the use made of the idea of the natural slave in racial justifications of American slavery. The final chapter juxtaposes ancient discourses of anger, where the moral point is that a free man should control his anger against a slave, with modern interest also in the anger of the slave, such as the well-known scene in which Frederick Douglass's furious resistance enabled him get the better of the "slave-breaker." One may question, however, the relevance to this contrast of the scene from Euripides's *Orestes*: when choosing not to kill the aria-singing Phrygian slave, Orestes is neither his master nor particularly angry with him (and the use of Arrowsmith's misleading translation of the slave's speech into pidgin English does not help).

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ROBERT SALLARES. *Malaria and Rome: A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 341. $75.00.

This is an important book with serious claims to make about the nature of the disease environments of Roman Italy, with wider implications for our understanding of Mediterranean history. Robert Sallares develops his arguments about the role of malaria in structuring human populations by means of a careful interplay between two sometimes quite disparate types of evidence: the modern microbiology of malarial infection and the corpus of ancient Greek and Roman literary texts that describe "fevers" and related ailments. He succeeds in demonstrating the dominant cause of malarial infections in determining regimes of human mortality, the structure of populations, and even the modes of human settlements in certain ecological niches in the Italian peninsula—not surprisingly, mainly the coastal marshlands, low-lying humid plains, and some of the major river valleys.

Beginning with his assertion of a basic lethal fact—that "*Plasmodium falciparum* [the most virulent human malaria parasite] is one of mankind's oldest, deadliest, and most persistent foes" (p. 27)—Sallares advances to an analysis of the various strains of the disease and of why reports of periodic fevers in ancient literary texts can be used as reliable indictors of malarial infection. Despite the overall clarity of his story, there remain many passages that will stymie all but the fully initiated. Take the following: "Evolutionary relationships of selected Plasmodium species indicated by neighbour-joining analysis of 18S ribosomal gene A sequences in a Clustal X alignment . . . modified in the BioEdit sequence editing program. The apicomplexan species . . . were used as outgroups, with 10,000 bootstrap replications" (p. 24). In the exiguous one-page glossary (p. 329), the reader will look in vain for ribosomes, Clustal X's, BioEdit's, apicomplexa, or, indeed, bootstraps.

In general, however, Sallares offers clear descriptions and explanations of the complex aspects of microbiology pertinent to his query, and he also refutes a significant number of misunderstandings about the history of malaria. For example, he shows that the major strains of malaria were already present in the Mediterranean during the whole of the Holocene—the long period since the end of the last glacial age, from about 12,000 B.P. He also argues, quite correctly I think, that there is sufficient evidence to show that there have been strong human-caused effects on localized environments in Italy—such as in the Pontine Marshes region near Rome studied in chapter six—that have caused significant increases in malarial infection well within historical times. He argues, persua-

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sively, for the highly localized nature of malarial infections that depended on a complex interaction between natural environmental conditions and human agency.

The chapter devoted to the "demography of malaria" is particularly strong. In it, Sallares describes the interactive effects of malaria with other diseases such as gastrointestinal infections and tuberculosis (p. 124). He also documents the devastating impact that malaria has had when combined with various kinds of malnutrition that were almost certainly characteristic of many populations of Roman Italy (p. 140). The introductory chapters devoted to the biology, prehistory, and ecology of malarial infections are complemented by case studies that explore the impact of malaria in different environments in the Italian peninsula. In addition to the Pontine Marshes, the regions of Tuscany, Apulia, and the Roman Campagna offer good instances where modern comparative data and ancient literary sources complement each other. Finally, the crowded population of the imperial metropolis of Rome itself is studied in chapter eight. This is one of the rare cases where the annual seasonal cycle of mortality can be determined from Roman burial records. Sallares argues that this cycle is best explained by the dominant position of malarial infection acting synergistically with other disease vectors that afflicted the inhabitants of the city.

Other historical assertions made by the author, however, such as his claim that the introduction of large-scale chattel slavery in Italy was directly caused by the effects of malaria (p. 250) will certainly require more support than is presented in this book. The one large methodological charge repeatedly made against other scholars who have worked on the demography of Roman Italy is that most of their work is substantially in error because of their abuse of model life tables (pp. ix, 1–2, 118, 167, 271, 283–85). But Sallares himself surely misrepresents the nature of the use of these statistics by historians of Roman populations. Life tables have ordinarily been used as ideal general models against which to assess large-scale demographic changes. Most historians who have used them are well aware that model life tables do not accurately reflect the strong regional variations that must have been typical of local populations in Roman Italy. They surely do not need, or deserve, reproof on this score. But the substantial advances in our knowledge represented by this book, which is much stronger in every respect than the author's earlier work on the ecology of the Greek world, do make a persuasive case for his assertion that a knowledge of medical history, as well as of the allied sciences of microbiology, genetics, and genomics, is now essential to an understanding of mortality patterns in Roman populations. This is surely the future of such studies. With this work, Sallares has made a decisive step in taking us down this new road.

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DAVID FREDRICK, editor. *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body*. (Arethusa Books.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 334. $45.00.

This interesting volume has a double purpose. It aims first to suggest how theoretical conceptions of the gaze, particularly those of Laura Mulvey and Michel Foucault, can illuminate the literature, art, and visual culture of ancient Rome. At the same time, these nine essays collectively make the case for Rome as a missing link in the historical formulation of the gaze, a culture whose distinctive uses of spectacle can transform cross-disciplinary models for interpreting the visual. Editor David Fredrick's introduction advances both purposes while bringing the Romanist quickly up to speed on methodology with a readable yet sophisticated précis of central developments in film theory and the scholarly afterglow of Foucault's panopticon.

The introduction will be worth the reading for anyone using the collection, but each essay is also designed to stand on its own. This inevitably involves repetition of theoretical principles and makes it unfortunate that the first two pieces, by Cindy Benton and Katherine Owen Eldred, are so similar in subject and methodology. Both treat literary "spectacles" drawn from Neronian texts; both take film theory as their starting point; and both contextualize the resulting issues for a first-century elite male audience via Shadi Bartsch's analysis of how imperial power was expressed through spectacle. There are certainly differences in emphasis, and each essay, especially Eldred's, offers new and perceptive readings. But after three rehearsals of Mulvey's arguments by page 65, I felt overexposed to the scopophilic gaze, and also frustrated that less attention was drawn to its limitations for describing Roman visual experience. Film theory provides a powerful interpretative model because it does so much with so little; any viewing subject's response to a visual object can be broken down into some permutation of sadistic pleasure and masochistic anxiety, or vice versa. But approaches so tightly focused on the viewer's psychology miss a lot when transferred from the darkened cinema to the open air of the forum, or even amphitheater, where the object of the gaze was less often a disembodied image than a performing subject as actively manipulative of his or her audience as exposed to their evaluation. The initial assumption that the viewed is inevitably powerless puts us in a very different visual universe from the Romans. In the final essay on a literary topic, Pamela Gordon grounds Lucretius's attack on the delusions of erotic love in a very Foucauldian reading of Roman sexual behavior. It is an original and striking argument but ultimately runs counter to Lucretius's own emphases. If Roman love was never more than bestial power play, why the need to demystify it, and why should that demystification win over an audience composed mostly of the sociopolitical winners?

The nonclassicist reader may find more of interest in

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the essays on Roman art and political culture. In contrast to the first two essays, which draw their analytic framework from other disciplines, here there is greater emphasis on elucidating distinctive approaches to vision and spectacle from ancient material. Zahra Newby's interpretation of a series of second-century relief panels uses an extensive analysis of contemporary accounts of viewing to paint its own rich and sophisticated picture of the different responses such visual programs elicit from ancient audiences. A similarly "thick" description of Roman viewing habits, here drawn from the public life of the late republic, emerges from Anthony Corbeill's demonstration of the importance of the gait as a bearer of ideological meanings. John R. Clarke's contribution introduces the reader to a specific visual puzzle: a set of wildly obscene pictures decorating the dressing room of a bath used by bourgeois Pompeians of both sexes. The sheer strangeness of this decorative scheme to our conceptions of the function of sexual imagery makes this a provocative subject, but many of Clarke's assumptions about ancient viewers' responses, especially women's, are highly speculative and schematic. Indeed, Carlin Barton, although not discussing these images directly, suggests an equally intriguing reading in the opening pages of her essay on the role of the gaze in constituting shame and honor. Barton begins with an account of the dressing room in a modern women's gym where the unspoken contract not to look at one another's naked bodies confers honor: are these erotic pictures literally apotropaic in averting the shaming gaze of each bather from actual naked flesh to mere images?

The final two essays are the most ambitious in the collection. In the first, Fredrick himself suggests an expansion of the model of penetration, developed to decode the power dynamic in ancient sexuality, to describe all the spatial structures that reinforced elite dominance simultaneously by creating exclusive spaces for the privileged and by inflicting consciousness of their own vulnerable bodies on the excluded. If Fredrick attempts a new grand model of Roman visual experience, Alison R. Sharrock uses close readings of ancient material to intervene in theoretical debates about visual hermeneutics by suggesting how the audiences implied by ancient texts and images limit the feminist reading strategy of resistance. The range, clarity, and intelligence of both essays fittingly conclude a thought-provoking collection.

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NOEL LENSKI. *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.* (The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature, number 34.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 454. $75.00.

Were it not for the publication of Noel Lenski's splendid book, contemporary readers of ancient history might be excused for believing the fall of Rome a non-issue. Despite the role once played in European thought by the historiography of decline and fall—now so wonderfully analyzed in J. G. A. Pocock's *Barbarism and Religion: The First Decline and Fall* (2003)—scholarship on late antiquity has for the last forty years largely eschewed the metaphors and valuations of that literature and concentrated instead on chastity and charity, body and soul: topics, in other words, that might be embraced within the rubrics of continuity, change, and, above all, transformation.

Aware that his book cuts against current fashion, Lenski nevertheless insists that we acknowledge the ultimate fall of the Roman state, a process that he describes as commencing in the late fourth century, by which time the empire was "in a steady process of retreat" (p. 370). This came about, Lenski suggests, not least because of Rome's success, whose very economic and social power had shaped the culture and capacities of the foreign peoples who ultimately worked its ruin. (Lenski does not tell that story, but it is one worth unfolding: the best study probably remains Fergus Millar's *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours* [2d ed. 1981].) Against this backdrop, Lenski describes his book as "studying the struggle of the late Roman empire to cope with this net decline in power" (p. 370); and what is genuinely novel in this book, and much of its excellence, lies in Lenski's attempt to address just that issue.

That said, the book does not present an analysis of the challenges that faced the empire and its success or failure in meeting them, at least not as such. It is, rather, a history of the empire in the reign of a single emperor, the "underwhelming" Pannonian Valens (r. 364–378). Its scope, moreover, is restricted to those facets of life to which, on extant evidence, Valens himself directed his attention. Lenski thus structures his work around a consecutive narrative of Valens's reign. After an introduction that outlines the book and discusses the sources available to us, the first four chapters consider, in order, the accession of Valens's brother Valentinian and the subsequent elevation of Valens himself; the attempted coup of the last scion of the house of Constantine, Procopius, which, on Lenski's astute reading, confounded Valens precisely because it was not a military revolt; the military campaign that Valens subsequently launched against the Goths, motivated in part by their having sent troops to support Procopius; and the enormously complicated troubles that confronted Valens in the east: an untenable and confusing treaty with the Sassanid Empire signed by his predecessor, systemic political instability in the client kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia, and rampant brigandage in various unurbanized territories stretching from Isauria to Arabia. The final chapter, the seventh, turns to Valens's last campaign, that against the Goths, which ended with his death and the loss of his army at Adrianople in 378. In some tellings, the empire never recovered from the loss of manpower it suffered in that disaster.

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The two chapters that fall outside this framework (five and six) consider in turn religious politics and policies on religion under Valens and his brother and their work in matters of administration and finance. Chapter five is notable for its attempt to understand the partisan representations of contemporary zealots, pagan and Christian, as well as the religious and other motivations of Valens himself. As good as this chapter is, chapter six represents a real watershed in historiography on the fourth century. Building in part on recent studies of the Theodosian Code, whose laws provide most of our information about the practice of government in this period, Lenski offers an extraordinarily suggestive description of the difficulties faced by Valens and his brother in a number of arenas, including, but not limited to, bureaucratic corruption, finance, and the recruitment of soldiers. There emerges not only a sensitive portrait of the limitations of Valens's imagination—his pursuit simultaneously of tax relief and coinage reform benefited just about everyone but the government, which was strapped for cash—but also a powerful set of arguments for the imperial governments' ability to formulate and implement policies proactively.

I remain unconvinced of Lenski's view that a *Kaisergeschichte* (an "emperor-history") was the best genre through which to voice his arguments (p. 2). But the catholic perspective that it requires has allowed Lenski to draw chronological and causal connections that might otherwise have remained obscure. To give but two examples, Lenski is surely correct that the military disaster at Adrianople can be partially explained by the way in which Valens dealt with an uprising among the Saracens the previous winter, on the one hand, and his difficulty negotiating for status and manpower with the western emperor, on the other (pp. 209, 365–66). Second, Lenski situates the decision to admit the Goths in 376 not, as is typical, within some history of the settlement of barbarians within the empire, but within the structures of fourth-century thought on manpower and finance (pp. 182–83, 317–19, 372).

Let me add in closing that every page of this volume reflects an enormous amount of patient toil in the assembling of information from scattered texts and documentary sources; that information is then presented without fanfare, but with style and much good sense. It is a welcome intervention in our understanding of the later Roman Empire.

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Nicholas Everett. *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 53.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 382. $75.00.

As Rosamond McKitterick noted several years ago, there has long been a need for a study of literacy and Latin learning in Lombard Italy. Nicholas Everett aims to make good this deficiency. He challenges assumptions that the Lombard invasion of Italy in 568 represented a serious rupture in that region's literary culture. Thus the scope of the book is necessarily broader than its title suggests. Chapter one analyzes the nature of literary culture in late Roman, Ostrogothic, and Byzantine Italy, showing that the functions of literacy were already in a state of flux before the Lombards arrived. Everett argues, moreover, that there were significant continuities in the use of literacy in government and law that the Lombards were to inherit. Similarly, chapter two investigates the extent to which the Lombards who settled Italy adopted and adapted to the region's pre-existing post-Roman administrative structures, and argues that the Lombards quickly developed a court culture and structures for government and diplomacy that required literate skills. If many scholars have cast the Lombards as warlords pure and simple, Everett contends that they ruled by "[b]randishing both the pen and the sword" (p. 99).

Continuities with the Roman and post-Roman past loom large in Everett's discussions in chapters four to eight of law, private charters, inscriptions (including the graffiti from Monte Gargano), and manuscripts. Each of these chapters constitutes a useful guide to the sorts of texts produced in Lombard Italy, but Everett admits that relating them to levels of literacy is often difficult. What does emerge from his discussion, however, is the extent to which such texts demonstrate that the Lombard invasion of Italy marked no dramatic caesura in its literary culture. In his account of the Edict of King Rothari (636–652), Everett notes the prominence of late Roman legalistic tropes. He argues that Lombard charters reveal "an established base of legal literacy that owed much to the tenacity of late Roman property law and its preference for written instruments" (p. 195). He might have gone further: the emphasis on the integrity of the written word of law that Everett identifies in Lombard government was also integral to late Roman legal rhetoric, as John F. Matthews has emphasized recently (*Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* [2001]).

Everett approaches the question of literacy from an empiricist perspective, extrapolating from particular texts the uses of literacy in Lombard Italy (p. 6). He is skeptical of more theoretical approaches, remarking, for example, that "abstract linguistic theories may not be necessary" (p. 102) in the quest for the Germanic language spoken by the Lombards. Elsewhere he argues that there was no great distance between oral and written communication (p. 186) and that the apparently "degenerate" character of the Latin in Lombard texts in fact reveals a close connection between the written and spoken forms of the language (pp. 161–62). Indeed, as chapter three makes clear, it is Latin, rather than any Germanic Lombard language, that is the focus of the book. In Everett's view, the majority of Italians "spoke only Latin and there was no coherent Germanic language amongst the Lombard hierarchy" (p. 128). Such remarks set him at odds with scholars such as Michael Richter who have sought to recover

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something of the oral culture of the Germanic peoples. Disagreement with other scholars is not a problem, but Everett's study still leaves unresolved many basic questions about how deeply literacy penetrated Lombard society. Everett often passes over such issues. In his discussion of the use of legal texts in property law he simply states: "Whether [landowners] themselves could read the law code and documents is another matter; if they could not, they could certainly have found someone who did" (p. 177). His discussion of the autograph subscriptions to charters, where a range of writing abilities is clearly visible (pp. 215–21), offers a more concrete analysis of the spread of literacy. Elsewhere, however, he is compelled to stress the limitations of the evidence, remarking of Lombard inscriptions for example that their "implications for literacy . . . remain unclear" (p. 235). In many cases, Everett can only adduce anecdotal evidence about the acquisition of literacy. Yet it is hardly Everett's fault that his book is perhaps more satisfactory as a guide to the sorts of written documents produced in Lombard Italy than to the degrees of literacy found there. The evidence is often intractable, and the fact that he has made it reveal so much is to his credit.

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MARTIN DIMNIK. *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xxxviii, 437. $80.00.

Scholars surmise that all the major princely lineages of medieval Rus' sponsored the compilation of local chronicles. The chronicle from Chernihiv (modern-day Chemihiv, in Ukraine) did not survive the Middle Ages. Consequently, the master narrative Russian history, based on sources from Chernigov's rivals in Moscow, Novgorod, and Galicia, downplays the contributions of the princes of Chernigov. Martin Dimnik has made it his scholarly mission to rescue the princely lineage of Chernigov from obfuscation by its enemies, and to demonstrate its significance in the political history of medieval Rus'.

To this end, Dimnik has created a veritable chronicle of Chernigov, wherein its princes and prelates play central roles in the unfolding of the political drama of the Rus' lands as a whole. As he did in his earlier volume, *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1054–1146* (1994), Dimnik argues persuasively that the principality of Chernigov was as powerful in its time as the better-known Vladimir-Suzdal and Galicia-Volynia. All three lineages claimed the right to succeed to the position of Grand Prince of all Rus' and to hold the throne of Kiev. Complex and contradictory inheritance principles gave ambitious princes an opening to challenge each other's claims. The result was near-constant civil war, as the princes, all cousins, tried to assert their rights. Their repertoire of techniques included not only warfare but also pacts with external powers such as Hungary, Poland, and the Polovtsy of the European steppe, whom they drew into their conflicts. They arranged political marriages, formed—and violated—alliances, took captives, took refuge, and endowed churches and monasteries, all in an effort to position themselves for succession to the throne. Even the new threat of the Tatars failed to alter the patterns of princely behavior.

Dimnik reconstructs the narrative of this struggle in meticulous detail, something that is in itself a masterful achievement. He is true to the extant chronicles, providing his readers with all the facts he can glean from them and, occasionally, correcting their errors. He incorporates as well data from charters, ecclesiastical tales, saints' *vitae*, and archeological finds, and he makes extensive use of the secondary literature. (He also regards the secular epic, "Tale of the Host of Igor," as a legitimate source, entirely disregarding the controversy about its authenticity.) Specialists will certainly appreciate the wealth of information this volume contains, made readily accessible through extensive indexing and footnoting. The genealogical tables, however, are inadequate; they omit the women who frequently played key roles in cementing alliances.

By sticking so close to the medieval chronicles, Dimnik replicates not only their strengths but also their limitations. Medieval Russian chroniclers promoted the reputations of the princes they served and vilified their princes' enemies. In muted form, Dimnik replicates this bias, presenting the princes of Chernigov as the honest defenders of legitimacy and their rivals as unscrupulous usurpers. The chroniclers often recounted actions without explaining motivations. Dimnik is better in this regard, and he cautiously infers what some of the major actors were attempting to accomplish. Most of his suppositions are reasonable, but occasionally not; it is hard to believe that Grand Prince Yaroslav of Suzdal' would select a boyar rather than a lesser prince as his deputy in Kiev simply to affront to his rival, Prince Mikhail of Chernigov. And it is troubling that Dimnik makes no attempt to understand the interests of the steppe nomads, in particular the Polovtsy and the Tatars, but instead presents them, as do his sources, as uncivilized aliens for whom pillaging Christians was its own goal. Like the chroniclers, he sees the Mongol conquest as the result of Russian princes' unwillingness to unify, rather than as a result of Mongol military superiority, which has been well documented by scholars of Central Asia. Although Dimnik notes that the Mongols generally practiced religious toleration, he still presents the execution of Prince Mikhail as martyrdom for the Christian faith, as do the chronicles and *vitae*. He even recounts, without explanation or critique, the chronicles' records of astronomical signs and wonders.

Some readers may wish, as I do, that Dimnik had explored more fully the implications of his narrative for the history of Kievan Rus' more generally and for its descendant states. But all readers will be impressed

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with the hard work and great erudition Dimnik exhibits in this volume.

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CONSTANCE BRITTAIN BOUCHARD. *"Every Valley Shall Be Exalted": The Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth-Century Thought*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 171. $29.95.

"Opposition" as a characteristic mode of thought in twelfth-century France is the central thesis of Constance Brittain Bouchard's wide-ranging, overly brief book on French Romanesque literature, art, logic, and social exchange. A twelfth-century philosopher like Peter Abelard, with whom it begins, "not only recognized opposition, he embraced it as a way of perceiving and reasoning about fundamental questions" (p. 1). This observation is uncontroversial, as is the book's further thesis, that "twelfth-century thinkers . . . deliberately creat[ed] unresolved sets of opposites" (p. 3), widely accepted now by most literary and cultural historians of the twelfth century. Bouchard's claim, however, that this mode was singularly distinctive to the period is less convincing. Using a "discourse of opposites" to create a fruitful conceptual friction was a principle of late classical rhetorical education through the essential exercise of *argumentum in utramque partem*, and disseminated to the Middle Ages through widely known works by Boethius, Augustine, Priscian, Ovid, and Seneca that copiously discuss and exhibit *antithesis* (*oppositio*), the discursive method or "figure of thought" based on an oppositional syntax.

The best parts of this study are those in which "the discourse of (unresolved) opposites" is applied to areas of behavior and doctrine not usually recognized as participating in it. Chapters on "conversion" and on "conflict resolution" contain nuanced analysis in which the notion of "tension" rather than "resolution" is fruitful. Thus Bernard of Clairvaux's "constant use of opposition" is treated as an ongoing tension in which "the opposite poles" of body and spirit "needed each other even while keeping their separate integrities" (p. 87), and is set in contrast to a Manichean dualism associated in the twelfth century with Albigensian heresies. Bouchard's discussion of social conflict resolved by allowing opposite positions to continue in tension, if not quite in harmony, begins with analysis of a previously unpublished Latin text from Auberive (1198), the terms of a conflict settlement involving the Cistercian monks of Auberive and Hugh of Bricon. Hugh gave up claims to two villages held by the monks. The abbot rented back to Hugh his holdings in one of the villages, for an exceptionally low rent. Bouchard analyzes this as an instance of gift economy, in which it was important that each side in these reciprocal gestures be seen to have both won and lost. Auberive's title was confirmed, and Hugh retained the use of important holdings for a token amount.

A chapter on "gender" contains insightful quotations of twelfth-century dogmatic sources, especially of the glosses on key verses in Genesis and I Corinthians. Bouchard rightly criticizes some contemporary gender analysis that is merely ideological and anachronistic. But it is equally hard to take seriously an analysis that understands without complication, as Bouchard argues one should, the glossator's insistence that although inferior, women should understand their inferiority not as subjugation but as liberty. Her apology begs altogether the problem that both Caroline Walker Bynum and Barbara Newman, digging deeper, have limned of how such "liberty" was voiced in a situation of legal and institutional powerlessness.

There is also a chapter on "epic and romance," in which Bouchard revisits a former scholarly haunt. Freely criticizing as "narrow" studies of romance by many literary historians, she seeks to justify her own textual commentary as that of a "historian" who seeks "evidence of the author's underlying outlook and assumptions," an approach she claims to be "at odds with a great deal of literary scholarship" (p. 59). Indeed, many of her remarks regarding the arts betray a clumsy comprehension, whereby literature, sculpture, painting, and music all become simply illustrations of "underlying outlook and assumptions"; style is regarded as devoid of cognitive value (p. 5); aesthetic considerations are not raised at all; and the crucial differences between a charter and a romance are ellided in the generalized concept of a "discourse of opposites." Genre, audience, purpose, figurative language, even basic lexical study—all are swept away as merely "rhetoric" and immaterial. The French works considered are quoted only in a modern English translation, a choice that seriously limits the usefulness of this study for scholars, and doubly disappointing since the original is given for all the medieval Latin quotations.

Nor is literature the only art so treated. The book includes a curious few pages on "opposition in religious art," illustrated by four black and white photos (uncredited). These images are never mentioned in the text itself, although each is given a one or two-sentence caption about how the subject matter may display "opposition." It would have been better to have left them out altogether, in my judgment, because their inclusion makes a pointless and (worse) a churlish gesture, ignoring the enormously rich scholarship on sculpture in this period. As for music: I would have no idea from this book that the concept of "harmony" was at all problematic. A quotation from Plato suffices to acknowledge the importance of "opposition" (understood as *diversitas*, not the same thing) in the art of music. No twelfth-century musical thought (or practice) is even alluded to.

This will not do. There are substantive differences in discipline and method among social history, art history, music history, and literary history. One applauds interdisciplinarity—indeed, it is critical to any medievalist—but one must respect the limits of one's own

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discipline and the strengths of others, or risk simply doing them badly.

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DAVID S. BACHRACH. *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300–1215*. (Warfare in History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. 216. $75.00.

A book on religion in the conduct of Western warfare is timely indeed. We live in a period when the American president declared a crusade in 2001 and copies of the Koran were being ripped apart and shot through with bullets by U.S. soldiers in Iraq a mere two years later. David S. Bachrach, to be sure, is not writing about our age. His book covers the period from the establishment of Christianity as the religion of empire to the height of the medieval papal monarchy. Chapter one deals with the religion of war in late antiquity; chapter two focuses on the role religion played in war during the Carolingian era; chapter three discusses religion of war from roughly 900 to the launching of the First Crusade; and chapters four and five explore military religion in the Crusades and in secular warfare respectively between the years 1095–1215. But given the moment in which it is published, this book should be read by a broader audience than that of medieval military and religious historians alone.

In his study, Bachrach looks at how the relationship between religion and war played itself out in the public, within the army, and on the personal level. Focusing on these three aspects gives structure to Bachrach's chapters and allows him to identify continuities and innovations in the historical trajectory of military religion. Belief in the availability of divine aid and organized efforts to secure that aid—and thus victory in war—were common to pagan Rome and to the new Christian Empire and its successor states. Constantine I inherited Roman military religion. Prudent enough not to attempt to change things overnight, he started the gradual process of Christianizing the army and warfare. Over the course of two or three centuries, soldiers abandoned the pagan pantheon, auguries and divinations, and the legionary eagle and began instead to follow the cross into the battle.

Christianizing military religion involved adapting Christianity to *imperium*, especially overcoming the primitive Christians' insistence on peace and rejection of the *saeculum* in general and public authority in particular. It demanded as well changing the unconditional prohibition of homicide and the penitential system that regarded penance as a once-in-a-lifetime act, presenting the soldier with the choice between giving up his profession or risking death in a state of sin. The ecclesiastical views of homicide indeed began to be differentiated and the penitential system was reformed so as to allow repeatable confession. On the "ideological level," shifts in this respect are detectable in the seventh century. But it was not until the second half of the eleventh century that ecclesiastical dignitaries publicized the view that taking human life while serving the right cause was licit and meritorious. Christian soldiers, however, could ensure their personal salvation from at least the Carolingian period. They were encouraged to pray to God before battle, fast, give alms, participate in liturgical processions, and—most important of all—make individual confessions and do penance. Moreover, prayers were said for the fallen after the battle. On the homefront, spiritual and temporal rulers, lay people and clergy, attended intercessory masses, participated in processions, prayed, fasted, and did whatever else was necessary to propitiate God. On the battlefield, the whole army participated in religious rites led by bishops and the lesser clergy, who also marched into battle with crosses, religious banners, and holy relics—and sometimes sword in hand.

With the Crusades, Christian participation in war became spiritually beneficial. Killing became not sinful but pleasing to God, warriors were granted remission of sins, and the dead—the holy martyrs—were promised eternal life. The Crusades were holy wars. But what Bachrach's book convincingly shows is that secular wars themselves were deeply religious. Religion was an essential element in the conduct of war. Bachrach repeatedly points out how it fostered military morale, discipline, and esprit de corps. Moreover, this work of admirable scholarship intimates how deeply and crucially religion and war, most intimately connected with each other, have shaped the world we inhabit.

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JONATHAN HARRIS. *Byzantium and the Crusades*. (Crusader Worlds.) New York: Hambledon and London. 2003. Pp. xvii, 259. $29.95.

This welcome book is a study of the relations between the crusaders to the East and the Byzantine Empire throughout the period 1095 to 1291. It is not just about the Fourth Crusade, but the author is primarily concerned to explain how the events of 1204 came about. In his introduction, Jonathan Harris sets out three main explanations of those events. The two that have dominated historical debate have been the conspiracy theory and the theory of accidents. The third has been what Harris calls the "clash of civilizations" explanation. Its exponents have viewed the diversion of the Fourth Crusade as the inevitable outcome of more than a century of deteriorating relations caused by mutual incomprehension, suspicion, and dislike. As the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates memorably put it, "we have not a single thought in common." Harris rejects all three interpretations in favor of a fourth. In a nutshell, he argues that the Byzantine emperors and their advisors held to a world view that placed the survival and well-being of their empire, and above all of Constantinople, before anything else,

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including any contribution that they might be called upon to make to the success of the crusading effort in the Holy Land. This perspective was never appreciated in Western circles, and after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 it came into sharp conflict with the prevalent view in the West that Byzantine resources should be more conspicuously deployed to win back the lands lost to Saladin.

It can be objected that Harris's interpretation is no more than the "clash of civilizations" theory dressed up in political or ideological clothes. More important, his argument depends on a ready transition from a sense of disappointment with Byzantium's lackluster contribution to the crusading effort, which was undoubtedly a source of resentment for some, toward the assault on Constantinople and the dismemberment of the empire by the Fourth Crusade. How was this transition achieved? Not through conspiracy, Harris argues, but not solely by accident either. Harris quotes letters of Pope Innocent III and Boniface of Montferrat in which the diversion to Constantinople was linked, in different ways, to the needs of the Holy Land, but the sources for the Fourth Crusade are so rich and varied that they can be used to support almost any case. He does not give enough emphasis to the sheer magnitude of the diversion that occurred. Given the context, it was inevitable that strategic links would be made with the situation in the Holy Land, but it is going too far to accord these links pride of place in terms of causality. His exposition of the distinctive traits of Byzantine foreign policy is best viewed as the placing of a new element into the discussion, rather than as a new and fully rounded explanation of what took place.

Having said that, Harris does provide an accessible and well-documented account of one of the key reasons for the disasters that overcame the crusading cause in the East: the failure to compensate for the weakness of the Frankish military establishment, and the distance separating the settlers from their coreligionists in Western Europe, by forging stronger links with Byzantium. His explanations of such complex issues as Isaac II's alliance with Saladin are convincing. One important factor was the Norman occupation of Antioch, which the Byzantines could never accept, although Harris is rather idiosyncratic in emphasizing the city's religious status rather than its economic or military significance. He is up to date in his knowledge of both crusading and Byzantine scholarship, and he provides a group of strong chapters at the start on Constantinople, the Byzantine ruling elite, and the background to Alexius Comnenus's appeal for help to Pope Urban II. This book is well produced and contains attractive illustrations and helpful maps. In terms of the "Byzantine angle" on 1204, Harris's account is less authoritative than Michael Angold's recent *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (2003), in which the "accident" and "clash of civilizations" explanations are woven together more persuasively. But Harris's book can be recommended to anyone seeking to understand why the interests of Constantinople, Rome, and Jerusalem were not more effectively harmonized during the first century of crusading in the East.

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THOMAS F. MADDEN. *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 298. $49.95.

The heart of this monograph is the story of the Fourth Crusade, and Thomas F. Madden bases his version on the standard sources and presents the familiar narrative. The tale can be told from numerous vantage points, for the conflict involved most of Europe's political forces, but Madden concentrates on the considerations and interests of Venice.

The vehicle for this interpretative exercise is the career of Enrico Dandolo, the blind nonagenarian doge who planned and commanded the enormous endeavor. As Madden concedes, Dandolo left few documentary traces, none before he was in his sixties, and so Madden reaches back to the Dandolo family's first appearance in the sources, in the late tenth century, and then traces its political fortunes down to the Fourth Crusade.

Chapter one deals with the early Dandolos, while also recounting the origins of Venice's commercial rights in Byzantium. Chapter two chronicles the career of Enrico Dandolo (uncle of the future doge), the patriarch of Grado. Overall, Madden argues against the view of Venetians as ungodly and portrays Dandolo as a sincere promoter of Gregorian reform, who turned the patriarchate of Grado into a formidable political force. Chapter three introduces Vitale Dandolo, a leading twelfth-century Venetian, but is mostly concerned with the political developments that led to the 1172 assassination of Doge Vitale Michiel, which transformed Venice from a partnership of the doge and "the people" to an oligarchy of powerful citizens, whom Madden characterizes as conservative and pragmatic.

Chapter four turns to Enrico Dandolo, and Madden debunks the claim that Dandolo had been blinded by the Byzantines, making him vindictive. The story of Venice's role in international politics continues, covering 1175–1192. Chapter five analyzes the process of Dandolo's election to the dogeship in 1192, and stresses the doge's subservience to the "Commune Veneciarum," while insisting that doges were still leaders. Chapter six covers Dandolo's first decade as doge, surveying domestic reforms and foreign policy.

Chapters seven through nine tell the tale of the Fourth Crusade. As he did with regard toward the Venetian attitude to Gregorian reform, here, too, Madden stresses the Venetians' piety. He rejects the view that Dandolo intended from the outset to divert the fleet to Zara and Constantinople and argues that events were driven by economic and political necessity:

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the turning point was the Franks' failure to appear in numbers sufficient to enable them to pay the Venetians the debt they had assumed in 1201 in return for ships and provisions. We read that Dandolo was ever mindful of the limits of his authority. He is portrayed as consistently navigating to fulfill his obligations to the Venetian citizenry while managing relations with the Franks and the papacy, and as consulting his allies before making decisions.

Chapter ten chronicles the chaotic and tragic aftermath of the enterprise, culminating in Ioannitsa's decimation of the crusader host in 1205 and Dandolo's death. The epilogue summarizes subsequent political and military developments in the Latin empire, until the conquest of Crete in 1211, with which "Venice's maritime empire had been born" (p. 200).

Like many a revised dissertation, the book could have used a firmer editorial hand to weed out minutiae that do not promote the argument. Readers would also have benefited from a few maps. The argument is not entirely convincing. A comprehensive treatment of the Fourth Crusade would have to devote greater attention to the perspectives of other parties to the conflict. Moreover, Madden presents the stories of the Dandolo family, the maturation of the Venetian political apparatus, and the Fourth Crusade as integrally related to one another, but the three strands do not mesh terribly well. Although it makes sense to debunk the portrait of Dandolo and the Venetians as impious, avaricious, and deceitful, Madden's revision goes too far: the Venetians cannot have been as virtuous in the Fourth Crusade as they are made to appear here. Nevertheless, the basic argument is sound: namely, that the way the Fourth Crusade unfolded was the product of political, social, and cultural developments going back decades, if not centuries. Madden offers a refreshing contribution not only to study of the Fourth Crusade but also to that of medieval Venice.

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JULIE TAYLOR. *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2003. Pp. xxv, 255.

When tensions between the Christians and Muslims in Sicily in the first decades of the thirteenth century disrupted life on Frederick II's island, the emperor did what the Christian rulers of Iberia had done in the eleventh century: he removed the Muslims from his kingdom. Instead of expelling them, however, he deported them to Lucera, a town previously inhabited by Christians in Apulia, forty miles or so from the Adriatic Sea in the southern Italian peninsula. The first deportations began in the 1220s and continued for twenty years. By mid-century, Sicily's Muslim population no longer existed. Some had fled to North Africa while the majority had been settled in Lucera and small villages in the same region. Why did Frederick simply not expel them? Why establish a colony of Muslims in a part of his kingdom where he would have had to build fortifications to guard them and keep them there?

Julie Taylor offers answers that reflect the constraints under which she wrote her book. The history of Muslim Lucera suffers from a dearth of documentation. No rich archive of notarial, court, or administrative records has survived in Lucera, as such repositories have in other parts of Italy. The Hohenstaufen and Angevin records, she believes, were destroyed when Charles II of Anjou demolished the colony in 1300. Although most of the surviving documents relating directly to Lucera were edited in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the author notes in her introduction that she has benefited from new, important collections of documents edited in the past decade. Taylor's own search for material led her to mainly monastic sources. Still, the fund of sources is small.

Thus, Taylor's contribution lies mainly in her analysis of the limited number of diplomatic sources that do exist. Her work represents the first detailed monograph on the colony's origins, its inhabitants, and its destruction. As such, historians interested in this anomalous colony ought to be grateful to her. She has done the dirty, hard work that needs to be done before historians can begin to consider more sophisticated questions than the ones she put to her sources here.

Beginning in chapter one with an overview of the presence of Muslims in Italy prior to the thirteenth century, Taylor then assesses in chapter two the conditions in Sicily that motivated Frederick to deport its Muslim population. She points out that Frederick left the Jews of Sicily alone, because Christian-Jewish tensions did not disrupt the social order as much as Christian-Muslim tensions did. Rebellions of Muslims in villages around the island prompted Frederick to find ways to rid Sicily of them, but not to the point of depriving himself completely of their talents and uses. He shipped them off to Apulia, forced them to settle in Lucera, and put them to work in the service of the kingdom. In chapter three, Taylor presents the evidence for the quality of life that the Muslims led there. As the emperor's serfs (*servi*), the Lucerine Muslims farmed their own plots and those of the crown. A few managed to become wealthy, but the heavy taxation that Frederick and his successors imposed on the Muslims made life always precarious. They enjoyed religious freedom and even worshipped in a mosque. Chapter four and five present Taylor's reconstruction of how the colony was governed and how the Lucerine Muslims made their livings. The principal way to prosperity was through military service: Muslims served as soldiers, archers, and crossbowmen in Hohenstaufen armies.

The remainder of the book takes up once again the political history of Lucera. When Charles I of Anjou took possession of the colony in 1265, life became increasingly difficult for the inhabitants until, in 1300, Charles II decided to liquidate the colony entirely. He

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had all the Muslims in southern Italy sold into slavery, took the gold from their sale, and confiscated all of their property. Officials took inventory of all the grain and agricultural products stored there before carting them off to feed the Christian populations of southern Italy. The conclusion of Taylor's interesting and valuable book makes for very sad reading.

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ALEX METCALFE. *Muslims and Christians in Norman Italy: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam*. (Culture and Civilization in the Middle East.) London: Routledge Curzon. 2003. Pp. xvii, 286.

JEREMY JOHNS. *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 389. $70.00.

In his introduction, Alex Metcalfe compares the publication of his and Jeremy Johns's books within a year of each other to "the old joke about waiting for a bus which does not come, then two arrive at once" (p. xvii). But readers will discover that these two "buses" are quite different and together fill a gap in the ever-growing field of studies in English of medieval southern Italy. Both authors are highly regarded Arabic linguists and historians who are able to consider aspects of the Arab impact on eleventh and twelfth-century Sicily against the backdrop of the broader historical developments in the medieval Mezzogiorno. Both explore strategies of cultural intersection and adaptation in the *Regno*: Johns examines royal administration, Metcalfe focuses on language development and religion. Using abundant and largely unknown (or untranslated) Arabic sources, they present lively portraits of the Arab-influenced administration and court life. In so doing, they also resolve important historiographical problems that have plagued the history of Norman Sicily for decades: they literally correct scholarship (M. Amari, C. A. Garufi, and S. Cusa, among others), and seek to distance the history of Norman Sicily from the better-known history of Norman England.

As the title of his book suggests, Johns examines the Arabic administration of the kingdom through the lens of the royal *dīwān* or administrative bureau. He traces the creation and development of the *dīwān*, from its roots in the early tenth-century Saracen administration of the island, to the early years of the Norman presence in the south, and from the Norman Conquest of Sicily (1061–1091) to the establishment of the kingdom under Roger II (1130–1154). Relying on rich sources that range from tax registers to peace treaties, Johns contends that the remnants of Muslim fiscal offices played a significant role in postconquest governance. He notes, however, that following the conquest, Arabic as a language of administration disappeared for twenty years, replaced by Greek, but reappeared when Roger II assumed his throne and created the royal *dīwān*. Whereas initially the *dīwān* issued Arabic and bilingual documents, by 1145, Arabic had supplanted Greek and even Latin as the language of royal administration.

Johns argues that the dramatic linguistic change had as much to do with administration as with royal image and authority. He credits Roger II's advisor, George of Antioch (d. 1151), for this "renaissance of Arabic administration" (p. 257), suggesting that the *dīwān* was modeled on Fatimid Egypt in an effort to promote the Arabic aspects of the kingdom. As a result, the royal *dīwān* "came to play a role in the political life of the kingdom in government and in the formation of the monarchy itself that transcended administrative function" (p. 211). Johns suggests that the "external message" of the Arabic documents was as important, if not more so, than their actual content, for it was "the Arabic letters rather than their legible content which carried the message of royal power to the majority" (p. 299). To illustrate this point, Johns discusses the renewals in 1145 of fifty-year-old privileges granted by the Normans following the conquest. These registers were of little practical importance to either side; nonetheless, Johns emphasizes their symbolic value even to those who could not read them. Johns's facility with such documents and the creative questions he pursues is exemplary, his argument persuasive.

Metcalfe, like Johns, privileges the position and impact of language in his book. In his sociohistorical and linguistic examination, Metcalfe explores the reasons for the "radical transformation in the religious and linguistic base of the island from Arabic-speaking Muslim to 'Latin'-speaking Christian" (p. 30). Metcalfe uses this investigation of the fate of Arabic language, both spoken and administrative, to address attitudes toward Muslims in Sicily and the religious and demographic balances on the island. In his analysis of the "complex interrelationships" (p. 78) among peoples in the region, Metcalfe suggests that margins between different groups in Sicily were indistinct. Nonetheless, he demonstrates through the study of language that it is possible to draw conclusions about ethnic consciousness and identity. He cites a document from 1090, which states that the settlement of villeins in the town of Patti was open only to "men of the Latin tongue, whoever they might be," clearly illustrating how language might define a community. In addressing issues of language and conversion, Metcalfe provides abundant evidence to suggest that the intermingling of communities did continue during the *Regno*, even among Arab Muslims and Arab Christians. Of particular value is his analysis of the Monreale Register of Boundaries from 1182 (chapter six), which takes his readers through the register compiled under King William II. One of three from 1178–1183, it records the period of Christian rule over Muslim population, includes the full names of thousands of villeins, and

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permits the reconstruction of some of the social ties that existed in this syncretic society.

Metcalfe's painstaking analysis of translations and transliteration among Latin, Greek, and Arabic emphasizes the linguistic exchanges that continually occurred in medieval Sicily. At least among indigenous Muslims and the ruling Christians, there evolved imaginative and innovative strategies for coexistence and/or dominance. For example, the Muslims were able to retain some religious and legal rights in exchange for assuming a large tax burden at the hands of the Latin king: "A consequence of this for the Christian ruling minority, unwitting or not, was that it was to preserve a vital sense of Muslim consciousness" (p. 177). This consciousness would be preserved in the language, at least, into the thirteenth century.

Both Johns and Metcalfe are to be commended for their heroic attempts to communicate their ideas clearly to the non-Arabic-reading scholar. Although both works could benefit from simple glossaries (and Johns's could use a map), the books include detailed indexes and valuable appendixes. If there are points of intersection, even repetition between the two works, this is nothing less than fortunate owing to the exotic and complex nature of Arab studies for the Anglo-American scholar. Of greatest importance is how Johns and Metcalfe open up new fields of study for scholars of the medieval Mediterranean, and southern Italy specifically. They reveal how incomplete is our understanding of the region, despite the flurry of published activity by J.-M. Martin, P. Skinner, H. Houben, and the indefatigable G. A. Loud, among others. Fortunately, we learn from the authors that critical editions of some of the Arabic texts they employed are apparently underway.

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BONNIE WHEELER and JOHN CARMI PARSONS, editors. *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*. (New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xxix, 506. $65.00.

In this book, edited by Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons, the prologue, nineteen chapters, and epilogue aim at a common goal with an unusual degree of coherence for a volume of studies. The twenty-two contributors do not attempt to construct a biography of Eleanor; indeed, the prologue asserts that the sources are too meager for a full-fleshed biographical study in the modern mode. Instead the authors try to evaluate the empirical evidence about Eleanor that does survive and apply this to the mythic Eleanor whose legend comes down to the present. They pose their question in a number of different ways: does information on Eleanor's conduct, set in the context of her twelfth-century society, correspond at all to the myth of Queen Eleanor? It would appear from reading the essays that the answer is not very well.

The editors and contributors have been creative in the ways they conduct their investigations. Eleanor's predecessors are investigated, in terms of her Anglo-Norman queenly predecessors (Lois L. Huneycutt) and other noblewomen of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin world (RaGena C. DeAragon). Queenship as office, custom, or an ad hoc creation in the twelfth century follows (Heather J. Tanner). Royal charters play a large role in this discussion. Marie Hivergneaux examines all the surviving charters from Eleanor's duchy during her lordship, reaching the conclusion that while her husbands lived she did not try to dispense justice but restricted her official acts to endowments and gifts within Aquitaine. In none of these essays do we find the imperious Eleanor who would rule exclusively in her own name. Elizabeth A. R. Brown poses Eleanor's acts and choices against those of a wide network of her natal kin, her kin by two marriages, and her descendents. Ralph V. Turner and Andrew W. Lewis look at Eleanor's relationship with her last-born son, John, and regard that as the most trying in a life of contentious personal relationships.

The choice in the title to place Eleanor's lordship before ladyship reveals that the editors and contributors alike believe Eleanor ruled Aquitaine legitimately as her inheritance through the paternal line. The argument for this is presented in the prologue (p. xiv), where Wheeler and Parsons claim that no law or custom stood in the way of her exercising her lordship. Complications arose only when marriage transferred to Louis VII and later Henry II crucial aspects of Eleanor's lordship. Thus marriage and divorce, examined by James A. Brundage in regard to canon law and by Constance Brittain Bouchard in regard to Eleanor's divorce from Louis VII, help answer questions posed in other essays. Many of the authors assert that while comparisons are valuable, no other woman inherited power and authority of such a broad nature in twelfth-century Europe. Reconciling lordship and ladyship in marriage became the crux of much of the difficulty in Eleanor's life.

Miriam Shadis and Constance Hoffman Berman present Eleanor's female descendents, both in the French and the English royal lines, in an engaging essay. An unexpected connection appears in Evelyn Mullally's essay on William Marshall and Eleanor, which examines the issue of mutual loyalty. The Eleanor Vase given to Louis VII by his new queen, who donated it to Abbot Suger in his own name, not both their names, raises some intriguing questions. In this later section of the volume, the reception of Eleanor by chroniclers, in medieval romance and legends, fleshes out the story and gives ample space to scandals that plagued Eleanor in her lifetime and continued in the literature that grew up around her life and times. There is a chapter devoted to Eleanor's tomb at Fontevraud and the iconography of Eleanor's effigy (Kathleen Nolan).

While the volume aims to correct the legends that have flourished around Eleanor, it makes no claim to be a definitive biography. The sources are too meager

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for that, the essays state. The contributors also argue, although more indirectly, that a life as episodic as Eleanor's, with so few threads of consistency, does not lend itself to biography in the modern understanding of the word. Time and again the most empirical of the essays reveal an Eleanor who changed behavior when her position in life changed: bride, heiress, mother of daughters, crusader, divorced wife, remarried woman, mother of sons and daughters, imprisoned wife, widow who was the mother of two successive kings, Richard and John. Until Eleanor retired to Fontevraud in her eighties, she passed scarcely a decade of life without a momentous transformation that was reflected by new responses that were at odds with her former acts. This is a life that lends itself readily to a medieval doctrine of capacities; it can be less well understood as an integrated and consistent modern life.

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KATHLEEN KAMERICK. *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1500*. (New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. 292.

"Holy images often appear to be our most engaging point of entry into the medieval era, as they show us how people then viewed their own world" (p. 4). Kathleen Kamerick pursues this understanding with regard to late medieval English materials. Her book joins a number of recent studies that have placed images at the heart of "popular" experiences in religion, most notable among them Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992). The methodology aims to combine texts of pastoral instruction, legislative pronouncements by bishops, and visual imagery in search of ideas and sentiments. This book is motivated by the desire for inclusion; the interdisciplinary rapprochement of history and art history is tested against the deposits of written sources—above all wills and churchwardens' accounts—that have survived in English archives.

After a short introduction, in chapter one Kamerick presents some of the views articulated in the late medieval English debate about images. One locus of such debates was the polemical exchanges between Wycliffites and so-called Lollards, on the one hand, and their opponents, often friars such as Roger Dymmok in the 1390s, on the other. The former contrasted the "deade ymagis" with the "quicke ymagis" of God, who are the poor. A third position was held by visionaries such as Walter Hilton, who possessed a fascination with the image's power to inspire delicate states of spiritual arousal.

Kamerick juxtaposes the late medieval English debate about images formalized in Lollard tracts (against) and anti-Lollard ones (in favor), with views occasionally glimpsed in testimonies of interrogated suspects of heresy. A wide range of positions was held and discussed. A "Lollard" writer could easily poke fun at contemporary worship of "deade ymagis" and "olde stones," but even the much-cited Margery Baxter, who likened her own body to that of Christ, was surely deploying an image in service of religious understanding. In late medieval England, different styles of image worship coexisted, but it is hard to find examples of absolute rejection of images. Also underlying this debate were the difference between "old" and "new" law and the polemic over images between Jews and Christians.

Chapter two examines the manner in which such ideas were conveyed to parishioners through religious instruction, by studying a large number of vernacular sermons and pastoral handbooks. These are revealing texts, since they aimed to correct perceived errors in comportment around images. They report and attempt to chastise behavior such as weeping in front of images. In particular, they aim to frame those images brought to mind when attending the liturgy or viewing a crucifix. Kamerick also notes that several *exempla*, short illustrative tales inserted into sermons, addressed aspects of image use. Chapter three turns to survey the images that were actually available in parishes. Since so much has been lost and destroyed over the centuries, Kamerick is guided by the evidence of wills in which people left funds and instructions for images they wished to see bought or made after their death. She finds the Virgin Mary to have been a great favorite with female testators, and that the cult of her mother Anne was much in evidence, a new devotion in southern England as it was on the continent. Even modest people could leave a small income to maintain a light in front of an image. The taste was conservative, and predictable.

These images introduced "something" of divinity to the humdrum routines of local life, and thus they could become subjects of controversy. Chapter four examines some notorious cases, like the Foston case, investigated by the Archbishop of York in 1303, of a Scottish image used in a chapel in Yorkshire. Questions of access and responsibility to an image, as if it were a living thing, arise from the testimonies. And if parish images were ordinary, images could also be used by some extraordinary people. Chapter five studies the place of images in the visionary spirituality of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. Chapter six closes by reaching through prayer books, often printed books accompanied by images, to the eve of the Reformation. Prayer remained in place even throughout the dramatic changes which were to come. The image continued to accompany prayer even in printed books; the technology of print did not alter the technology of prayer.

Popular piety and art is a vast and difficult topic; it is central not only to the interest of medieval historians of Europe but to all scholars of religious cultures. Kamerick has raised questions and has given them some tentative, exemplified answers. Images and the practices around them were local articulations. This will be appreciated fully through further exploration of

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images, in landscapes, accompanied, where possible, by the words of their users.

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D. VANCE SMITH. *Arts of Possession: The Middle English Household Imaginary*. (Medieval Cultures, number 33.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 318.

This complex and densely written book explores the theme of the household, and by extension the domestic and the general economy, as reflected in middle English literature of the late fourteenth century. D. Vance Smith shows that the authors of middle English romances set their fictions in the context of aristocratic households, and they demonstrate their familiarity with the conventions and vocabulary of household management. It was entirely appropriate that practical treatises on the running of a household were included in the same manuscripts as poems. The main subject matter of the book is a closely argued analysis of the literature, which interprets the economic ideas found in these works in the light of modern economic, anthropological, and philosophical writing. We expect to see citations of Pierre Bourdieu and Jacques Derrida, but Vance Smith also looks back to Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud, and refers to Mary Douglas, Jack Goody, Vincent Pecora, Slavoj Žižek, and many others. He ranges over medieval authors and examples of literary output and pays particular attention to *Octavian* (the romance), *Winner and Waster*, *Piers Plowman*, *Richard the Redeless*, *Sir Launfal* and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*. A series of dilemmas and uncertainties is examined, such as the extent to which gentility could be reconciled with commerce. Other themes include the problem of fulfilling the chivalric ideal of generous giving while maintaining the practical needs of economic prudence, and the legitimacy of the merchant's role in view of the dubious morality of that calling.

Historians who are interested in the social and economic history of the period, and particularly the intellectual and cultural background to late medieval society, will find ideas and interpretations relevant to their interests. They will also welcome the bibliography with its rich combination of works of literary criticism, economic history, and theory of every kind. They will be impressed by the author's ability to generalize, and to build elaborate interpretations on a few phrases in the original texts. Readers may regret that the prose is sometimes difficult to understand. Those who prefer to use words such as capital, surplus, and exchange as precisely as possible may be surprised at the way in which the meaning of these terms has been widened.

This book belongs to an ever increasing quantity of writing by specialists in literature on historical themes, and historians need patiently to take note of these analyses, as they result from a deep understanding of the texts and their cultural context. Such studies warn historians that the literary tradition has to be understood before works such as *Winner and Waster* and *Piers Plowman* can be used to make generalizations about past mentalities.

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ALISON WILLIAMS LEWIN. *Negotiating Survival: Florence and the Great Schism, 1378–1417*. Madison, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2003. Pp. 283. $55.00.

Alison Williams Lewin argues in her new book that Florentine policies toward other Italian states at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century were flexible, reactive, and nonideological, rooted in the need to preserve the survivability and independence of the republican commune. During the period of the Great Schism (1378–1417), Florence confronted a series of challenging threats to its existence from neighboring states. Nevertheless, as the author states, the city was able to "survive the most trying decades of its existence with its independence intact and its jurisdiction over the neighboring countryside expanded" (p. 13). It did so because its leading citizens were able to adapt creatively to changing circumstances.

Lewin's argument has a strong Machiavellian ring to it. It was the pliability and pragmatism of Florentines in the face of challenges, she argues—their ability to adapt creatively to crises and changing events—that guaranteed the survival of their independent republic. During the schism the Florentine elite slowly came to embrace a vision of Italian power politics that rested on two pillars: the creation of a strong papal principality and the establishment of a balance of power among the major states of the Italian peninsula. By the early fifteenth century, leading Florentines were actively calling for a council to end the schism. This effort culminated in the Council of Pisa in 1409. By the middle of the fifteenth century, a rough balance of power among the principal Italian powers became actualized in the Peace of Lodi (1454).

The primary archival source collection on which Lewin relies is the *Consulte e Pratiche*, a unique and truly extraordinary assemblage of debates and discussions that engaged members of the Florentine ruling class. It exists in the form of minutes taken by the secretaries of the republic. When the principal magistrates of the republic wished to garner the advice or suggestions of the most prominent citizens on pending legislation, they convened a meeting to argue, discuss, and analyze these specific matters of state. Lewin observes these assemblies constituted a kind of "shadow government," a phrase that is somewhat misleading because these assemblies never had any legislative power on their own. Nevertheless, as the author makes clear, these notes provide precious and rare insights into the deliberations of a late fourteenth and early fifteenth century urban elite.

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The principal achievement of this book—and its foremost contribution to Florentine studies—is to provide an intensive analysis of the debates and arguments associated with foreign policy issues among the leading men of the commune of Florence between 1378 and 1417. Lewin's conclusion, effectively demonstrated though not particularly surprising, is that the "fundamental values guiding Florentine statecraft" (p. 13) were the resolution and determination to do whatever was necessary to guarantee the survival and independence of Florence. A typical example of the skill by which the author recreates the discussions recorded in the *Consulte* is the section in chapter four, "Rising Tensions with Urban" (pp. 81–88). It explores deftly the complicated and vexed thinking of the leading citizens of the commune toward Pope Urban VI (1378–1389). By offering such a detailed account of deliberations and discussions like this one, Lewin lays bare the origins of some of the policies that became central to the Medici regime after 1434.

The book is structured chronologically into seven chapters and an epilogue (a brief appendix listing the major chronological events and papacies during the schism would have been a worthy addition to this study, by the way). The schism created a destabilizing situation for the Florentines. Furthermore, precisely at the same time, they faced several challenges posed by the major powers of the peninsula, particularly by Milan and Naples. Following the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1406, the leading citizens of Florence actively sought to end the schism by encouraging the convening of a church council. By so doing, they hoped to create the conditions for the emergence of a strong papal dominion to serve as a buffer between themselves and the kingdom of Naples. In pursuit of these and other goals, as the author demonstrates, individuals and groups in Florence acted pragmatically, not ideologically. For example, in a careful reproduction of the discussions from 1414 recorded in the *Consulte e Pratiche*, Lewin shows how the political alignments advocated by leading citizens were "practical and immediate" rather than "ideological and fixed" (p. 198). Advocacy for a balance of power within Italy emerged in *Consulte* discussions in the course of the schism, she concludes, not from its very beginning (as held by Paolo Brezzi).

In her analysis of the *Consulte e Pratiche*, Lewin "engages with and at times modifies previous works" (p. 13), particularly with regards to the studies of Marvin Becker, Brezzi, Gene Brucker, Richard Trexler, and Ronald Witt. By expanding further her analysis of the historiography associated with this period, however, the author could have brought forward more prominently how her own conclusions differ from those of other scholars. Historians of Florence and of early modern Europe will nevertheless find in this meticulous study of the *Consulte e Pratiche* the most comprehensive analysis of elite thinking on Florentine foreign relations during the period of the Great Schism. Scholars of late medieval and early modern Europe will find in it an insightful and clearly written case study of how a ruling elite improvised to assure the survivability and independence of its city.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MAUREEN MULHOLLAND and BRIAN PULLAN, editors. *Judicial Tribunals in England and Europe, 1200–1700: The Trial in History*. Volume 1. Assisted by ANNE PULLAN. New York: Manchester University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 186. $74.95.

Trials are and have been complex and problematic processes. The nine essays in this volume (to which there is a companion, covering 1700–2000), five of which began as contributions to a Manchester conference on trials in history, address some of this variety. They also, necessarily, leave entire portions of that variety out of account.

The strength of this collection lies in its careful theoretical reflection. Although editors Maureen Mulholland and Brian Pullan do not attempt an exhaustive account, opting instead "to provide a few illuminating examples of the operation in the past of different legal systems" (pp. 1–2), they do seek a framework to make sense of the disparate examples their authors develop. Mulholland's introduction makes the first step, posing a distinction between trial as a test of something and trial as a forensic ritual, the latter being the focus of the book. In general, she summarizes the structure and positions worked out in the first essay, Joseph Jaconelli's "What is a Trial?" Jaconelli answers such a simple yet seldom asked question with a fine combination of logic and history. He focuses on three elements as constitutive of trials: an internal rationality by which evidence is admitted and related to the eventual judgment, public quality of the proceedings, and an independence of the process from the parties and from government. The last seems the most historically contestable of these elements. Just how independent a court of inquisition was from the church of which it was a part or how independent a manorial court was from its lord, in ideal or practice, can be doubted. It may be that the ritual separation of the trial from everyday forms of discourse or from informal settlement mechanisms is all the "independence" required. Perspectives developed within the sister discipline of legal anthropology could deepen our appreciation of what a trial is and does.

The next four essays deal with England, but each in a different way and with different courts. Anthony Musson takes as his subject the presumption that judges in royal courts were professionals and those in local courts amateurs. He finds that there was a blurring of distinctions in personnel between the two judicial levels and "a broader culture to the legal profession than usually acknowledged" (p. 38). The shift from clerical to lay justices was not a simple

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progression to greater professionalization. A nice companion piece is Daniel Klerman's essay on the knowledge of juries. That jurors were self-informing from their familiarity with people and places at issue in criminal trials has long been seen as explaining the passive role of judges and the minor role of evidence and evidentiary rules. Klerman argues that thirteenth-century juries were self-informing in contrast to those in later centuries, but he also finds that they at times took evidence, learned of things from what happened in court, and adjusted their verdict accordingly. Klerman's is a carefully devised argument calling on several types of sources.

Mulholland argues that manorial courts retained an informality, speed, and ease of access that made them viable alternatives to the royal courts of common law well into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, until royal courts recognized copyhold and thus coopted a major part of manorial courts' business. The weight of customs of the manor, she claims, gave these courts an internal rationality, while they were also receptive to written evidence and sophisticated argument. R. H. Helmholz looks at English ecclesiastical courts, making the case that at least for England, in contrast to the continent, church trials were more open and familiar to people and the role of writing was less prominent (although still greater than in common law courts). Against the reigning notion of active judges directing procedures and drafting judgments in canon law courts, Helmholz finds that ecclesiastical judges "had neither the cohesive judicial institutions nor the ability to shape legal doctrine that their common law counterparts enjoyed" (p. 109). In essence both Mulholland and Helmholz are intent on showing that their courts meet Jaconelli's criteria of rationality, publicity, and independence.

The remaining four essays consider trials on the continent. Taken together they are not nearly so comprehensive as the four that deal with England. Their subjects are not as broad, chronologically or thematically. Interestingly, these four authors are all historians, whereas the first four are all associated with law schools, and three of them were not participants in the Manchester conference.

Jeffrey Denton looks at only one trial, one that did not even happen—the proceedings initiated by Philip IV to try Boniface VIII, even posthumously, for heresy. Denton makes it clear that a charge of heresy was crucial, as popes were not subject to judgment of a court for less than that. His is a sound essay, but by its nature it can contribute little to the general theme of the history of trials. William G. Naphy's discussion of sodomy trials in Calvinist Geneva between 1555 and 1665 is somewhat better geared to that end. He finds the interesting result that, given a scale of "natural" values, defendants would confess to lesser offenses (i.e. simple fornication, touching) rather than leave themselves open to more serious charges (i.e. bestiality, ejaculation). Against charges of same-sex acts, men would admit to previous contact, even criminal, with women. His conclusion that "the participants in these trials reveal themselves to be very acute observers of human behaviour and development and, perhaps, surprisingly modern" (p. 141) may not convince all readers.

The last two essays consider Venice, a legally peculiar continental jurisdiction. Mary Laven focuses on the 1614 trial of a nun, Laura Querini, for repeated violation of her vow of celibacy with a young nobleman. The context for her remarks is not the history of trials but the genre of microhistory and criticisms of the use made of forensic records, not just for their reliability and typicality but for narratives of self-expression. Laven makes a good case that Querini, interrogated both by the patriarch of Venice and the civic magistracy that protected convents, as defendant in the first and witness against her lover in the second, was exceptionally self-revealing, giving details of her actions beyond what was needed to answer questions or frame legal arguments. She was conventional in some responses, but "the space of the trial provided nuns with an opportunity to speak to the outside world" and they took advantage of it. Pullan, a distinguished historian of Venice, provides an introduction to the translated text of the inquisition proceedings against Giorgio Moreto, a sailor, charged in 1589 with apostasy for becoming a Jew in order to marry his sweetheart. Pullan describes the composition of the court, civic oversight of it, and the situation of the Jews in Venice. Moreto's offense was to ignore the Holy Office's order that he avoid the ghetto, after his nocturnal visits aroused suspicions.

These microhistorical continental essays avoid generalization, but they also necessarily leave the reader facing large voids. No one examines simple trial process before a podestà of an Italian city, perhaps the essence of civil and criminal procedure there. No one looks at a German territory before and after the "reception" of Roman law. None of the continental essays takes on the broad sweep one finds in Daniel Lord Smail's *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423* (2003). In sum there is an unevenness in this collection: English pieces dealing with themes of professionalization, jury competence, and publicity versus continental pieces dealing with themes of narrative, defendant strategies, and identity. Different readers will take from their reading very different results.

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JONATHAN HART. *Comparing Empires: European Colonialism from Portuguese Expansion to the Spanish-American War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xiv, 192. $59.95.

This book is the third study by Jonathan Hart of European expansion and empires. Ideally the three should be read as a whole, and indeed Hart refers back to his previous two books and forward to projected

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new ones. In *Representing the New World: English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (2001) and *Columbus, Shakespeare, and the Interpretation of the New World* (2002), he studied texts and images to show the complexity of French, English, and Spanish reactions to their encounters with New World people and places. These widely praised books very skillfully "unpacked" familiar works such as William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, and Christopher Columbus's representations of New World natives.

The focus in these first two books was essentially on the responses of France and England to Spanish accounts of the Americas. In the present book, more players are introduced—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and even citizens of the United States—and the geographic scope is widened to include Asia as well as the Americas. Nevertheless, Britain, Spain, and France, and their relations in the Americas, remain prominent. A major theme is the way the Spanish accounts permeated British and French consciousnesses long after Spain had lost most of its influence in the Americas. Hart's analysis is explicitly comparative, and a sophisticated examination of the validity of comparison as a heuristic device is scattered throughout the book. Portugal, as the first European state to expand overseas, receives detailed attention. Hart's central technique is to analyze a carefully selected series of texts (and indeed the footnotes are something of a bibliographer's delight, with their discussions of various published and manuscript versions of the works under discussion). As to the validity of this sort of technique, he writes that "One of the reasons I have chosen a close examination of texts is that I thought it best that the reader of my book experience this dimension of textual messiness . . . Critical distance is necessary for history to have a shape but too much leaves history without a texture" (p. 101).

Readers of Hart's previous books will expect further sophisticated disentangling of contemporary texts, and indeed there are many examples here. Several struck me as particularly successful. Pedro Vaz de Caminha, a member of Pedro Alvares Cabral's fleet and one of the first Europeans to reach Brazil, wrote a well-known account of what he saw, and this is expertly analyzed, as is Luís Vaz de Camoẽs's great epic poem, *The Lusiads*. Richard Hakluyt the younger's compilation is investigated to show how he used Spanish and Portuguese sources to encourage Britain to look to the Americas. Spain's lingering influence on the English and French in North America is revealed in William Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation*. In the concluding chapter, "From Portugal to the United States," the fifteenth-century account of Portuguese explorations by Luis de Cadamosto is foregrounded.

Any reader will be impressed by Hart's erudition, and his stimulating comparisons and analysis. What disappointed me is a quite shoddy and careless presentation of his material, and a host of careless errors. Several paragraphs run on for over a page and include a jumbled mass of unrelated material (e.g. pp. 18–19, 53–54, 121–23). Obscure and ungrammatical sentences, and misplaced commas, are rife. Some material is repeated (e.g. pp. 53, 55).

Factual errors abound. "Ahmad-Ibn-Madjid (sic)" did not guide Vasco da Gama to India (p. 17). The voyages of Bartolomeu Dias and Gama did not transform "the commerce among Africa, Asia and Europe" (p. 122). Dias variously rounds the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 and 1488 (pp. 14, 17, 22, 27, 54, 122). In the fifteenth century, Venice and the "Muslims" cooperated in the spice trade (p. 36). Similarly, contact and trade between the Mediterranean and "the East" did not stop after Marco Polo (p. 56). "Ormuz (sic)" was captured by Persia and the English in 1622, not 1650 (p. 128). Goa is not located on the Malabar coast (p. 134). Hart writes concerning *The Lusiads* "That the eastern Turks are mentioned seems to mean that one of the desires expressed is that the power of the Portuguese king be turned in [sic] a crusade against Islam" (p. 73), thus ignoring a long previous history of Luso-Muslim hostility.

Names are often hopelessly garbled, apparently because the author transposed contemporary spellings into his own text. Thus we have Malindi and Melinde, Chillora (for Kilwa), Zaffalle or Zofala (for Sofala), Calichut (for Calicut), Guzerat and Guzerate (for Gujarat), Combaia (for Cambay), and Candi (for Kandy). The inhabitants of this last-named kingdom in Sri Lanka are called "the Candi." Alfonso de Albuquerque becomes "Alphonse D'Albuquerque," and Fernão Peres de Andrade is garbled as "Ferdinand D'Andréade." And so on. As a historian, I do not think it is pedantic, or antiquarian, to expect more careful fact checking and editing. However, one could argue that none of this has much impact on the author's main objectives as outlined above, which are successfully achieved. Hart's book will have many readers; they must make their own judgments.

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BENNO TESCHKE. *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics, and the Making of Modern International Relations*. New York: Verso. 2003. Pp. xii, 308. $35.00.

Passionately if not altogether conclusively argued, this book rejects a commonplace of European history: that the treaties of Westphalia not only closed the Thirty Years' War but also inaugurated a new international order driven by the interaction of territorial sovereign states. The administrative and military governments organization of European monarchies after 1648 distinguished these polities quite sharply from the feudalized structures that preceded them. For his part, Benno Teschke maintains that domestic "social property relations" and the "competition for income" that followed from them shaped the interaction of the highly personalized polities of continental Europe down to 1789 and even beyond. Dynastic monarchies

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in the early modern era differed from their medieval predecessors in degree and form of personalization, but not in underlying dynamic. Mercantile capitalism was just another form of dynastic property acquisition, rather than a radical economic innovation. England was the exception to this pattern, and then not until the end of the seventeenth century.

1648, therefore, is a false caesura in the history of international relations. For real change we must wait until relatively recent times and the development of modern states and true capitalism, as Teschke defines them. Great Britain is the first government to run impersonally, having no function other than the exercise of its monopoly on violence. It is this power that protects private property upon which capitalistic modern economies are based. The latter, in turn, operating all but independently of political oversight, shape the interactions of states in Europe and ultimately throughout the world.

If all of the above has a quasi-Marxist ring, it is because the author self-consciously espouses a kind of neo-Marxist materialism. Indeed, the collected works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are the only primary sources in a book drawn otherwise from a vast and assiduously chewed-through array of secondary literature that encompasses roughly a millennium and a quarter of European history. Marx and Engels are not held harmless by Teschke; he believes that all comprehensive theories of historical development are too abstract to be useful. His approach is to pinpoint empirically socioeconomic arrangements that animate the behavior of all people, then to follow these relationships diachronically. His chief disagreements, however, are with various theories of international relations, which he scolds for their ahistoricity and, ultimately, for their moral implications. Indeed, he dedicates the first forty-odd pages of this book to laying out his case against these constructions and his brief for his own.

Although convinced of his originality, Teschke is working his way here through a venerable conundrum of European history: does domestic policy drive foreign affairs or the other way around? What is nontraditional is his resolution of the issue and the terminology he uses to present it. The latter is so dense and idiosyncratic—he radically redefines the meanings of basic concepts such as capitalism and sovereignty—that anyone new to these materials may quit the book in despair long before finishing it. This is even more likely to happen when one stumbles on dating errors in routine matters of fact, for example placing the last meeting of the French Estates General before the French Revolution in "the late sixteenth century" (p. 161) rather than 1614. The German Wettins, Hohenzollerns, and Welfs had indeed "succeeded" to royal titles by the end of the seventeenth century, but the Bavarian Wittelsbachs had to wait until 1806. It is sometimes very hard to fix the chronological and geopolitical coordinates of his narrative, particularly in his sections on the Middle Ages. Clearing up such ambiguities by consulting the titles of references is unnecessarily awkward. Because Teschke uses interlinear attributions that supply only author and date—his endnotes are mostly scholarly and ideological riffs—one must consult his bibliography. Bold assertions are sometimes heavily qualified to the point of negation a page or two later. Dynastic marriages, for example, are a "fast" and "cost-effective" (p. 224) path to territorial expansion, but distressingly pricey if rulers used war to enforce their claims (p. 226). Nor has the author bothered to straighten out the contradictions that occasionally crop up in his text.

Readers whose expertise approaches Teschke's may also find themselves spending more time with the book than they would like. His wide-ranging arguments abound in questionable generalizations and glib professorial brushoffs of positions contrary to his own. Is France from the Franks through the Bourbons, as Teschke contends, an appropriate dominant paradigm, or counter-paradigm, for continental state development? French interests did, as he asserts, play a powerful role in the Westphalian treaties of 1648 and several decades to come. Nevertheless, the rapid redirection of the energies of the Austrian Habsburgs to their east and southeast in the second half of the century soon made Vienna as central to European interstate relations as Paris. While both the French kings and Habsburg rulers ran dynastic states, their internal operations were quite different, especially in matters where provincial estates were concerned. Occasionally the author, who is no fan of proprietary dynasticism, lets his indignation get the better of him. The Westphalian accords allowed German princes to change their private confessions without requiring their subjects to join them, another outrageous example, according to the author, of the personalized dynastic behavior. Compared, however, to the *cuius regio, eius religio* recognized by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, the 1648 revision represented a major step in the depersonalization of government. Indeed, it took almost one hundred years for German princes to conclude that ruler and people could be of different creeds without government coming to an end.

There are some worthwhile and lucid parts to this work, including an excellent summary of the operative principles of diplomacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—so good that one wishes the author had met the promise of his title and discussed the international scene more extensively (pp. 233–36)—and a lapidary commentary on venality of office in the early modern French monarchy (pp. 173–79). The section on the development of early modern capitalism in England and its influence on British politics is admirably clear yet subtle. But offsetting the book's positive features are drawbacks to which this review has only alluded rather than covered. *Caveat lector.*

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DAVID ORMROD. *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650–1770.* (Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History, number 10.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 400. $75.00.

In this book, David Ormrod examines the decline of Dutch mercantile dominance and the ascent of the British, roughly from the outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch War in 1652 to the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775. Rather than take the nation as his unit of analysis, Ormrod examines "the North Sea economy," which he views as "an interlocking network of trades shaped by public and private interests, and the matrix within which Anglo-Dutch competition, borrowing and collaboration took shape" (p. xiii). In eleven thickly descriptive and analytical chapters, he strives to show how Dutch commercial hegemony was undermined. England possessed "increasingly coherent mercantilist objectives" (p. xiii), which required it to "phas[e]-out . . . company trading on the regulated pattern" (p. 31) and erect an alternative entrepôt system. These actions ultimately overwhelmed the Netherlanders' staple market approach to trade. The fruit of at least two decades' research and writing, the book is ambitious and rewarding for specialists interested in the economies of the two states. It is also—the reader should be warned—a book that makes no concessions to the novice.

Ormrod bases his regional approach on world-systems "theory," but in modified form. He retains "some elements of a Braudelian world systems framework . . . including the role of leading cities and a hierarchy of zones in which regional economies were drawn into closer forms of integration within the larger (real) global economy" (p. 8). Yet Ormrod rejects Fernand Braudel's and Immanuel Wallerstein's "assumption that the wealth of the European 'core' countries depended on the resources of a global periphery" (p. 8). Instead he focuses on "the North Sea-Baltic zone, a region large enough to contain its own periphery" (p. 8) and national and urban rivalries. This shift in focus leads him to the conclusion that, in certain circumstances, development of the world "periphery depended upon readjustments within the core of the world-economy during the eighteenth century, rather than vice versa" (p. 65).

In the first two substantive chapters, Ormrod details "the dismantling of privileged corporate access to the mart towns of Holland and the creation of new frameworks for conducting trade with nearby Europe," both of which contributed to "the emergence of a new type of entrepôt system centered on London" (p. 27). Little of this argument is new, although it is recounted with precision and vigor. More surprising is the body of the book: five long chapters examining Anglo-Dutch trades—woolens, linens, re-exports, grain, and coal—trades that are seldom analyzed together. Each trade is analyzed for changes in imports and exports, differences in technology and technological transfer, consequences of taxation and subsidy, effects of war on the flow of goods, and commercial organization. Institutions, such as the India monopolies, as well as entrepreneurs are discussed. Ormrod argues that, by 1750, "the movement of commodities, shipping, credit and capital across the North Sea was controlled by a looser network of firms, partnerships, brokers and chartering agents than was the case a century earlier, in the days of regulated trade" (p. 98). Within those networks, "London merchants preferred to act as commission agents and brokers for Dutch and other foreign principals"; British merchants dealing with "nearby Europe preferred the low but predictable gains from commission sales, a shift which eased the transition to colonial American markets where similar tendencies were at work" (p. 99).

One of the payoffs for this dense, careful analysis is Ormrod's argument about the relationship between the Baltic-North Sea zone and the evolving Atlantic economy. "The starting point of English commercial hegemony," Ormrod believes, lay not in the long-distance trades that Ralph Davis and Jonathan Israel have held up as central but "in the old-established trade networks which were concentrated in the southern core of the North Sea area" (p. 66). The rise of long-distance trade in general and the Atlantic economy in particular "depended to a large degree on a strong European trading position, and on Britain's ability to exercise leverage at the core of the European world economy, the North Sea/Baltic zone, as power shifted from Amsterdam to London" (p. 72). Only after the British could enforce their mercantilist navigation laws, dispose of colonial goods through the London entrepôt, tax overseas trade, and maintain direct access to Baltic naval supplies could they effectively dominate the Atlantic. For Ormrod, the Baltic is every bit as important as the Mediterranean was for Braudel.

This is a major new interpretation, and many will argue whether the Baltic-North Sea zone is fully comparable "in its scale and complexity with . . . the Atlantic economy of the late colonial period" (p. 67). Ormrod's narrative is a fascinating one, but his argument still merits the verdict "not proven." There is, for example, no direct, point-for-point comparison of the two seaborne economies. But whether further analysis finally judges the particular conclusions right or wrong, this book changes the terms of the conversation. The questions transcend national boundaries; any future answer to the issues Ormrod addresses will have to recognize the porous, interwoven, mutually influencing—cosmopolitan—nature of trade. In this regard, the book is a triumph. Although at first some will construe it as a work for specialists of the English and Dutch trades, it speaks to the concerns of all Atlantic historians—indeed, all historians of the modern world.

The final part of the book returns to another of Ormrod's major concerns: Dutch decline and its relation to English expansion. He examines particularly the roles of European and Atlantic wars, and English

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protectionism. Despite the merits of this close reading of war and protectionism, there is still no clear resolution: did the Dutch really decline, or did the English just outpace them? Of course, in a book of this scholarly depth, one must be forgiven a few untied knots. Ormrod's study has so much useful information, raises so many fundamental questions, engages not just English and Dutch but also Atlantic and American scholars, and provides such a productive point of departure that it will keep scholars in the field coming back to it for years.

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DAVID STASAVAGE. *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great Britain, 1688–1789.* (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 210. $60.00.

Britain and France were at war for much of the "long eighteenth century," culminating in the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo. Victory was won not only on the playing fields of Eton, as a later generation of public school boys proclaimed. Success also rested, to a much greater extent, on the money markets of the City of London. The rise of the fiscal-military state is now a standard theme in British history: the ability of the British state to extract a higher proportion of national income from its population than the French state, and at less political cost than in France. The flow of income from the taxes then sustained loans to the state, offering security that the interest would be paid. David Stasavage's interesting book picks up the analysis at this point, asking why the British government did not default on these debts, whereas the French government did on several occasions. As he puts it, public borrowing poses a credibility problem: can lenders rely on the willingness of the state to honor its debts when deferring payment or even default has an obvious appeal to the taxpayers. The answer might appear obvious: if the government does not have a credible commitment to repay its loans, lenders will demand very high interest rates or even stop lending. But this calculation clearly did not prevent default in eighteenth-century France on three occasions with the need to pay higher interest rates, and many other countries have fallen into the same trap in the more recent past.

The usual interpretation proposed by historians and political scientists is that the presence of representative political institutions improves the ability of a government to make a credible commitment in three ways. The first is by creating constitutional checks and balances that prevent taxpayers from taking advantage of lenders. Stasavage is skeptical, arguing that interests opposed to default—the lenders and those with a concern for state finance—might gain dominance even in the absence of representative institutions; equally, these interests might fail to gain influence when checks and balances do exist. At most, constitutional checks or "multiple veto points" might reduce the risk of default. A second way in which representative government may create credibility is by delegation of authority to officials and bureaucrats with a commitment to a particular policy, as in the case of central bank control over monetary policy. Again, Stasavage doubts this argument. If lenders lack political voice, there is nothing stopping the government from reneging on the delegation of authority in order to default. Instead, he stresses a third feature of representative government: the formation of parties. When a government borrows, a division emerges between those who pay taxes to support the debt (who have an interest in default) and those who lend (who have an interest in securing payments). The lenders will be a minority; the crucial feature leading to credible commitment to paying interest on the national debt is the need of other groups to seek their support on the many points of division in society, such as religion, foreign policy, or constitutional issues. In other words, the key is not constitutional checks and balances but democratic compromise among parties representing a variety of interests. In Britain, the creditors of the state were embedded within a pluralistic party—the Whigs—and were able to secure a credible commitment to payment of their interest. Furthermore, interest rates were lower when the Whigs were in power than the Tories, who were less credibly committed to the debt. In other words, default will be low where conflict has many dimensions, and government creditors are members of the majority coalition. In France, parties did not fulfill the same function: when the Assembly was called after 1789, conflicts were more clearly polarized rather than, as in Britain, cross-cutting.

The question posed by Stasavage is very important, and not simply for Britain and France in the long eighteenth century. However, it does seem curious to stress the role of parties as the prime explanation. He notes, almost in passing, that parties in France after 1789 did not operate as in Britain—without noting that parties did not exist in France prior to that date. After all, parties only existed in Britain given the presence of Parliament. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was at least revolutionary in one sense: Parliament met annually for every subsequent year. This did not apply to England prior to 1688, nor to France for the next century. Moreover, a major reason why Britain did not default was that it had a much more effective fiscal system. The issue was not simply the existence of parties and multiple dimensions of conflict; it was the structures of fiscal extraction that allowed Britain to collect more money with less political risk and so sustain payment to creditors.

In part the difference was one of timing: England did not engage in expensive land wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and so avoided some of the problems that led to sale of offices and tax farming in France, with the loss of consent to taxation and

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strained relations between state and subject. In England and, after 1707, in Britain, taxation was more reliant on efficient excise duties, and on extraction of other taxes through the involvement of the tax-paying classes. The involvement of the major tax-paying interests in Parliament also meant that the structure of customs and excise duties could be negotiated and compromises reached, rather than being imposed from above. It might also be argued that support of taxation and of the national debt was more likely to arise where the benefits seemed apparent: the defeat of Catholicism, the winning of trade and empire, and the stimulation of industry. A credible commitment of the government to paying interest on its debt could be linked to the credibility of any debtor paying off his or her debts, a serious consideration in a highly commercialized society such as Britain, where issues of credit were central to social thought. Could this be another reason for the reluctance of taxpayers—merchants, industrialists, and traders—to support default?

Stasavage has posed an extremely interesting question, which applies as much to the recent past as to the eighteenth century. Why some countries default and others do not is a major theme in political as well as economic history. Clearly, the British state was able to borrow on more favorable terms than France in the eighteenth century, overtaking even the Dutch. Whether Stasavage has provided a fully convincing answer is more open to dispute.

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K. J. KESSELRING. *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 238. $60.00.

K. J. Kesselring's subject is the royal pardon in Tudor England. Pardons have been studied earlier for France and the Burgundian lands by Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert Muchembled, and Claude Gauvard. Their works are valuable for the study of homicide, because French and other continental petitions for pardon contain numerous details about killing and its context of ritual and honor. This reviewer had hoped to find similar details in Kesselring's book, but homicide is not its principal theme. Not only have few petitions for pardon survived in England but, unlike in the French case, they seldom contain a narrative of the crime. Instead, English petitioners focused on expressions of submission; in addition, most of Kesselring's sources originated from the pardon givers: the king and his advisors. Consequently, this book's main theme is how mercy served to bolster royal authority. The pardons in question were not even in majority granted for homicide; rioters and rebels constituted a significant group profiting from them.

Thus, the principal historiographical context is the study of state formation in early modern England, which involves a comparison with pardoning in the eighteenth century. That period has been studied by authors such as Douglas Hay and Peter King. In his classic essay "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law," in *Albion's Fatal Tree* (1975), Hay argued that the criminal law mainly served to uphold the interests of the ruling classes. Pardons had a definite function in the delicate balance between terror and mercy. In particular, they were part of the system of patronage that formed a major pillar supporting the position of the elites in this paternalistic society. Hay's thesis has been criticized by several scholars, most recently by King, who argued that, even though some inequalities definitely existed, the criminal law nevertheless was a multi-use right and laboring and middling men played a significant part in its operations (see *Crime, Justice and Discretion in England* [2000]). Kesselring avoids taking a stand with regard to this eighteenth-century debate, but she notes several times that her own evidence shows the sixteenth century to be closer to Hay's picture than to King's. Patronage, for example, was a key element in the functioning of the system of mercy. It was just as important for offenders seeking a pardon to be part of a network that included an influential person as it was for the latter, especially for a great lord, to be known as someone who could obtain the king's favor. To be able to help many people contributed to the personal honor of the "good lord" or "good lady" (as in the case of Lord and Lady Lisle in the 1530s).

The Tudor period, of course, was marked especially by the extension of royal power. Pardons served the interests of the elites, but those of the crown even more. Mercy was an integral part of royal authority. This has been argued, in similar terms, by Muchembled for the archdukes of Burgundy and their Habsburg successors (especially in *La Violence au Village* [1989]). The fact that this work is only available in French perhaps explains why Kesselring makes no comparison with it. Her analysis is convincing nevertheless. In the introduction she shows that Henry VIII suppressed the pardoning rights of lesser lords and became the sole source of mercy, unrestrained yet by Parliament. The chapters following are structured thematically, dealing with punishment, pardon legislation, patronage, public performances, and social and political protest. Much like Hay's description of the eighteenth century, the Tudor government rested on a mixture of severity and mercy. The first was inherent in the period's frequent executions. Conversely, pardoning enhanced the crown's power by portraying it as merciful; every pardon required that the petitioner showed deference and submission, thus emphasizing inequalities of power. Public performances of pardon were especially theatrical when it was announced at the last minute before an execution. Kesselring firmly aligns herself with those historians who stress the symbolic aspects of state-formation processes.

Despite the shows of submission and unequal power, however, pardoning also involved negotiation. This becomes clear in the chapter on protest and rebellion,

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and it is a novel element when compared to the literature on pardoning in France and the Burgundian lands. The king could send troops to suppress protest, but he might also try to make the rebels stop by offering his mercy if they did. Often, these two reactions went together. Whereas protesters negotiated the conditions of the settlement, the king would usually give his commanders precise instructions on how to proceed. Such negotiated pardons after rebellions served as public performances again, in which dissent was expressed and the restoration of order confirmed.

Kesselring's book is well written and tightly structured. It is a welcome contribution to the study of criminal justice and the cultural and institutional aspects of state formation.

PIETER SPIERENBURG
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PETER MACK. *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice*. (Ideas in Context, number 63.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 326. $65.00.

Peter Mack's new book on Elizabethan rhetoric outlines the skills imparted by an Elizabethan grammar school education. These comprised methods of amplification (such as moral sentences, fables, tropes, and other figures of rhetoric) and dialectical and structural techniques for devising disputations and declamations. The author traces how the textbooks used in the grammar schools themselves derived from classical sources such as Cicero, Sallust, and Horace, as well as from Renaissance humanists such as Erasmus, whose *De copia*, *Adagia*, and *De conscribendis epistolis* were especially influential, being used directly in Latin and also indirectly through English works such as Angell Day's *The English Secretarie* (1586) and William Fulwood's *Enemie of Idleness* (1568). Having established the chief rhetorical skills and dialectical and oratorical systems, Mack then investigates their application in a range of texts across a number of the most common prose genres: political orations, histories, romances, conduct manuals, personal letters, parliament speeches, and religious discourses. Elizabethan rhetoric, he suggests, played an important role in shaping the elite by inculcating moral instruction through the content of its *sententiae*, and by training would-be Tudor gentlemen in methods of discourse that would enable them to engage effectively in the affairs of the nation.

The value of this book resides in the synthesis it provides of a large body of theoretical and practical material that has been frequently reprinted in its original form but seldom studied in its own right, especially recently. It painstakingly categorizes and describes the main devices and tactics of Tudor rhetoric and then traces the way in which these devices are employed in particular texts. Some, like Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1580), Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named The Governour* (1531), or John Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1579), are very well known, but others discussed by Mack, such as *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple* (1602–1603), or the papers of Ralph Winwood, are not. Still others, like the various notebooks and letters Mack examines, are drawn straight from unpublished sixteenth-century manuscripts. Mack's discussion of this material is likely to point future scholars in the direction of other neglected material that may be worthy of critical attention.

Despite these virtues, however, this book leaves one feeling vaguely dissatisfied. This is because the approach Mack adopts favors lengthy description rather than critical, interpretative hypothesis. To some extent, Mack falls into the trap of replicating in his own method the constraints of the formalized (and fairly dull) rhetorical method of the material with which he is dealing. Each chapter dutifully categorizes its material, describes it, and then summarizes what it has described. The result is a set of very self-evident conclusions; for example, after examining a selection of histories, conduct manuals, and romances, Mack finds that all three genres re-articulate shared stories and sentences, and all employ devices of amplification to present the material. "So what?," one is tempted to ask. Missing is an exploration of the discursive ramifications of the phenomenon the author has identified. In terms of "fittingness-to-mean," why are these devices and strategies being used across a range of genres, and to what ends? How does this fairly stylized rhetorical discourse relate to other discourses being employed at the time? What are the sociological and political implications of the use of these discourses in relation to one another within the particular contexts that give rise to them? The material traversed in Mack's book gives ample room for speculation on the ontological and ethical assumptions held by these writers of humanist rhetoric, and on their political and religious motivations. What kind of hyperreality were they trying to construct? Why? And to what end? Are there any signs of how this hyperreality might relate to actuality in a particular writer's mind, and if there appears to be tension between the two (as there often does), what does that say about the purpose and function of the piece itself? To answer these questions would require a more probing exploration of the contexts of the writings Mack analyzes. Some acknowledgement of the contemporary theoretical approaches that scholars have been using might have produced new insights that could have made this material more interesting to contemporary readers. As it is, Mack occasionally finds it necessary to assert that the system he is describing is less uniform and rigid than his analysis might suggest. Even if it were as rigid as he fears, that fact could still be interesting if framed so as to reveal the potential that is inherent in this largely neglected material.

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S. MUTCHOW TOWERS. *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England*. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, number 8.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. viii, 304. $75.00.

This monograph by S. Mutchow Towers has some good features, but it represents a missed opportunity. Its main strength is the fresh insight it offers into the various forms of control and censorship of the "religious" press in the early Stuart period. The roles of key players in these controls—the Stationers' Company, printers and publishers, privy councilors, individual bishops and episcopal licensers, and even the occasional author possibly exercising self-censorship—are carefully examined both at a general level and, in the small minority of cases where detailed evidence of rejection or alterations survives, at the level of individual titles as well. Another strength is the way in which Towers has constructed four samples of "religious works" published in the years 1607 (forty-seven titles), 1617 (fifty-three), 1627 (fifty-eight), and 1637 (seventy-three) as a basis on which to test different theories concerning the extent and impact of censorship, especially in the late 1620s and the 1630s. Queries could be raised about the choice of years, and there is some doubt about how she has defined a "religious" publication. Equally, although much is made of the "systematic methodology" used in constructing these samples, the decision to omit Bibles, prayer books, psalters, and officially sponsored publications means that perhaps half of the demonstrably Protestant output of the English print trade in this period is simply waved aside in a parenthesis (p. 12), and the samples are slewed heavily toward the "controversial, apologetical and polemical works which were more likely to gain attention" at the time (p. 28). Whose attention, and why, is not stated, nor is any explanation offered for the great majority of these works having never got past the first edition. Despite these limitations, the samples could have been—and can still be—used to pursue an open-ended enquiry into changes in censorship in this period; but it is in the jump from technical aspects, which are skillfully handled, to interpretation of the content of the samples that the serious problems begin.

The chief one is the criteria adopted by the author in analyzing that content. The three-fold definition of an "evangelical Calvinist" publication (p. 14) is at the same time too broad, too narrow, and too rigid. On the one hand, "fear and hatred of Catholicism" and support for "strict sabbath observance" elicited a whole gamut of opinions on a changing slate of issues between the 1580s and 1630s. On the other hand, opting for a bare mention of the double decree of predestination as evidence of Calvinism—the criterion most often used here—is much too narrow and theologically naïve, in that it ignores the considerable extent to which the predestinarian debate had expanded and shifted its ground from the 1560s to the 1620s on matters such as grace, atonement, covenants, and preparation, and, indeed, was shifting again in the 1620s and 1630s as moderate Calvinists reacted against the wave of religious despair they felt the rigid predestinarian stress on introspection was inducing in their flocks. Use of this criterion also ignores the very wise warning against "single-issue doctrinal divisions" issued by Anthony Milton in *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (1995, p. 4), and Nicholas Tyacke's retreat from what he later saw as his "excessive" concentration on predestination and irresistible grace, in *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530–1700* (2001, p. 10). Indeed, there is a sense in which this monograph appears frozen in the mid-1990s. This reviewer is castigated (mainly on the basis of a preliminary article in 1986) for having missed evidence of double predestination in early modern catechisms, but Towers has clearly not had the time to absorb the points I was trying to make in *The Christian's ABC* (1996) about the importance of setting any predestinarian material in catechisms in as full a context of their authors' intentions and doctrine as possible.

What compounds the problem is Towers's difficulty in providing a broad structure for the full range of titles in her samples. Some works she finds "impossible to categorize because not touching on controversial subjects" (p. 244); many devotional works, for example, are "neutral" (p. 197), while John Verneuil's aid to Bible study has "no real point of view" (p. 238)—descriptions that might have offended their authors. There is also, arguably, a lack of equity in the treatment of titles: if a work includes a "Calvinist" tenet, even "in passing," or makes rude remarks about the pope or sabbath-breakers, it is deemed evidence of strong popular demand; but if it does not, its publication is usually assumed to be evidence of "the dominant power in the church" at work (p. 248). The main conclusion reached—that evangelical Calvinist works were readily available in first editions published in 1607, 1617, and 1627 and in the reprints that appeared in 1637, but the first editions of 1637 "displayed the anti-Calvinist and ceremonialist themes of the Laudian church" (p. 277)—is thus predictable, if more bald than some of the judgments offered in earlier chapters (for example, on the 1627 sample).

But all is not lost. If the material in this volume were to be reworked using a more sophisticated framework (which could treat the growing numbers of devotional works, godly living handbooks, and wedding sermons in the samples as seriously as polemical works), and more suitable criteria provided for analysis of the samples (reflecting not only contemporary authors' intentions in publishing their works, but also the shifts in predestinarian thinking evident in men like Richard Sibbes and John Preston and the impact of the polarizing labels that lay much closer to the heart of early Stuart disputes than doctrinal debates), and if the balance of each sample were then reappraised, a picture might emerge that would bear close comparison with that of Towers—periodic attempts to

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strengthen controls of certain types of work, especially in 1637–1640, achieved some success—but would be more nuanced and persuasive in explaining the vagaries of censorship and self-censorship in the late 1620s and late 1630s.

IAN GREEN
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DAVID EDWARDS. *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515–1642: The Rise and Fall of Butler Feudal Power*. (Cork Studies in History and Culture, number 2.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 378. $50.00.

On the occasion of his release by his Gaelic kidnappers in June 1600, the extent of the influence of the septuagenarian earl of Ormond, Thomas Butler, in his heartland of County Kilkenny was measurable. Seventeen of the most important nobles in the shire gave themselves up voluntarily as hostages, and approximately 300 squires, gentry, and tenants contributed to the £3,000 demanded for his liberation. Gaelic families as well as a leading New Englishman joined those of older English stock in supporting the earl. This highly significant rallying to Butler's cause is seen by David Edwards as emblematic of the unifying force of Ormond power as established by successive earls in the sixteenth century. A key argument of this important study is that personal aristocratic rule within a feudal framework mediated change in many regions of Ireland down to the seventeenth century. In order to explain how the process worked in respect of Kilkenny, the author embarks upon a groundbreaking geopolitical survey of an early modern Irish county. Across plains and uplands, in town and countryside, the centrifugal dynasticism of the Butlers and other families is clearly shown to have been restrained by the good lordship of the earls of Ormond. This was successfully extended through a variety of means, ranging from English-style manorialism to coign and livery, the Gaelic system of exactions and protection.

Another major contribution of this book lies in its absorbing cross-sectional study of English policy in Ireland in the long sixteenth century down to 1642. Unlike their contemporary magnates, the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, the Butlers of Ormond adapted to political and religious reforms under the earlier Tudor monarchy, successfully seeing off their rivals to fashion a formidable power bloc in the southeastern part of the island. Advantaged for much of the sixteenth century by their connection to the Boleyn family, the earls of Ormond manifested considerable skill in preserving their autonomous lordship over Kilkenny, while absorbing intensified forms of governmental activity in their bailiwick. Earl Thomas in particular emerges as the central figure in steering the lordship through the upheavals of the Elizabethan period, facing down internal rivals and ambitious, overbearing chief governors alike. His closeness to the queen was normally efficacious, but the unpredictability and competitiveness of local politics and English officials on the ground made the task of managing change a difficult one. Edwards argues convincingly that the tenth earl was respected internally in his lordship for his involvement of the county elites in its governance, while persuading the Tudor administrators of the loyalty of the community down to the end of Elizabeth's reign.

In examining how Kilkenny was affected by the exercise of intrusive state policies after 1603, the author demonstrates that issues of Catholic religious dissent and the integrity of land titles were raised with increasing painfulness for leading persons in the county. After the removal of the protective shield of Earl Thomas's leadership with his death in 1614, the county community suffered the exploitative machinations of newcomers in a period of disputed succession to the earldom down to the late 1620s. Thereafter, the lordship of James Butler, twelfth earl and future duke of Ormond, further alienated the Kilkenny community by identifying with the absolutist New English regime in Ireland, overriding wonted liberties in the process. When the great national rebellion broke out in 1641, Kilkenny became the center of Catholic royalist opposition to the Protestant interest led by Ormond. Edwards challenges the established historiography by stressing that, far from providing an "Ormondist party" that was sympathetic to the earl in the years of conflict, Kilkenny was highly antagonistic to "the unkinde desertor" (p. 336) whose castles and estates still dominated the county but who had lost the hearts of the population.

The value of this excellent study lies not only in its exemplary revelation of an Irish county in astonishing detail but also in its insights into how feudalized, local authority responded to the centralizing tendencies of state government in the early modern period. Because of the importance of Kilkenny as the headquarters of the Catholic confederation in the 1640s, the history of its transition from bastion of loyalism to seat of resistance, so ably recounted here, will be of interest to a wide readership.

COLM LENNON
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CLARE JACKSON. *Restoration Scotland, 1660–1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas*. (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political, and Social History, number 2.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. ix, 258. $85.00.

There is no recently published study of Scottish Restoration politics (although much is forthcoming), and Clare Jackson provides a detailed and intelligent account of the royalist politics and politico-religious ideas of the period. Jackson attempts a reconstruction of late seventeenth-century intellectual culture, although this "mental world" (p. 216) is almost always political and addressed to religious government. Her introduction and conclusion can be misleading: the claimed key role of Scottish lawyers in political culture

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is represented chiefly by the Lord Advocate Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, on whom Jackson is an authority, but other lawyers are thin on the ground. The subtitle of this volume is a better guide to its contents.

Old historiographical traditions of Whig triumphalism at the "Glorious Revolution" and the mere history of kings are set aside in this study of the motives of royalist nobles, officers of state, and clergy. The Restoration settlement is outlined with emphasis on the institutional restoration of Parliament and episcopacy and the framework for government control of ideas. Political theory is then debated, in particular notions of resistance to royal authority. Diametrically conflicting views of loyalism are revealed in Episcopalian tracts and banned Presbyterian polemic. These concepts of loyalism and monarchy are then exposed to the political circumstances of the 1660s and 1670s. The first earl of Shaftesbury's often quoted condemnation of the Scottish Parliament is aired along with the duke of Lauderdale's famous boast of its ineffectiveness. However, Lauderdale tired of Parliament precisely because he found it ever more difficult to bend to his will. With regard to sovereignty, the preamble of acts of Parliament—"his Majesty, with advice and consent of the estates of Parliament"—is the battleground. In an effective discussion on politics and religion (chapter five), Presbyterian loyalism is investigated in an anticlerical climate, and the reactionary agenda of order is then explored through the taking of oaths and treason trials. A fascinating survey of Episcopal intellectualism and fears of secularization and intolerance follows (in chapter eight); the plaintive cries of the moderate Bishop Robert Leighton sum up the stresses in an age of church party and new learning. The closing chapter shows some interest in the brief debate over Anglo-Scottish union in 1689 but does not capture the "new" crisis of royalism.

This book is an interesting read and an attractive production, although the editing is not without problems. The erratic use of "sic" in quotations is largely redundant, as is the somewhat antiquarian use of printers' contractions. Jacksonian style, although always precise, is sometimes unnecessarily scientific. There are also weaknesses in her discussion of Parliament. Reliance on G. W. Iredell's thesis is unfortunate, as it is carelessly derived from Robert Rait's *The Parliaments of Scotland* (1924) which remains the best study. Only the shire and burgh members of the Scottish Parliament were "commissioners," the nobles and clergy never being so named. The title "high commissioner" was not given to all "king's commissioners." In addition, J. S. Clarke's *Life of James II* is not biography but a collection of writings, mostly by James himself, and the nearest thing we have to a memoir.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Jackson's book is most impressive in the deployment of a huge range of printed texts and tracts by clergy and political commentators. It is refreshing to see the royalist version, although surprising that the views of kings, especially James VI and I and James VII and II, are not integrated more, along with the royalist attitudes of early Covenanters. Jackson's view that absentee monarchy had little impact on political ideology contrasts curiously with Alan Macinnes's thesis on the causes of the revolution against Charles I. But perhaps the greatest conundrum is Mackenzie himself, who spans the book like an intellectual colossus. The trouble is that Mackenzie never quite came to terms with the revolution, even though in his *Jus Regium* (1684) he conceded the possibility that a people might be liberated from their king "by his deid, but not by their own right" (p. 200). In 1689, however, he accepted "an elected king" (p. 212), a notion he had completely rejected before. Facts had supplanted theorizing. Mackenzie's dilemma is shared by Jackson's otherwise impressive study.

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PETER D. G. THOMAS. *George III: King and Politicians 1760–1770*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 262. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95.

Peter D. G. Thomas has written a narrative of the politics of the 1760s from a standpoint avowedly derived from the work of Sir Lewis Namier. The book consists of two analytical chapters, eight chapters of narrative and a brief, four-page conclusion. Thomas's presentation of what he terms "the parameters of politics" is "primarily a study of high politics" motivated by Namierite assumptions: "that no . . . party system existed; that the monarchy was not a cypher; and that the correct analysis of Parliament was of an administration side comprising factions of politicians currently in office, a Court Party of officeholders, and supportive independents, and an opposition side of other political factions and independent MPs" (p. vii). It is a scholarly and elegantly written account of the fortunes of the monarchy, the cabinet, parliament, parties, and the press in an eventful and important decade.

There are few concessions to more recent interpretations. Thomas acknowledges the work of John Brewer, Linda Colley, the present reviewer, and others but nowhere attempts to refute at any length these differing interpretations. In spite of the Wilkesite phenomenon, Thomas is quick to assert that "popular politics made no significant impact on the government of Britain," something that might have surprised Lords Chatham, Grafton, and North (p. 20). In the conclusion, he reiterates the factional interpretation of these years with very little reference to what may be termed the "party" interpretation. Nevertheless, this volume amounts to an engagingly Namierite analysis by one of its most distinguished surviving exponents.

The title of the book may mislead scholars. This is in no sense a biographical study of George III in the 1760s. Insofar as the book focuses on him at all, it is to

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reinforce the Namierite belief in the centrality of the institution of monarchy. Most of the book is a detailed narrative of successive administrations, an account that pays due attention to issues of foreign and imperial policy. There is hardly anything on general elections or public opinion and relatively little on the activities of successive parliamentary oppositions. Although the book provides a useful summary of high politics, it cannot be regarded as—and was in no sense intended as—a reflection of recent scholarly work on the decade. It does not diminish the Namierite legacy to remark that the historiographical world has moved on since he published *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929) and *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (1930).

FRANCIS O'GORMAN
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BARBARA TAYLOR. *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination*. (Cambridge Studies in Romanticism, number 56.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 331. Cloth $60.00, paper $23.00.

The dust jacket of Barbara Taylor's book proposes that the portrayal of Mary Wollstonecraft as "an icon of modern feminism" "has paradoxically obscured her real historical significance . . . as a writer steeped in the Utopianism of Britain's radical Enlightenment." And indeed, Taylor—a historian to the core—insists that Wollstonecraft must be read in the context of her times: she "was not a Women's Liberationist *avant la lettre* but a writer immersed in the boldest of ages" (p. 11). Taylor marvels at the extent of Wollstonecraft's "posthumous celebrity" (p. 9) and the "imaginary modernity" (p. 10) attributed to her by subsequent admirers.

Extending the tradition of inquiry incarnated by her now classic study of early nineteenth-century utopian thought, *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (1983), Taylor provides a truly innovative reading of a writer-philosopher whose career and ideas have been continually subjected to evaluation from widely varying and often highly judgmental perspectives. Following an extensive introduction that engagingly summarizes Wollstonecraft's well-documented life story, Taylor divides her treatment into two major parts: "Imagining Women" and "Feminism and Revolution." The epilogue, "The Fantasy of Mary Wollstonecraft," explores the varying responses to Wollstonecraft's life and ideas throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The first three chapters of part one take up half the book, providing the keys to the following six, shorter chapters of part two.

Can there be anything more to be said about Wollstonecraft, one might ask? She has for all practical purposes become a canonical writer: her extant letters and collected works are now published, and no new primary sources have since been discovered. Many biographical and interpretative studies have appeared. Indeed, Taylor's book follows hard on the heels of two recent important studies in English of Wollstonecraft, the first focusing on her as a political theorist (Virginia Sapiro's *A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Politiccal Theory of Mary Wollstonecraft* [1992]) and the second a critical biography (*Mary Wollstonecraft: A Revolutionary Life* by Janet Todd [2000]). In Italian, Roberta A. Modugno has published *Mary Wollstonecraft: Diritti umani e Rivoluzione francese* (2002).

The answer is yes. Taylor contributes an innovative reading, emphasizing not only Wollstonecraft's "uncompromising egalitarianism" (p. 3), so unusual for her time, but also her intense extra-institutional religiosity. This is definitely a new perspective. The book is intellectual history with a twist: imagination rather than reasoned thought is its focus. For example, Taylor reads Wollstonecraft's call for "a revolution in female manners" in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) as "a summons to women to establish a right relationship with their Maker" (p. 94). Women should strive to become dependent only on God, not on man.

Taylor effectively redirects our understanding of Wollstonecraft by situating her work in its intellectual and emotional context. She points to the paradoxes and contradictions embedded in Wollstonecraft's abundant writings, which she views as important, "no longer embarrassments to be brushed aside, but keys to a realm of hidden meanings" (p. 21). Perhaps the most innovative aspect of Taylor's carefully contextualized study is the third chapter, "For the Love of God," which focuses on Wollstonecraft's deep belief in a higher power. Here Taylor draws on perspectives from psychoanalysis to probe most convincingly her subject's spirituality. This chapter offers a deep meditation on the centrality of love, God, and sex to the human condition; it is original and moving.

Taylor identifies Wollstonecraft's last publication, the novel *The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria*, published posthumously in 1798, as a far more feminist work than the celebrated and much republished *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. She characterizes the latter as more a scathing critique of an artificial, sensual, and demeaning brand of femininity embodied by aristocratic English women than a call for rights per se, finding in Wollstonecraft's tirades "a complex critique of the impact of power relations on the feminine psyche" (p. 56).

Readers will profit mightily from this book, which is thoroughly researched, astutely argued, and beautifully written. It is a lush, ripe, vibrant study, unmarred by theoretical jargon even though it is a densely theorized work. Taylor demonstrates, as few others have done to date, just how gender concerns played out in the thinking of late eighteenth-century English women and men. She demonstrates which of Wollstonecraft's ideas were common to certain contemporary intellectual and political traditions, and she highlights the innovations. In particular she clarifies Wollstonecraft's thinking: her notion of "independence" for a woman was "not as a free-floating individual but as an

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equal working partner in a common family enterprise" (p. 229).

The book does contain a very few egregious errors: the author refers to the 1892 centenary or centennial of the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* as its first "anniversary" (p. 9); she attributes the term "feminism" to the early twentieth century (p. 12), whereas, in fact, it gained currency in France and throughout Europe, including England, in the later 1890s; Diotima becomes "Diotama" (p. 28); and the French playwright Molière's satirical plays on the woman question are attributed to the early eighteenth century, when in fact they were composed in the seventeenth century (p. 29). Finland, not Norway, was the first European state to enfranchise women, in 1906 (p. 288, n. 97). These errors should be corrected before the next printing.

Taken as a whole, however, Taylor's contribution provides us with a brilliant, holistic, and convincingly sure-footed historical interpretation. It should become a classic.

KAREN OFFEN
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AUSTIN GEE. *The British Volunteer Movement: 1794–1814.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. 323. $85.00.

Incorporating as they did upward of 400,000 men at their peak in 1804, the local volunteer units raised to defend Britain during the long war with the French republic and empire of Napoleon Bonaparte have long been subject to academic scrutiny. Over the past half-century alone, a range of articles and books on specific units and aspects of the force, as well as more general studies, have appeared. Many historians have been less interested in the place of the volunteer corps in anti-invasion plans (a full-blown French invasion, after all, never came to pass) than in their role in maintaining internal order. The problem, as the author of this carefully constructed study sees it, is that certain influential scholars—notably John Western—have tended to oversimplify the composition, outlook, and the behavior of volunteer corps in arguing that they were inherent supporters of reactionary policy. "Though a loyal force, the volunteers as a whole cannot be characterized as 'loyalist': a conservative or anti-radical force. The force was loyal in a general sense of allegiance to the crown, but there were limits to the extent to which that loyalty could be relied upon" (p. 8).

The first two chapters, which cover the way in which the force first came into being and then developed, indicate the extent to which men initially came forward for straightforward patriotic reasons rather than primarily out of narrowly loyalist political conviction. In later years, a widespread desire to avoid forms of compulsory service clearly also played a role. The next three chapters explore the question of membership, attitude, and motivation within the volunteer corps in considerable detail. The overall picture suggests that there can be no single overarching model for the volunteer phenomenon, given the many regional and town-versus-country unit variations, except to the extent that the volunteers differed markedly from the other armed forces of the crown. This was in large part due to what Austin Gee sees as a calculated risk by the government to allow corps to develop with only limited Home Office and county oversight. "Overall, the force had more the appearance of a spontaneous popular movement than one imposed by central direction" (p. 74). The public image of the volunteers and the degree to which units served as de facto social clubs are also explored. Perhaps not surprisingly, while the volunteers saw themselves as disinterested patriots, the public at large tended to view them as earnest and somewhat self-righteous military amateurs.

The key questions of role and political reliability are addressed in the final two chapters. Although Western and others have viewed the volunteer movement as an anti-radical force, Gee indicates the way in which contemporary observers had reason to fear that the corps might become the exact opposite: that is, bodies of armed commoners who might one day overthrow the established order. Management was by local committee, officers were elected, financial support came through local subscription, and volunteers as citizen-soldiers were not subject to regular military discipline. Furthermore, a unit's conception of its purpose was often at variance with what the government had in mind. Individual corps did not always respond with enthusiasm when called upon to put down riots, and in certain instances volunteers were among the disaffected. At the time, critics such as General Sir Thomas Picton saw the volunteer movement as potentially very dangerous to law and order. Gee, however, convincingly demonstrates that any portrayal of the volunteers as a revolutionary threat is as overdrawn as the contrary image of the corps as committed enforces of reactionary policy. Nevertheless, there is no doubt in the author's mind that the volunteer units, by their very existence, played a role in maintaining the stability of the state through "gaining the active involvement of civilians [in the war effort] and strengthening the ties of social allegiance" (p. 268).

Based on extensive research at the national and county level, this very detailed and scholarly monograph is a welcome addition to the comparatively recent work on the volunteer phenomenon by historians such as John Cookson and Ian Beckett. It should be on the reading list of anyone seriously interested in the amateur military tradition in Britain.

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MARGOT C. FINN. *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914.* (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 362. $70.00.

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High personal indebtedness is a feature of almost all advanced consumer societies, and in England it has been an endemic problem at least since the later seventeenth century. Margot C. Finn's new study examines debt, credit, and society in the almost 175 years during which England passed through the financial, consumer, and industrial revolutions, consolidated its global empire, and turned into a modern state. Finn makes a powerful case that the credit nexus constituted one of the main mechanisms by which capitalism remade not just consumer relations but political and legal institutions, social life, marriage, and personal identity in the early modern and modern period.

Credit and debt preoccupied novelists, became an obsession for memoirists, spawned new institutions (most notably new trade associations and political lobbies), altered the legal system, affected questions of prison reform, influenced notions of gender (especially of married women's property rights), and, in general, occupied a central place in the lives of English people in past centuries. Finn's book conveys all this with panache, pathos, scores of fascinating stories, and some well-chosen illustrations. But her overarching argument is more subtle, and, at least initially, somewhat counterintuitive. It is that historians of Britain have been too swift to link market relations to the arrival of "rational" and individualistic economic actors and interests. Historically, the credit nexus was, she argues, a much more complex, hybrid set of processes than liberal economists imagine, one in which personal relations were key, status considerations such as class and gender played significant roles, and traditional notions of morality, personal worth, reciprocity, and paternalism hung on well into the twentieth century. The argument is compelling, her evidence is strong, and one is left with little doubt that she is right.

Part one of the book deals with debt and credit in fiction and autobiography and contains subtle discussions of Samuel Richardson, Oliver Goldsmith, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray and numerous others, as well as diarists and memoirists both famous and obscure. Although Finn is by no means the first to explore the theme of debt and English literature, her account is especially valuable because of her unparalleled understanding of the way debt and imprisonment for debt actually functioned in the period about which she writes. Indeed, her account of the ways judicial reform, shifting class relations, and new expectations about gender intersected with indebtedness over the course of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries adds very significantly to the historical record as well as to one's readings of many of the classics of English literature. And she has unearthed some truly remarkable autobiographies, such as the tortured memoirs of the artist and insolvent debtor Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846), who was ultimately driven to suicide at least in part by his credit woes.

Part two of the book is entirely devoted to imprisonment for debt and the impact of prison reform. It is a far more complex tale than most people realize, and the lengthy time period Finn surveys gives her an excellent vantage point from which to address change over time. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, debtors' prisons routinely housed impecunious members of the middle class and even the gentry, which in turn gave rise to distinctive social arrangements within prisons and prison precincts (it also provided much grist for the novelist's mill). But by the latter part of the nineteenth century, imprisonment for debt had metamorphosed into an almost entirely lower-class phenomenon. There were, as Finn shows, two key turning points. The first came in 1861, when middle and upper-class non-traders were permitted access to bankruptcy proceedings (previously it had only been available to business owners, and not even to all of those). The second came in 1869, with the misleadingly named "Act for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt. " Contrary to popular myth, the 1869 law did not abolish imprisonment for debt. Rather it abolished imprisonment for debt *from superior courts*, and imprisonment for debts over £50 from any court, while retaining imprisonment at the county court level for the smaller consumer debts mostly incurred by working-class people. The resulting shift in the class composition of imprisoned debtors was accompanied by an increasingly punitive approach to debtor prisoners. By the later nineteenth century, the older, more lavish (at least for the better off) debtors' prisons had been closed or consolidated, and the insolvent poor were consigned to squalid, disease-ridden county jails or workhouses, confined with actual criminals, and deprived of the traditional privileges prisoners for debt had once enjoyed. And that was how things remained for a very, very long time. The "shopkeeper" lobby, in the form of organizations like the National Association of Trade Protection Societies successfully blocked the abolition of imprisonment for debt in England until the shockingly late date of 1970.

Part three of the book explains the shifts that took place over time in the adjudication of debts, focusing especially on small debts—generally consumer debts incurred by mostly poor people. First Finn charts the rise, largely in the eighteenth century, of the so-called courts of conscience. These were local small-claims courts, run on equity principles, that, among other things, were unusually receptive to claims by married women, as well as to wives appearing as representatives for their husbands. These courts have received relatively little attention from historians, so Finn's close focus on original eighteenth and nineteenth-century proceedings from all over England is most welcome. She also does a very estimable job of placing the courts within the context of "Old Corruption" and the rhetoric of reform. Her account of the reorganization of the courts via the County Court Act of 1846 is the most comprehensive in the literature, and Finn's long view permits her to advance a number of revi-

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sionist claims about this shift. In her view, the county courts—often hailed by legal historians as a milestone in the history of legal modernization—differed far less from the "unreformed" courts of conscience than has hitherto been allowed. Thus, like the old courts of conscience, they closely guarded judicial prerogative, were fairly strongly biased toward the interests of creditors, and proved extremely variable in their sentencing. Another feature that survived the shift from courts of conscience to county courts was the former's very hospitable attitude toward married women appearing in court on their own account, a happy fact that allows Finn to fashion, using actual court cases, a remarkably rich description of the way the run-up to, as well as the aftermath of, the passage of the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870, 1882, and 1893 worked "on the ground."

This impressively researched, lucid, and often beautifully written book is a powerful testimony to the way interdisciplinary methodologies are transforming social, economic, legal, political, and gender history. It is not a book for the faint of heart, however, or for those in search of easy answers. Finn herself shows that debt and the problems of debt could never really be brought to heel by magistrates, moralists, or novelists; aspects of it continue to elude the historian. In truth, the very richness of the topic of credit threatens at times to overwhelm the reader, not because Finn's efforts to make sense of it all are unconvincing or disorganized—they are neither—but because the tendrils of credit made their way into so many aspects of eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth-century life.

Like all good books, this one inspires readers to think more deeply about their own time. Judging from the recent rash of articles in the *Wall Street Journal* and other venues decrying today's dangerously high rates of personal indebtedness, some, at least, of these issues are still with us. Although reading Finn's study does not make it easier to pay off one's credit card debts, it does encourage real empathy for the anxious generations that have gone before us. One also comes away from it with a palpable sense of relief that debtors' prisons are no more. Let us hope a certain Department of Justice does not get hold of this book, or someone might decide to bring them back.

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JAMES HINTON. *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War: Continuities of Class*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 267.

"We are acting in the way of smoothing out difficulties," Lady Stella Reading, founder and lifetime leader of the English Women's Voluntary Service (WVS), explained disarmingly in 1938 (p. 93). But, as this lively and engaging book demonstrates, the WVS accomplished far more: James Hinton offers good evidence that, if one looks at women as well as men, one finds continuities of efficacious political paternalism and class hierarchy throughout interwar England and into the postwar period, not the straightforward demise of middle-class authority usually depicted. Hinton makes his case through a close study of the WVS from its founding in the 1930s through its disintegration in the 1960s. The first part of the book demonstrates the organization's triumphant rise to success in the interwar and especially the wartime years (boasting at its peak one million members) across a range of local settings; the second reveals its surprising tenacity in the years following the war, despite "democratization" under the Labour government, the professionalization of social services, and even the Conservatives' abandonment of the WVS for its avowed nonpartisanship. The book is compelling in its assertions of the ambivalent nature of the processes of democratization and the decline of paternalistic, middle-class control in these years. Viewed through the activities of women, the presumed middle-class retreat from such a leadership role socially and politically looks far less clear cut, above all in big cities where a Labour ascendancy suggested the most rapid and thorough political transformation. This altered periodization recasts the role of both wars and the significance of the rise of Labour to power for the restructuring of English society, a notable revision of our understanding of twentieth-century English history. It also contributes to a nuanced study of some forms of "feminine politics" even after suffrage rendered women "equal citizens."

Hinton offers a glimpse of WVS leader Lady Reading, both singular and representative of the larger organization in her exercise of "charm" and "discipline": charm when negotiating with officials (often social inferiors), discipline in the tight control she wielded over this rigidly hierarchical organization down to its lowest levels. Hinton demonstrates, as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall revealed of early nineteenth-century English women, that middle-class women practiced politics very effectively, if discreetly, through associational life and "volunteerism." Hinton shows that, as in earlier times, class often "trumped" gender as an organizing principle: the WVS exuded paternalistic middle-class culture that, despite efforts to "integrate the working class," showed little interest in promoting the democratization often associated with the era. At the same time, class and gender worked closely together, as the WVS often effectively joined populations—for example, through appeals to patriotism—in ways Margaret Thatcher only dreamed of in the 1980s.

The book proceeds with case studies of local WVS chapters in a variety of contexts. In cities and provincial towns conceived of as former bastions of middle-class paternal control, Hinton demonstrates a remarkable continuity of this character. Even the Labour women who played leadership roles in the WVS came from the upper classes. The only "democratization" visible in the organization was the modicum of autonomy maintaining participation. In rural areas, a less acknowledged sphere of influence for the middle-class

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elite, the WVS was particularly successful in reinforcing conservative hierarchies and relations of deference, at least during the war.

In the second half of the book, Hinton examines the post-World War II vicissitudes of the WVS, noting the significance of its continued existence and even growth after an initial plummet in membership and flirtations with other groupings, suggesting that this type of political activism coexisted at some level with the postwar rhetoric of rights and entitlements (including women's) and of equality (especially across class), as well as of professionalization, particularly in the administration of welfare services by the first Labour government. The WVS moved from its successful role in wartime evacuations from cities under threat of bombing to more ambivalent results with its programs in food and fuel provisioning, however, and grew more ambivalent also in its maintenance of political power. Yet if the WVS and its ilk were spent by the mid-1960s, the continuities Hinton traces up to that point force us both to reperiodize our understanding of the decline of middle-class paternalist rule and to rethink the relation of women's political expression to suffrage, rights discourses, and economic opportunities and roles.

These are important arguments, rendered in a readable, unassuming, and often dryly humorous package. The WVS represented a limited but significant style of English politics. The persistence of "hybrid" public/private forms and organization seems less astonishing in the context of interwar corporatism, even in England, which the author might have addressed. Hinton makes clear the special if not exclusive role of the war in supporting such politics, but the narrative concerning the WVS's postwar peregrinations peters out a bit, as did the organization itself. Such concerns detract little, however, from the book's greater usefulness.

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Becky E. Conekin. *"The Autobiography of a Nation": The 1951 Festival of Britain*. (Studies in Design.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 260. Cloth $74.95, paper $24.95.

Recently, British social and cultural historians have become increasingly exercised with exploring the constructed and evolving nature of national imaginings within Britain. Becky E. Conekin draws on this scholarship (which to date has concentrated predominantly on the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries) in her new book on post-World War II British society and a significant moment of national self-definition: the 1951 Festival of Britain. Planned by the resource-strapped Labour government as a reward for twelve years of war and reconstruction austerity, and as a declaration about recovery, the festival was presented as a nonpartisan narrative of the British national character, past and future. Conekin reads the events and exhibits of the festival as a text. Her aim is to understand the vision of the festival's architects, designers, and planners—all of whom, significantly, were trained in the 1930s—and how they intended to present the nation's story in 1951. And in this book we do indeed get a strong sense of what festival director Gerald Barry and his political boss, Herbert Morrison, were trying to impart; we also get Conekin's fine analysis of the festival exhibitions and what they "said" to their audiences.

For the most part, the book is organized around the festival's presentation of time and of place. Conekin argues that the story told by the festival combined the distant, transhistorical past—particularly the imagined ancestry of the peoples of the British Isles and their fusion through the conventions of the "island story"—and the innovations of modernity embraced by the Labour Party-supporting, middle-class technocrats who planned the various exhibitions. This presentation effaced the ugly industrial, class-conflicted past (and indeed present) in favor of a timeless social harmony that led inexorably toward a more rational, educated, and scientific future. In her discussion of place, Conekin focuses on the planners' attempts to incorporate and represent the diverse regions of Britain. She explores the local appeal of the festival—approximately 2,000 communities organized their own activities—and the nine government-funded regional and traveling exhibits that took the festival's message across the land.

Conekin finds that what was missing from the festival was just as significant as what was present. As it conflicted with the story of an innovative, plucky island nation, strongly united by the ravages of war and the hopes of socialist planning, Britain's imperial legacy was an embarrassment that could not be easily incorporated into the festival's dominant narrative. Thus, although the diversity of Britain's regions and national groups was celebrated in a myriad of ways, ultimately the festival was inward-looking and chauvinistic and presented a fundamentally white Britishness. Moreover, Conekin suggests that the progressive, middle-class festival planners thought fun and fantasy ought also to be morally improving. Shunning the traditional disorderly fair, the festival did include the Battersea Pleasure Gardens, which was an exercise in rational recreation and aesthetic uplift, although financial exigencies forced a measure of commercialism and corporate sponsorship here that was absent from the other festival sites. Finally, the book's conclusion compares Labour's efforts in 1951 with the original Great Exhibition of 1851, the Tory production of Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953, and Labour's Millennium Dome in 2000.

What is missing from this book is any discussion of how those who attended the festival might have understood and responded to it. Conekin provides attendance figures for the various festival venues and the traveling exhibits; occasionally she draws on newspaper coverage, although usually for the controversies over the planning of the festival rather than for reactions to the actual events. In addition, there is

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little discussion of reviews or opinions by critics not involved in the festival planning, nor is any use made of personal memories beyond those of the planners themselves. The closest Conekin comes to assessing the actual impact of the festival on the public is her short discussion of the twenty-fifth anniversary commemoration catalogue produced in 1976. Perhaps the focus on the intended content of the festival was dictated by the series in which the book appears—Manchester University Press's "Studies in Design"—but the thrust of the introduction suggests Conekin is interested in the wider cultural landscape of 1951. It is a shame, then, that press, memoir, and oral testimony were not further mined to round out our understanding of the contemporary cultural importance of the festival.

The book contains twenty-two illustrations, providing views of the major pavilions on the South Bank site as well as a number of the other venues. It is disappointing, however, that no overviews or plans of the whole South Bank site are reproduced and that there is no discussion of the spatial organization of the main venues, or the physical and symbolic relationship of the pavilions and exhibits to one another. Stylistically, the book suffers from poor copyediting, resulting in some awkward phrasing, and also from the penchant of the author to reuse the same quotations rather than paraphrasing: Barry, for instance, is quoted as saying that products on exhibit "would get there by merit or not at all" at least three times in the text (pp. 29, 204–05, 229). These are, however, minor quibbles compared to the great merits of this excellent book.

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H. ERIC R. OLSEN. *The Calabrian Charlatan, 1598–1603: Messianic Nationalism in Early Modern Europe.* (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. x, 186. $60.00.

In this slim volume, H. Eric R. Olsen makes an important contribution to early modern European history. In just 128 narrative pages, he relates five years in the intriguing life of a late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century character, Marco Tullio Catizone. He was a man apparently enticed by Portuguese exiles living in Venice during 1598 to claim that he was the disappeared King Sebastian of Portugal. According to some stories, Sebastian, last seen charging into the fray at the battle of Alcazar twenty years before, had survived the conflict and headed off toward Venice where he would, sometime in the future, launch an effort to reclaim his kingdom. Exiles there had locked onto the possible return of the king in hope that the people of Portugal could, with his reappearance and under his leadership, finally throw off the Spanish overlords who had annexed their land in 1580. The death of Philip II of Spain in 1598 revived the hope, and apparently the exiles believed that, with a little help from them, the time had come. The pretender Catizone, who would surely have been more convincing if he had resembled portraits of the vanished king—not to mention if he had actually been able to speak a little Portuguese—was troublesome to Spanish authorities for the next five years. Soon after he was turned over to them by the grand duchy of Tuscany, he was tried in Naples and executed in grisly fashion, in 1603.

Readers following the tale Olsen tells will learn much. To begin with, they will read about Portuguese exiles in Venice, like João de Castro, Estêvão de Sampaio, and José Teixeira, and their hope for the restoration of Portugal to its proper place in the world. This hope, their "Sebastianism," was a phenomenon that lasted into the nineteenth century and even had a transatlantic incarnation. The hope of these exiles was embodied in the tale of a sleeping—if not deceased—hero whose possible return was a mixture of myth and prophecy. For Olsen (as for José Veiga Torres, a Portuguese historian), the content of their hope sounds remarkably similar to medieval notions of historical progress orchestrated by God that were espoused by the millenarian prophet Joachim of Fiore. Readers will learn about the Portuguese literary tradition of political expectations best exemplified in an epic poem, *The Lusiads* by Luis de Camões, published just before the 1580 annexation. Camões emphasized the chosen status of the nation as the vehicle by which God would spread Christianity throughout the world. He lamented the way Portugal had apparently exchanged this greatness for internal corruption. Readers will also learn how, once arrested, a captive like Catizone could be used in the international political posturing of early modern Italian states such as Venice and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

On the basis of all this information, Olsen argues a broad, bold thesis that goes far beyond the significance of Catizone. Olsen insists that there is an important, and hitherto unidentified, connection between religious ideas and the political hopes of the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century. Their nationalism was a messianic nationalism, he says, one suggestive of a much broader pattern in the development of European nationalism. That nationalism cannot be understood, in his view, merely as a political ramification of the modern economic shift to an industrial mode of production. Instead, the roots of nationalism in Western Europe, he argues, are buried deep in medieval millenarianism. To make this larger argument, he draws on the relevant ideas of scholars like Peter Sahlins and Keith Thomas. What Olsen argues is certainly consistent with the political nature of contemporary millenarianism in Italy. Nonetheless, this seems an enormous thesis for such a short tale and such a slender volume. Further research in other national contexts is necessary before most historians will voice agreement. Still, Olsen has made a contribution to early modern studies that theologians and political theorists, as well as historians, will find quite useful. His book has profound implications, because of what it suggests

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about nations with a self-perception as elect and superior. It speaks to the context in which it has emerged, and it is also a very good read.

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DANIÈLE BUSSY GENEVOIS, editor. *Les Espagnoles dans l'histoire: Une sociabilité démocratique (XIX^{e}-XX^{e} siècles)*. (Culture et Société.) Saint-Denis, France: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes. 2002. Pp. 282. €23.00.

Like their Anglo-American counterparts, French historians attracted by Spanish history and culture first concentrated on the country's literature. Their attention later turned to Spanish politics, then the influence of the *Annales* school prompted a focus on social history, and in the 1960s radicalism seemed to leave no room for any history other than workers' movements. In recent years, the study of sociability has moved to the forefront. Women's history was meanwhile relegated to the sidelines, at least in comparison with the interest shown by Anglo-American writers. Biographies were published of prominent intellectuals, like Concepción Arenal and Emilia Pardo Bazán, exceptional women for their times, along with studies of liberal associations and institutes, such as the Institución Libre de Enseñanza school (Free Institute of Teaching) or the anarchist group "Mujeres Libres" (free women), spawning grounds for the new feminist consciousness. The volume edited by Danièle Bussy Genevois studies the evolution of sociability in Spain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with special focus on the role of women.

This book embraces a perhaps overly diverse range of subjects. Some essays, for example, study sociability in the institutional sense, like Marie-Claude Lécuyer's contribution on the mid-nineteenth-century lyceums, cultural associations with active female participation. Despite the liberal revolution of the times, their purpose was not as openly political as the male-only athenaeums or casinos, although their goals did include change in social relations. In a related vein is Concha Fagoaga's study of the Lyceum Club, a 1920s elitist conclave that eventually took up the suffragist cause. At the birth of the republic in 1931, some of its prime movers, like Clara Campoamor and Victoria Kent, accepted political positions, but the Franco regime understood well the link between the new women's sociability and the republican program and closed down the club.

This institutional sociability contrasts with the informal feminist networks of "passive resistance" to Francoism, such as those that arose from prison visits, discussed in a very original essay by Mercedes Yusta. Quite a different world is portrayed in Jean-Louis Guereña's investigation of female participation in campaigns to abolish prostitution and Michel Ralle's discussion of the large-scale entry of women in the Catalonian textile labor force in the 1880s, and the misgivings it stirred in workers' organizations, including those of anarchists. The reader's focus is again shifted in time and place to Régine Ilion's examination of the 1936 celebration of International Woman's Day in Saragoza and its clear antifascist message, in keeping with the headier days of the Popular Front. A quite different topic is taken up in Amparo Moreno Sardá's highly ideological analysis of recent developments in the situation of women. Denouncing the consumer society and the "androcentric focus" of historical studies and attributing those changes to women's rejection of the "unappealing" lives of their mothers makes for a less than compelling description of the complexities of the spectacular historical changes in Spain; the flight from rural zones and de-Catholicization of society, accompanied by massive female entry into the labor force, make for a more cogent explanation of the challenge to women's traditionally subordinate roles. This way of approaching the problem has little to do with the final summary provided by Bussy Genevois, a literary study of the transition from magazines for women written by men in the nineteenth century, filled with external exhortations to act, to feminist magazines urging women to take action on their own behalf.

The overall picture painted by these disparate brushstrokes is one of a progressive expansion, over the last two centuries, in the public activity of women in Spain. There has been a move from cultural, recreational, or charitable women's associations, initially nonpolitical or even openly conservative, toward a growing commitment to causes such as suffragism, pacifism, abolition of prostitution, and promotion of birth control. Another area is the evolution of women's consciousness from a product of elitist social circles to mass organizations, often outgrowths of preexisting networks such as workers' unions and class parties. A third change is the one from female associations set up by male-dominated parties and unions (not just leftist ones; much the same occurred with the fascist Falange's Women's Section) to support their main areas of action to women's organizations independent from or even opposed to their institutional founders.

The nexus between feminism and preexisting activist networks is a common finding in all works on Spain prior to the Second Republic. The link between feminism and anticlericalism was particularly intense: in the language of the age, "women's liberation" consisted in "drawing our women away from the influence of the clergy." Hence the ties between feminists and republicans, anarchists, and freemasons. Françoise Randouyer studies approximately 600 women affiliated with masonic organizations at the end of the nineteenth century. Although such participation came late, when the association had been in existence for nearly a century in Spain, it was still, paradoxically, more massive than in other parts of Europe. Even more interesting is M. Dolores Ramos's essay on the societal culture of feminists freethinkers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the so-called "silver age"

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of Spanish culture. Like Randouyer, Ramos notes that the main battleground was education, no surprise given the special zeal Catholic clergy devoted to controlling that field. Both authors also agree in locating the center of this feminine activity on the Mediterranean coast: Barcelona, Valencia, and, surprisingly, Andalusia, where the tireless efforts of the extraordinary Belén Sárraga were concentrated. Other surprising twists include the discovery of strong ties between those feminist groups and spiritualism and theosophism.

The volume closes with a series of essays on feminism and women's social action during the Franco and post-Franco years, a long and poorly studied stage of recent Spanish history. These essays still have the feel of preliminary investigations, and the most notable conclusion one can draw for now concerns the complexity of the period from the standpoint of growing female participation in social life. At the end of the Spanish Civil War, lawmakers decreed women's confinement to the domestic arena. Women's rebellions therefore usually fell within James C. Scott's model of passive resistance, although there was also support for the underground struggles, such as the women who gave food to the *maqui* resistance fighters and hid their weapons and papers. An unexpected topic is the role played by the Falange itself in mobilizing women. Although initially focused on charitable or educational causes, its influence did not end there: the first articles to put forth feminist demands were signed by Mercedes Formica, the countess of Campo Alange, and Lilí Álvarez, all three Falangists. Even more striking is the expansion of women's legal rights in the second half of the Franco regime's rule. These legislative changes began in 1958 and were continued in 1961, when the right of women to all jobs was recognized, followed by other reforms that nearly established formal legal equality with men even before the dictator's death.

The period 1960 to 1975 was also marked by vigorous underground movements against the dictatorship, including the Movimiento Democrático de Mujeres (Women's Democratic Movement), closely aligned with the Spanish Communist Party. Francisco Franco's death was followed by the publication of the magazine *Vindicación Feminista* (Feminist Vindication), voice of the radical line inspired and led by Lidia Falcón and discussed by Marie Aline Barrachina in this collection. Although short-lived and primarily Catalonian, the journal was at the vortex of a network of intense activity and a leading forum for the key debates on the future orientation of feminism and, in particular, on the relative priority of fighting for overall political change vis-à-vis pursuing the feminist revolution.

This book opens up a fascinating field with immense future potential that is still in the early stages of exploration.

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Paul Preston. *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain*. Reprint. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 469. $30.00.

This highly readable work by the renowned historian and biographer Paul Preston brings to light the lives of four remarkable, relatively unknown women who were involved in the Spanish Civil War. Each woman's story reflects a unique combination of political, ideological, national, and wartime employment variables: British, working-class, communist Nan Green and British socialite Priscilla Scott-Ellis were both nurses, although Green was on the Republican and Scott-Ellis on the Nationalist side. Mercedes Sans-Bachiller and Margarita Nelkin were both Spanish-born, middle-class political activists, although Sans-Bachiller was a conservative Castilian, Catholic, and Francoist, and Nelkin was a Jewish, feminist revolutionary of German and French ancestry. Except for a brief prologue and epilogue, Preston tells each woman's story separately. Hence this book is actually four distinct biographies under one cover, each of which can be read independently of the others. Because he relies extensively on diaries and letters that highlight personal relationships over political detail, Preston calls this a work of "emotional history" (p. 8).

The most intriguing story in the book is undoubtedly that of Scott-Ellis, who left a luxurious life in England to become a nurse on the Spanish front. Scott-Ellis is a fascinating figure not only because of the stark contrast between her socialite lifestyle and the harsh conditions of war, and because she went to Spain for "romantic" rather than political reasons, but because she kept a marvelous diary of her experiences. This first section of the book is an exceptionally "good read" even for those with little knowledge of/interest in Spanish politics or history.

I found the chapter on Sans-Bachiller the least satisfying of the four. In contrast to the other three portraits, I did not get much feel for Sans-Bachiller as a woman apart from her political activities. This difference in tone may reflect a difference in historical resources: the other three women left written materials that relayed more personal information. So, too, photographs of the other three women reveal not only their wartime endeavors but also other aspects of their lives, but there are only politically related photographs of Sans-Bachiller. This chapter emphasizes the political activities of Sans Bachiller's husband, Onésimo Redondo Ortega (one of the principal figures of Spanish fascism), the rivalry between Pilar Primo de Rivera and Sans-Bachiller, as well as political disputes within the Falange, all of which make the chapter read much more like Preston's more traditional historical works than an intimate "emotional history."

Despite the author's obvious respect for the four women, Preston nevertheless occasionally interjects sexist and/or condescending remarks. For instance, Preston notes that "Falangists were involved in violent confrontations with the left in both the provincial

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capital and other small towns," but rather than simply discuss how Sans-Bachiller was involved in these conflicts, Preston states that she "played a token part in Falangist subversion. *Like a naughty school girl*, she went with four young Falangists and broke a plate-glass window in the house of a local leftist" (pp. 226–27, emphasis added).

Preston calls his approach atheoretical (p. 8), by which he seems to mean that he does not analyze or compare and contrast the lives of the four women. Nevertheless, I had hoped that he would connect the four stories in the epilogue. He does bring up a few important issues (e.g. that all of the women were "exceptional" rather than "representative" of women of the time); but the hypothetical "might have beens" (for example "Had Margarita [Nelken] not escaped into France and been able to use her influence to get her son Santiago out of the concentration camp . . . he might have joined Nan Green on the ship *Sinaia* taking Spanish refugees to Mexico instead of dying with the Russian forces in the Ukraine"; p. 409) outweigh the genuine connections drawn between the lives of the four women. The most important unanalyzed issue is *how* the women bravely confronted the conflict between their political and family obligations in an era in which there were few cultural guideposts on how to manage such tension.

Despite these criticisms, Preston's portrait of these four extraordinary women is a vital contribution to the literature on the Spanish Civil War. And, precisely because he left the similarities and differences between the four stories unanalyzed, the book provides an excellent springboard for discussion.

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Peter Jones. *Liberty and Locality in Revolutionary France: Six Villages Compared, 1760–1820*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 306. $65.00.

Peter Jones has written a pioneering comparative microhistory of six French villages from 1760 to 1820. Those villages—Neuvillier in Lorraine, Villepreux outside Versailles, Châtelaudren in Brittany, Saint-Alban in Languedoc, Allan in Provence, and Rocquelaure in Gascony—met Jones's criteria for geographical distribution, ecological and socioeconomic diversity, and adequate records (without being strikingly unrepresentative). The goal of this ambitious comparative project is to illustrate a variety of revolutionary experiences rather than to answer definitively questions about the French Revolution's impact on rural areas. Readers will encounter no grand narrative, for Jones sees the value of comparative microhistory in its capacity to offer a "better understanding of the historic reasons for difference, and sameness" (p. 4).

After introducing the villages and their institutional, economic, and social structures, Jones explores the relationship between state and local authority to comprehend the process by which villagers disengaged from absolute monarchy and the society of orders and responded to opportunities for self-rule. That process began in 1787 instead of 1789 and so suggests a rural dimension to the French prerevolution. Next, Jones studies the impact of the rights to assemble and vote, of the responsibilities of enrolling in the National Guard, and of participation in the revolution's rituals on villagers' collective identity. Although the growth of a new civic awareness was painful and unpredictable, Jones concludes that "in its mental dimension, the village was not the same place in 1815 or 1820 as it had been in 1760 or 1790" (p. 160). The following chapter sheds light on the poorly understood topic of revolutionary village politics. It focuses particularly on how prerevolutionary elites, closely linked to seigneurialism prior to 1789, distanced themselves from that system to maintain power and on how various events affected political dynamics at the village level. While chapter six does not entirely penetrate the opacity of religious experience in rural villages, it succeeds in charting the legacy of upheaval caused by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the Concordat's attempt to repair the spiritual fabric of communities. Finally, Jones assesses the impact of revolutionary policies on land use and patterns of ownership in the six villages.

Thanks to Jones's expert grasp of local variables, and not surprisingly for a book that seeks to compare individual village situations, the work brims with nuances and draws a complex picture of local responses to revolution. On the subject of villagers' attitudes toward various polities, Jones writes: "Engagement ebbed and flowed across the span of a lifetime" (p. 268). Similarly, he suggests that "politicization in the village was not a neat and linear process" (p. 269). Such conclusions obviously militate against the construction of a general argument about eighteenth-century rural France. In fact, Jones tends to challenge the narratives of others, most notably Alexis de Tocqueville's assertion that village life was moribund on the eve of 1789 and Georges Lefebvre's notion of an autonomous, socioeconomically driven peasant revolution.

Despite his sensitivity to local context and nonlinear developments, Jones concludes that villagers would have recognized several enduring changes by 1820. The concrete changes included access to quicker and cheaper local justice, the freedom to hunt, the easing of surplus extraction, and the moral victory of fiscal equality. On the psychological level, the revolution destroyed a rural inferiority complex by granting villages administrative structures similar to urban areas, which convinced inhabitants that they lived as equals in a lawful society. The bureaucratization of the village was a double-edged sword; valued by villagers for its adherence to the rule of law, bureaucracy also challenged customs and traditions to which villagers were attached.

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The only shortcoming of this work rests with its organization, in which Jones discusses and compares the six villages seven different times, each in the context of a chapter's specific theme. While conducive to highlighting differences and similarities, the book's architecture occasionally prevents the reader from gaining a clear, overall picture of the villages as they encountered revolutionary change. As a result, one lacks an understanding of the reasons for, or supporters of, village Jacobinism or federalism when the author introduces these issues far into the book. Similarly, Jones considers the clerical oath of 1791 to be the formative event of the decade but raises the topic only after page 181 and gives it full treatment after page 201.

Jones's expert knowledge of rural France and his archival mastery have produced an important book for scholars of the French Revolution. For those who do not possess the knowledge or energy to carry out such comparative microhistories, there is reason to believe that the narrative emphasis of the village or regional monograph still holds value. As long as there exist scholars like Jones willing and able to synthesize, the work of those who toil in the more traditional realm of local studies will not have been in vain.

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AURELIAN CRAIUTU. *Liberalism under Siege: The Political Thought of the French Doctrinaires*. (Applications of Political Theory.) Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2003. Pp. xvii, 337. Cloth $80.00, paper $26.95.

The Doctrinaires have suffered the fate of most centrists in modern French politics: neglect by historians. A small group of intellectuals in politics, the Doctrinaires (François Guizot, Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard, Charles de Rémusat, Prosper de Barante, and Victor de Broglie) were not shy about claiming an intellectual, moral, and political superiority that has made them hard to like. As defenders of the society that emerged from the French Revolution, they were "under siege" both from those who wanted to return to some version of the Old Regime and those who wanted to go beyond the constitutional monarchy established in 1814 to a democratic or socialist republic. Their commitment to moderation opened them to charges of inconsistency or opportunism that, combined with the failure in 1848 of the regime they supported, made them seem irrelevant to the development of modern political thought. Aurelian Craiutu's solidly researched work is a welcome effort to present the Doctrinaires to an English-language audience in a more sympathetic light, rejecting the still common image of hide-bound reactionaries in a century of progress.

As a historically minded political scientist, Craiutu argues that the Doctrinaires' political philosophy was a reasonable response to the problems of their time and that their sociological liberalism remains relevant to contemporary thought about freedom and democracy. The Doctrinaires' central concept was that of "representative government" defined not as "one man, one vote" but as a government that reflects the social, economic, spiritual, and intellectual forces of society. Government should function in the interests of the whole of society, but it can best do this when it is in the hands of those who are already the leaders of society by virtue of their property, wealth, professions, and their moral and intellectual qualities. The Doctrinaires feared that a government based on mere numbers would bring back the worst excesses of the revolution. Society, they held, had become democratic in the sense that merit and not birth was the main determinant of social importance; a government that reflected that society was therefore also "democratic" even though the suffrage was restricted to a narrow minority. Guizot's interpretation of the revolution as the conclusion of a centuries-long emergence of the middle classes had a profound influence on Karl Marx, who rejected his conclusion that they embodied all the interests of society.

The Doctrinaires hoped thus to escape the unresolved, and perhaps unresolvable, dilemmas posed by the idea of the sovereignty of the people, dilemmas that had been examined by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and exposed by the revolution. This led them to deny that any person or group of persons could possess sovereignty; the only sovereignty they allowed was that of reason. On this basis, they argued that the majority could possess full civil rights even though the right to vote was restricted to the minority who possessed certain "capacities." The Doctrinaires were no less ardent than other liberals in their defense of freedom of the press, of religion, of property, and of person, but their liberalism was conceived as a "liberalism of government" that would not shy from the exercise of power, even while insisting on the limits of governmental power.

Craiutu's primary emphasis is, justifiably, on Guizot. The author attempts to attract the reader's interest at the start by showing the Doctrinaires' influence on Alexis de Tocqueville. This is an important point sometimes overlooked by Tocqueville enthusiasts, but it might logically have come later in the book since it delays the exposition of the Doctrinaires' main ideas and may confuse some readers. Once entered into, these ideas are clearly expounded in the context of the events of the French Revolution, Empire, and Restoration. Choosing to touch only briefly on the Doctrinaires' political careers during the July Monarchy, Craiutu focuses on the ideas they expounded during the Restoration (1814–1830), while not ignoring the insights that can be gleaned from later works such as Guizot's memoirs.

The Doctrinaires have received little attention since Douglas Johnson's *Guizot* (1963) and Pierre Rosanvallon's *Le moment Guizot* (1985). The importance of the nineteenth century for rethinking democracy has been brilliantly demonstrated in France by Marcel Gauchet.

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We can hope that Craiutu's work will stimulate reflection in the English-language world.

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MARTIN S. STAUM. *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815–1848.* (Studies in the History of Ideas, number 36.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 245. $39.95.

The intense debate that followed the publication in 1994 of Richard Hernstein's and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* is a reminder that the arguments surrounding the question of nature versus nurture are not always anodyne. Creating heredity categories can lead to the sort of hierarchical classification that was the hallmark of nineteenth-century racial thought. In his useful book, Martin S. Staum correlates the furor over *The Bell Curve* in the United States with nineteenth-century pseudo-science in France. He argues that the nineteenth-century French debates regarding the variables used to classify the intelligence, character, and morality of individuals of different social groups, which led to the rise of racial ideologies, made their appearance in renewed form in the United States of the 1990s.

In their search for the "missing link" between humans and animals, eighteenth-century scholars developed some odd theories, not least of which were those concerned with facial angles and physiognomy. Staum's study follows a chronological trajectory from the development and significance of these ideas to their institutionalization in various forms in three Parisian scholarly societies, namely the Société de Phrénologie, the Société de Géographie, the Société d'Ethnologie, and their legacy in the Société d'Anthropologie. The common theme in the three societies was, according to Staum, the very problem raised by *The Bell Curve*: that is to say, the perfectibility of individuals and races (p. 12). Staum argues, furthermore, that the social pessimism and concomitant ideas about degeneration usually associated with fin-de-siècle France were present much earlier in the form of debates about miscegenation and acclimatization.

The facial angle, according to Staum, was the cornerstone of racial theory, becoming popular with the rise of physiognomy. As a result of urban development and the social turmoil it engendered, sartorial distinctions of class, formerly defined by sumptuary laws, became less evident, giving rise to an increased interest in other means of differentiating between social groups. Facial and cranial measurements formed part of the growing trend of reliance on physical features as a means of distinguishing natural disposition and moral worth, an artistic reflection of which could be seen in silhouette portraiture. Phrenology as a science developed out of these preoccupations. Its advocates believed that it would lead to a better understanding of criminality, gender difference, and personal aptitude. By following the occupational advice they dispensed, phrenologists thought that society would be greatly improved. Although phrenology was relatively short-lived, it helped to set the stage for the emergence of the more overtly racial theories propagated by geographers and ethnographers.

In line with recent scholarship, Staum emphasizes that the Geographical Society of Paris was instrumental in the economic development of the imperial enterprise. The originality of his discussion, however, lies in the fact that he stresses the importance of theories of cultural retardation and inherent organic difference that geographers and ethnologists developed in their society-sponsored travels. During the period 1823–1846, Geographical Society questionnaires given to explorers included "a concern for classifying races" (p. 98). One of the factors used in evaluating the degree of civilization of a particular people was the status of its women. While Staum emphasizes the importance of women's physical traits and personal beauty in these evaluations, he does not mention domestic arrangements or sexual morality as significant criteria. Polygamy, perceived libidinousness, and promiscuity were just as important in distinguishing the "uncivilized" from the "civilized" as were physical beauty or notions of the enslavement of women by men. The family as a microcosm of society was an effective and widely used evaluative tool in creating the hierarchies of civilizations that were to emerge from the explorative travels sponsored by the society. It is a pity this is not developed in more detail.

When the Ethnological Society was founded in 1839, many members of the Geographical Society joined, attracted by their shared interest in the description and definition of peoples. Its foundation was the first step in the institutionalization of French anthropology and part of a larger European and North American movement of interest in non-Europeans, sparked by the controversies over slavery and British colonization. In fact the abolitionist movement was critical both to its development and to its demise. While abolitionists petitioned the Chamber of Deputies to put an end to slavery, the society tried to define a new mode of association between the races. As Staum points out, its contributions to anthropology were handicapped by the passions of the antislavery members of the society, whose arguments were seen to be too speculative. In tracing the rise and fall of the society, Staum details its different factions, its influence on American racial theorists such as George Gliddon and Josiah Nott, and its link to the Anthropological Society of Paris. He demonstrates that, despite the reservations of leading anthropologists about the Ethnological Society, there was an almost "seamless web" between the two societies in their discourses on the perfectibility of the races (p. 127). Furthermore, both societies articulated the same issues concerning the diversity of humankind and the place of humanity in the natural world.

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The strength of Staum's work lies in its discussions of the various members of each society. Staum reveals their political and theoretical agendas, their scholarly affiliations, their contributions to the development of racial thought, and their interests in imperialism or social engineering. Staum's study is core-centered, with the periphery acting as a provider of material for the debates in the metropole. A strange omission, given the book's time frame, is any discussion of activities in Algeria. The debates regarding Algeria's colonization from 1830 to 1848, when it was transformed into three French departments, were of as much interest in the metropole as they were among the colony's military and civilian population. Nonetheless, Staum's work will be invaluable to scholars who are interested in the background and ideological development of the leading personalities involved in racial theorizing in the first half of the nineteenth century in France.

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JENNIFER MICHAEL HECHT. *The End of the Soul: Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 402. $29.50.

It is perhaps a matter of some wonder that historians have attended little to a group of intellectuals in nineteenth-century France who celebrated the new reign of science by constituting themselves as a Society of Mutual Autopsy. That neglect is repaired in Jennifer Michael Hecht's new work, which focuses closely on members of the autopsy society (most of them anthropologists) and the atheistic "cult" they created in the France of the 1870s. The often poignant life-histories she recounts of the mutual autopsists seeking solace in a godless universe are one of the real pleasures on offer in this wide-ranging, original, but—to my mind—seriously flawed study of late nineteenth-century French anthropologists and their relation to the intellectual currents of secularism, racism, and scientism.

Hecht's study opens with a chapter entitled "The Society of Mutual Autopsy and the Liturgy of Death." The remainder of the book, although consistently attentive to the contest between religiosity and secularism suggested by this title, is concerned principally with leading figures in the emergent science of anthropology. Successive chapters trace the establishment of the famed Anthropological Society of Paris by Paul Broca and scientifically like-minded colleagues; the careers of members of the Bertillon clan in anthropology, demography, and criminology; the life and work of the "anthropo-sociologist" Georges Vacher de Lapouge; and the activities of the egalitarian critic of scientific racism, Léonce Manouvrier. A final chapter leaves the anthropologists in favor of a more general inquiry into "The Leftist Critique of Determinist Science."

Hecht's aim is to make atheism—the "end of the soul"—and its attendant consequences the principal intellectual problem of late nineteenth-century France. Anthropologists are the book's focus since it was they, Hecht argues, who most aggressively challenged the authority of traditional religion, created an emotionally satisfying materialist counter-cult, and sought new intellectual and social underpinnings for life after God. Their concentration on characteristics of the human body (relentlessly measured, identified, and classified) was a natural result of the dismissal of soul-centered speculations. Surprisingly, Hecht finds that despite the often macabre features of such activities, the anthropologists were—with the singular exception of Vacher de Lapouge—generally progressive in their politics. Overall, she contends, their influence worked for the good: anthropologists fought clerical prejudices, supported republicanism, and advanced the cause of women. Vacher de Lapouge did become an influential figure, but in Nazi Germany, not republican France. Thus, among her other goals, Hecht seeks to correct what she terms "the common narrative about racism" (p. 315), which sees racism as actively encouraged by mainstream scientists of the nineteenth century. This was not so in France, she argues, where anthropologists were generally secularists and left-wingers.

Some of Hecht's avowed revisionism is intriguing and valuable. Her claim that the anthropologists were often friends to women (despite their common assumption of female intellectual inferiority) is based on a sustained look at the leadership of Clémence Royer, the feminist activities of wives and daughters of the anthropologists, and the support Broca and his successors lent to the cause of female education. Here, as with her close contextualization of the mutual autopsists, Hecht has done a great deal of inspired digging in little-used archives, forgotten literary works, and obscure periodicals to support her claims.

Other elements of Hecht's revisionist account, however, are disturbing, none more so than her treatment of the theme of racism. For a generation, historians have investigated and pondered the sorry history of scientific racism in France. It is discouraging to see this scholarship swept aside in favor of the view that French anthropologists were by and large egalitarian and progressive, this on the simple ground that they assaulted Catholicism and defended the republic. If we have learned anything from years of painstaking study, surely it is that leftists and republicans could be—and often were—as committed to racist hierarchies and politics as their enemies on the right. It is dismaying that a book on these themes could be written with scarcely a mention of Africa, Asia, or imperialism. Hecht claims that the Anthropological Society of Paris was not much interested in the non-European "Other" but, instead, "more frequently directed its gaze" (p. 59) at the French themselves and their history. This

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remarkable contention overlooks a myriad of lamentable facts. Inexplicably singling out Vacher de Lapouge as "the founder of scientific racism in France" (p. 17), Hecht empties of significance the Paris anthropologists' own racist work and teachings: the protracted discussions (long before Lapouge) of racial differences in brain weights, facial angles, and cranial shapes; the dire warnings (eagerly repeated by American race theorists) of the dangers of racial "hybridization"; the biometric assessments of West African peoples that were later used by military planners to select "tribes" best suited to serve as cannon fodder on the Western Front. Hecht must herself have been uneasy at her characterization of the racial science of the Anthropological Society, for on one occasion she states that "late nineteenth-century French anthropology represented the more egalitarian tendencies of contemporary French society" (p. 314) but, on another, that "the discipline's most aggressive, vibrant, proactive theories were deeply antiegalitarian" (p. 255).

It is unsurprising that, at the book's end, when Hecht examines the reconciliation effected by secular intellectuals with various forms of humanism and spiritualism, she shifts away from anthropologists to such figures as Henri Bergson and Emile Durkheim. Despite the efforts of Manouvrier, French anthropologists did not generally reject biological determinism; a number of them lent support to Vichy's racial ideology when the time came. The case of the anthropologists, whose context is intricately examined here while its substance is distorted, does not warrant Hecht's optimistic conclusion that the barbarities of scientism constitute little threat in a formally democratic society.

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Jean Elisabeth Pedersen. *Legislating the French Family: Feminism, Theatre, and Republican Politics, 1870–1920*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 271. $60.00.

This book brings to the subject of state regulation of the family in the Third Republic two methodological innovations. One innovation, which has implications well beyond the subject in question, is intersectional analysis, which the author, Jean Elisabeth Pedersen, likely borrowed from women's studies scholarship but applies with impeccable attention to historiographical and historical context. Pedersen delineates connections among three apparently unconnected spheres: parliamentary politics concerning marriage, parenthood, and reproductive rights; women's organizations and feminist campaigns for divorce reform and paternity suits, and against the draconian birth control law of 1920; and social theater, defined as thesis plays dramatizing social injustices associated with the law. The second innovation, another extension of recent feminist scholarship, is relating these topics to conflicting and evolving definitions of citizenship, nationality, race, and colonialism.

Pedersen briefly and efficiently describes the formal political processes of drafting bills on separation and divorce and on illegitimacy and paternity suits but also, more unusually, links these parliamentary processes to extraparliamentary agitation by women, notably at international and national feminist conferences. While the body of research on women's organizations and their activities publicizing issues about maternity, infant care, and illegitimacy has matured in recent years, the impact of these largely feminist efforts on policy formulation and legislation has been difficult to document, because the formal political actors rarely acknowledged publicly any feminist influence on their conceptions of the issues. With considerable economy, Pedersen identifies some key political instigators of divorce reform and paternity suit legislation who had contact with feminist lobbyists on these issues and other reformers who privately admitted to drawing on feminist ideas. Equally useful is Pedersen's argument that politicians were more receptive to feminist input early in the very prolonged process of introducing, revising (and usually diluting), and enacting any social legislation in the Third Republic. She notes how often cultural and political reformers pursued aspects of reforms that were unacceptable to many feminists, and thereby obscured the substantial degree of feminist disagreement about specific provisions, such as divorce at the will of one person. Fortunately, feminist divisions on these issues, and especially on birth control, are explicated in more detail, and with more political context, than previously. Common feminist goals, such as greater equality and defining a form of social citizenship, are also given due attention.

Perhaps a more original addition to the scholarship on social reform in the Third Republic is the recognition of the role of social drama, and audience reaction to social drama, in mustering support for divorce reform and paternity suits. Pedersen focuses on social dramas written by supporters of bills to reform divorce and to provide relief for single mothers and illegitimate children. She offers brief biographies of dramatists such as Emile Augier, author of a "plea for divorce in the guise of a play, *Madame Cavarlet*" (p. 13), and documents their associations with political factions promoting, and parliamentary committees discussing, issues like divorce and paternity. She also analyzes scripts, paying special attention to leading characters' story lines for their representation of these issues. More importantly, she assesses the more complex matter of audience reaction by naming the theaters, specifying their seating capacities and/or attendance records (when possible), and citing theater reviews and general newspaper coverage (including surveys) of issues given publicity by the theater. She includes references to controversial plays during relevant parliamentary debates. When the evidence about audience and political reactions to plays is plentiful, the argument is quite persuasive. Other historians

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might read this book as a model of a cultural approach to political controversies of various kinds, and might consider incorporating analyses of character, plot, themes, sales information, reviews, and cultural as well as political reactions to other controversial pieces of literature, such as novels.

Throughout the book, Pedersen discerns intriguing connections between issues of marriage, divorce, and parenthood, on the one hand, and national identity, racism, and colonialism on the other hand. For instance, she calls attention to cultural criticism of the female characters in plays favoring divorce as foreign, or at least comparable to Henrik Ibsen's infamous Nora. Similarly, she notices the frequent references to race in debates about paternity suits, as well as the exclusion of indigenous women from coverage in the resulting 1912 law.

A final chapter reprises and expands Pedersen's path-breaking article about the Ignace Law of 1920 prohibiting female-controlled birth control and abortions in France. Here her discussion of two quite different prewar plays—Eugène Brieux's *Maternité* and Nelly Roussel's play about the right to limit pregnancies—recognizes significant differences in attendance records and press coverage. However, Pedersen argues that if Roussel's play never attracted much mainstream media attention, it was a success in activist circles. In this as in other sections of this important book, the subtlety of the argument engages and persuades.

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Alain Faure and Jean-Claude Farcy. *La mobilité d'une génération de français: Recherche sur les migrations et les déménagements vers et dans Paris à la fin du XIX^e siècle*. (Les cahiers de l'INED, number 151.) With CD-ROM. Paris: INED. 2003. Pp. xv, 591. €35.00.

Historians of migration in France are hampered by the lack of information on human mobility. Unlike researchers in Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, they lack individual population registration records, and unlike German scholars, they lack the fine migration statistics produced in Prussia beginning in the early nineteenth century. Consequently, studies of human mobility in France have of necessity been limited to case studies, inferred from birthplace as listed on census lists and/or civil status records of birth, marriage and/or death. These sources suffer from the "snapshot problem" of capturing the individual at only one time. There is one source, however, that lists changes in residence for most men nationwide, which allows for a narrative of movement over one's adulthood: this is the conscription registers, which beginning in 1872 with universal conscription mention all men. Alain Faure and Jean-Claude Farcy have grappled with this formidable source and wrested from it an extraordinary national and local study of movement to and within Paris and greater Paris by the "class of 1880," comprising those men born in the year 1860 who reported their movements to the state until they were no longer eligible for army service after age forty-five, in 1906. This cohort was part of the second wave of rural people to move to cities, whose departures coincided with the great agricultural depression of the 1880s. The authors' findings are in some cases mild correctives to historians' misunderstandings but more often give new information and, in a few cases, offer real surprises.

What is truly significant, however, is the enormous amount to be learned from this study, its lucid presentation, and Faure and Farcy's handling of their "rich and fragile" source. The wealth of information can only be touched on here. We learn about the economy and society of ten *départements* in the Massif Central, the West, the Parisian Basin, the North, and the Ile-de-France that sent people to Paris; most important, the authors describe the conscripts (using information on literacy, height, education, and birthplace) and follow their itineraries to reveal a variety of regional patterns. These are fascinating. For example, men from the Creuse (with a long tradition of working as masons in construction season), went directly to Paris and often returned home subsequently; few Bretons (recently arrived unskilled workers), by contrast, moved to Paris but rather touched down in the suburbs and kept moving throughout northwestern France. The authors note that a Creusois or Breton installed in Paris at age twenty who did not move again is "as rare as aloe in Siberia" (p. 438). A study follows of Parisian and greater Parisian conscripts. Family migration had brought a third of the Parisian conscripts to the city before their twentieth birthday; these were in many cases from higher social strata, while those in the *banlieue* tended to be workers and to carry the double class burden of illiteracy and lack of physical stature. *Banlieusards* were generally loyal to their municipality. Paris held on to most new arrivals, but Parisians themselves were more peripatetic, moving more within the city than provincials.

Once in Paris, provincials did not settle in immigrant colonies but rather lived in every part of the city, notwithstanding some concentrations. Moreover, we see a life-cycle rhythm to migration that begins, if not in childhood with parents, soon after military service and that slows after age thirty. Conscript records include some health and judicial information and can thus be used to address two classic questions about migrants in the city. First, is the city the tomb for newcomers? Leaving home augments the chances of an early death and Paris was hard on health, but the first victims of Paris are the city-born, who suffered as vulnerable children. Migrants did revitalize the city, Faure and Farcy argue. Second, is migration a school for crime? Recently developed migration groups did have more quarrels with the police than well established groups, but it is not uprooting that breeds bad behavior; rather, in the case of Paris, it is assimilation:

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nobody can compete with the record of Parisians for rebellion against authority.

Despite the difficulty of reporting on a massive data set and of presenting such varied and nuanced patterns, the authors write with lucidity and grace, crafting fine transitions and seating each section and argument in the relevant historical literature. In addition, the text is illustrated not only by charts and tables that clarify the material but also by a CD-ROM with 371 extraordinarily communicative maps.

Finally, Faure and Farcy explain what conscription records can and cannot reveal. They carefully outline those who are missing, not only women ("Let us never forget," they write, "that half the world is missing," p. 26) but also those men exempt for ill health at age twenty, and others such as priests in training, the eldest son of widows, and those who dropped out before age forty-five due to health problems, death, or judicial condemnations. Generally speaking, however, "the army did not let its men go" (p. 18); of the 48,000 in the sample, nearly 27,000 could be traced to age forty-five. The address information is rich, but the social status information is limited to educational attainment, height, and occupation at age twenty. What is important and unusual here is that the source is not evaluated once, then subsequently treated as a fine reflection of reality; rather its characteristics are discussed with each finding. Indeed, this study ends with a review of its primary source, so rich as the address diary for a generation, but impoverished in terms of work and family information. In closing, the authors suggest that the study of a generation based on a mix of these military records plus the civil records of birth, death, and marriage would be a fine project for the future.

Faure and Farcy have produced a tour de force that is more ambitious and achieves more than more localized studies of migration in France. Although it focuses on Paris, it offers a portrait of the nation and its capital at the turn of the twentieth century, and although, like most studies of migration, it is about men, it offers a fine background and contrast for studies of women's movements. It may be difficult to find a translator for the entire text, yet a translation of the primary findings would be a boon to migration scholars worldwide.

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Michael Rowe. *From Reich to State: The Rhineland in the Revolutionary Age, 1780–1830*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 331. $65.00.

On one level, this book is an insightful political, economic, and cultural history of the Rhineland during a very turbulent period in German history. On another and more original level, it is the story of the immense power of tradition in shaping ideas and attitudes across several generations. In particular, however, Michael Rowe intends to make a contribution to three debates in German history: the first has to do with the old reich and the question of whether its institutions left any legacy for later German history; the second deals with the Napoleonic period and its contribution to state-building in Germany; and the third examines the impact of *Bürgertum* and its ideology of liberalism on state-building.

Beginning with the politically fragmented Rhineland of the old reich, the author demonstrates the devotion of Rhinelanders to the institutions of the reich (especially the imperial courts), which in their minds protected them from arbitrary government and helped to preserve and bolster their loyalty to their cities and territories (*Stadt* and *Land*). The vigorous debates between orthodox Catholicism and the Catholic Enlightenment helped to develop the public sphere, as did the political conflicts of the period, often dismissed as trivial by historians, which in Rowe's presentation were important because of "the political culture they reflected, reinforced and bequeathed" (p. 46), and which made the Rhineland of the old regime more progressive than most historians have credited it for being. Similarly, he credits the political and social structures of the old-regime Rhineland with being more conducive to economic development than they have been presented in past histories.

The French military occupation (to 1799) represented for most Rhinelanders an episode of arbitrary government that they rejected, while by contrast Napoleonic government was widely accepted due to its restoration of law and order. Rowe argues, however, that the old ways survived within the new Napoleonic administrative framework: "The Rhineland was not 'colonised' by the French Empire; rather Rhinelanders 'colonised' certain French institutions" (p. 119). And they did this to assert the traditional values of *Stadt* and *Land*, not those of the state. Even the military draft of thousands of Rhinelanders in Napoleon Bonaparte's *grande armée* had little effect on their loyalties to their localities, where traditional elites were able to shift the burdens of military service away from themselves and their clients.

The end of French rule in the Rhineland brought no end to French influence there. Indeed, Rowe argues that numerous French-inspired institutions, especially those connected with the law (including juries and representative bodies), had a significant impact not only on the Rhineland but also on Prussia, the successor to Napoleon in much of the Rhineland. In this way, "liberal" institutions survived the many conflicts between the Rhineland and its new Prussian masters over confessional, constitutional, and other issues, and through Prussia left their imprint on later German history. The supporters of these institutions were the members of the urban bourgeoisie that, since the days of the old reich, had always championed the struggle against arbitrary rule.

Rowe has certainly made his point with regard to the old reich, and indeed has contributed much to a better

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understanding of the Rhineland during the old regime. Much the same can be said about his presentation of Napoleonic rule in the Rhineland and his lengthy chapter on the Rhineland's contribution to the development of liberal institutions in the period between 1815 and 1830. Furthermore, his conclusion, entitled "Reflections," contains intriguing suggestions that modify some traditional interpretations of German history. One of these disputes the linear model of the progression toward modernity that assumes enlightened absolutism to have been a necessary stage between the rights and privileges of the early modern period and the liberal constitutionalism of the nineteenth century. This, Rowe argues, "simply makes no sense in the Rhenish context" (p. 284). Another argues for the tremendous significance of the Napoleonic period in Rhenish history. Some will doubtlessly be surprised by the author's characterization of the Napoleonic state as a *Rechtsstaat*, because "executive action was confined by procedural regulations" (p. 283), but it was seen by Rhinelanders as such and accounts for the deep roots Napoleonic institutions struck among them. A third major suggestion is that its courts and parliamentary institutions gave to Prussia also the reputation of a *Rechtsstaat* among Rhinelanders, allowing it to withstand the negative legacy of the *Kulturkampf* among the majority of staunchly Catholic Rhinelanders who opposed the separatist threat to detach the Rhineland from Prussia and Germany in the 1920s.

This is an important book that should be considered a "must read" for historians of Germany.

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MICHAEL HAU. *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History 1890–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. x, 286. $22.00.

Michael Hau's study examines the proponents of the so-called "life reform movement" from Wilhelmine through Weimar Germany. The movement was composed of individuals and groups convinced that modern civilization was alienating people from their true natures and that the downward spiral toward human degeneration could only be stopped by embracing a comprehensive and hygienic change in lifestyle. While many of those involved were sympathetic to alternative medicine, the movement was by no means the preserve of lay people and free thinkers. Mainstream physicians and academic researchers, too, played an active part in spreading the ideas of life reform at this time.

As Hau explains, despite a great deal of heterogeneity, life reformers tended to share a vision of the human being that linked health with certain aesthetic norms. Individuals, they thought, had particular kinds of constitutions that were mimetically expressed through the body and body parts. In short, body morphology was believed to reveal everything from psychiatric disorders to intellectual aptitudes to moral pedigrees. But life reform was about more than self-evaluation. It was also about life management, and the movement tended toward holism, seeing physical beauty as "the organic expression of the harmonious and purposeful interaction of the body, spirit, and mind" (p. 101).

A generation ago, sentiments like these were often pegged "*völkisch*," characterized as contributing elements to National Socialism. But as Hau tells it, life reform did not invariably lead to eugenics and race hygiene, although that is where many proponents ended up. Race eventually entered into life reform discussions about health and beauty because of the movement's penchant for somaticizing virtually everything, including such abstractions as national, class, and religious differences.

What is interesting here is that, despite their highly essentialist worldview, life reformers were not pessimistic fatalists. On the contrary, their common belief was that personal constitutions could be "hardened" or "softened," depending on one's lifestyle and regimen. Many embraced what one now might call a "wellness" approach to health, stressing clean living, exercise, and a proper diet. Thus, even as life reformers began to vocally support state-sponsored eugenics (and even euthanasia) in the 1920s, these attitudes sprang from a rather buoyant optimism that degeneration could be curbed. In emphasizing this point, Hau confirms what others have shown about mainstream German medicine at this time: reformist, not nihilist, impulses spurred radical eugenics in early twentieth-century Germany.

It is Hau's intriguing contention that the contempt life reformers had for "degenerates" was rooted in the former's conviction that individuals ultimately bore responsibility for their own health. This gets us to one of Hau's main theses: "the experience of personal failure—or, perhaps more important, simply the *fear* of it—underpinned the contemporary obsession with health" (p. 5). Life reform was, he argues, a discursive response to the standards of success in a high achievement, turn-of-the-century society, one that provided individuals with a way to heuristically frame their failures in trying to live up to governing expectations. It is a promising thesis, but one that does seem to relegate the relief of suffering to a second-order motivation.

There are some important contexts and connections that are neglected here. Although Hau discusses the relationship of life reform to clinical medicine, he never examines the importance of the social insurance system in Germans' lives (something that might have given him a more nuanced view of everyday perceptions of health and illness). It is also worth asking to what extent this represents a uniquely German story. For instance, Mary Lynn Stewart's *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for French Women, 1880s-1930s* (2001) appears to show similar trends in France at this same time. More concerted attention to inter-

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national currents would have gone a long way toward situating German developments more precisely.

That said, Hau has made a substantial contribution to the field of modern history. In the end, the story of the life reform movement in Germany is stamped by an irony, one that Hau notes (but of which he might well have made more). For all the attention life reformers paid to the corporeal, the body was merely a means to an end. Physiognomic assessment was intended to reveal the true self and, ultimately, lead to the proper care of mind and spirit. Physical rejuvenation, it was believed, was the secret to unleashing a more fundamental inner regeneration of men and women. In this sense, life reform was less a hygiene for the body than it was a therapy for the soul.

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CAROLYN KAY. *Art and the German Bourgeoisie: Alfred Lichtwark and Modern Painting in Hamburg, 1886–1914*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. x, 166. $45.00.

JENNIFER JENKINS. *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 329.

These two books examine the art world in Hamburg at the turn of the twentieth century, each focusing on the vision that the museum director Alfred Lichtwark (1852–1914) developed for his institution as a force within public life. The discussion has wide implications about the evolution of politics and public life within the new empire, since quarrels over art afford a productive means by which to understand public consciousness within society as a whole. More specifically, such debates over matters of taste can tell us a great deal about how local, regional, national, and cosmopolitan worlds interacted. Carolyn Kay and Jennifer Jenkins approach the subject from complementary directions. While the former focuses inward on controversies over modern art, the latter looks outward to relate Lichtwark's work to topics as diverse as citizenship, city planning, and Social Democratic cultural programs.

Jenkins's book offers a handy overview of key aspects within society and politics during the period. In surveying the city's history, the author starts from Richard Evans's point that its political structure was, in her words, "as authoritarian as other parts of Germany, if differently so" (p. 8). Loose rules of citizenship enabled fairly broad participation in the Citizens' Assembly and a less aristocratic sense of the elite than was found in cities such as Leipzig, but a tight group of merchant families was nonetheless in charge. Weak authority within municipal institutions led to an avoidance of state subsidy, but for that very reason a strong market for art works emerged from private initiative. Jenkins interweaves a history of Hamburg's Art Museum and Art Association with an analysis of how political structures and participation were reshaped under the pressure of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). This is a sophisticated discussion, an important contribution to social-cultural history. She demonstrates how professional men, in some cases from leading families, took leadership independent of traditionally minded businessmen in forging productive new political alliances and rethinking what the city should become socially and culturally.

Lichtwark, Jenkins suggests, was a leading example of how aggressively some people rose to prominence in the early decades of the German Empire. She describes him emerging from humble origins as "a parvenu with a self-generated aristocratic veneer, an ambitious academic who propped himself up on his earnings as a librarian and journalist" (p. 58). His career as a politically talented museum director was by no means new, as James Sheehan has shown in *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (2000). Lichtwark wanted to change the museum from an imitation of a princely institution to a force by which to educate and lead the public. In order to impose his vision on the museum, he built up firm support among patrons and artists, even institutionalizing the former in a new organization for amateurs.

Jenkins shrewdly shows how Lichtwark manipulated contrasting allegiances to local, national, and cosmopolitan art in the museum's programs. She neither denigrates nor overvalues Hamburg as an art scene; despite the book's title, she does not often use the word "provincial." Instead she demonstrates how Lichtwark succeeded in defining the museum as a "regional" center but at the same time involved it deeply within the cosmopolitan movement of taste across Europe for impressionistic painting. In so doing, he also made the museum's holdings central to nationally defined exhibitions of German art held in Berlin. All of this makes less significant the nationalistic antagonism toward Parisian dominance of the art world that some scholars have emphasized.

In examining the educational programs Lichtwark developed in the museum, Jenkins offers a wide survey of both middle and working-class movements in this area, drawing on the work of Patrick Joyce to make interesting parallels with English developments. Book publication and reading societies expanded in direct relationship with innovations in technical matters and exploitation of markets, but grew also from the investing of what Jenkins calls "social authority" in the hands of local leaders. Despite the impressive list of clubs, lectures, and theaters here, it is important not to exaggerate how learned popular taste tended to be. As Dieter Langewiesche showed in a study of Viennese libraries, working people chiefly wanted effective entertainment in their reading. Jenkins concludes with a sketch of how, as city architect, Fritz Schumacher took leadership comparable to that of Lichtwark but stood much closer to Social Democrats. As she argues, his conception of urban planning read like "a manual of

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municipal socialism" in talking about "how many cultural threads come together in the hands of municipal government" (pp. 280–81).

Kay's book focuses on Lichtwark's cultivation of young artists and the reaction against modernism that stimulated. She emphasizes his posture as a cultural critic who condemned the bourgeoisie as philistine and provincial. As he put it on one occasion, "Hamburgers are proclaimed as the Reich's stupid bourgeois ... This is our punishment for having been idle in cultural matters" (p. 23). His vision as director was to "encourage an aristocracy of the middle class" in its stead (p. 20).

Kay focuses on two controversies that broke out over Lichtwark's commissions. The first occurred over the portrait he commissioned in 1892 of the highly revered Burgomaster Carl Petersen by the rising Berlin artist Max Liebermann. The unassuming depiction of Petersen in stooped posture alienated the city fathers and drew opportunistic criticism from the press. Then, in 1896, an even more intense scandal occurred over a pair of posters done for the annual exhibit of the Art Association. One by Arthur Illies, portraying a defiant-looking male artist naked from the waist up, was condemned as part of the "new tendency" in art that bordered on immorality. Kay's discussion follows recent practice of seeing such disputes as a basic component of cultural discourse, and the care by which she narrates them is much to be admired. Still, the book does not ask what structures existed by which great masters held authority and new artists were (or were not) recognized. We need to explore how the canonic status of great works changed in the shift from private to public viewing, and how that process influenced the rise of modernism. Sheehan has answered these questions in some respects, demonstrating that museums came under attack soon after they opened and ended up shifting from a monumental to a neutral style of display by World War I.

Kay and Jenkins disagree substantially on the importance of the disputes. While Kay sees a fundamental resistance to modern art among conservative citizens, Jenkins argues that the episodes had no major impact in the long run. Did the disputes really matter? On the one hand, Jenkins seems right if one recalls how firmly modernist art became established within most museums by the 1930s. Indeed, modern music had far less exposure in mainstream institutions than art works did during that period. Yet, on the other hand, Kay alerts us to the process by which the rhetoric of antimodernism became central to discourse about art. The very notion of the artist versus the bourgeois—or avant-garde versus philistine—emerged as a vehicle through which authority, influence, and taste were negotiated within the art world of the twentieth century.

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STEPHAN MALINOWSKI. *Vom König zum Führer: Sozialer Niedergang und politische Radikalisierung im deutschen Adel zwischen Kaiserreich und NS-Staat*. (Elitenwandel in der Moderne, number 4.) Berlin: Akademie. 2003. Pp. 660. €59.80.

This book by Stephan Malinowski addresses one of the classic themes of German history: the baleful role of the nobility in the failure of German democratization. Combining social, cultural, and political history, it greatly profits from the theoretical and methodological sophistication of research on the *Bürgertum* (bourgeoisie or middle class), a booming field of study in Germany, but one that has not received the attention it deserves in the United States.

Using a tremendous wealth of primary sources, the author traces the German nobility's turn to far-right ideology to key elements of aristocratic identity: a lack of individualism, a sense of superiority, ties to the land, anti-urban and antimodern attitudes, as well as an antimaterialism that grew out of the poverty of the East Elbian lower nobility. The latter believed in the importance, not so much of education, but of "character," emphasizing dedication to duty, self-sacrifice, asceticism, repression of emotion, and in-born leadership qualities—values that bred anticapitalist and antisemitic resentments. The only weakness of this section of the book is that it does not explore aristocratic concepts of masculinity in sufficient depth.

Malinowski somewhat overemphasizes the role that Jews played in the tentative links being forged between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy before 1914, but he is right in thinking that this very healthy development was torpedoed by antisemitic agitation. The struggling and envious lower nobility formed the Deutsche Adelsgenossenschaft (DAG), which became bitterly antisemitic, antibourgeois, critical of the upper aristocracy and the kaiser, and increasingly friendly with the antimodern segment of the *Mittelstand* (lower middle class). However, the German nobility was deeply divided before World War I. While the East Elbian lower nobility embraced a militarist, antimodern, statist ethos that emphasized service to king and state, the vastly wealthier southern German upper aristocracy gloried in its own prosperity, power, and rank, independent of any ruler, and was committed to a religiously oriented conservatism—an ultimately unsuccessful ideological alternative to far-right politics.

World War I and the disorienting changes and crises that followed led to a radicalization of the German aristocracy, particularly its younger and poorer ranks. Wartime brutalization, fear of the "Red terror," and loss of a suitable livelihood caused many to take up the cause of counterrevolution by joining the Free Corps, supporting putsches and assassinations, and indulging in "male fantasies" (p. 222) of gunning down opponents. Disappointed with the kaiser (who had not died on the battlefield, as some wished), most turned away from monarchism. Resistance to taking up a middle-

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class profession was great, and many aristocrats descended into poverty.

During the Weimar era, the disoriented and fractured nobility opened up to the far right. The aristocracy dreamed of taking on roles as leaders. The DAG became a major force, uniting 17,000 members of all strata of the nobility, from the most illustrious to the most destitute, in a new "imagined community" dominated by the lower nobility and rightist ideas. The DAG worked to reinvent the nobility as a racial elite, dedicated to racial purity and the fight against "internationalism, Americanism, Frenchness, and Jewry" (p. 326). Exclusion of "non-Aryans" from the nobility began as early as 1920. Guided by conservative and religious values, Catholic aristocrats of southern Germany resisted racialization and, later, the ascendancy of the Nazis, finding the militaristic style of the Free Corps and SA of little appeal.

Although at first skeptical, the aristocracy discovered "affinities" with National Socialism in several areas: friend-foe thinking, antisemitism, a mystical conception of the future Führer, the hope of conquering territory in Eastern Europe, and career opportunities under the Nazis. There were also barriers to nazification of the nobility: lingering monarchism (particularly in Bavaria), Catholic religious belief, fear of land expropriation, Richard Walther Darré's call for a "new nobility" (interpreted here as less anti-aristocratic than has often been claimed, however), and egalitarianism within the racial community. However, there was enough common ground between the Nazis and the aristocracy that many noblemen indeed joined or supported the party. The DAG happily embraced National Socialism, and even the organizations of Catholic and upper nobility caved in to the Nazis. Although the nazification of a certain contingent of noblemen can be explained in terms of personal economic and professional losses, many aristocrats in the Nazi Party were wealthy and secure. Their ideological commitments were rooted in a radicalization that had begun in the lower nobility but had swept up a much larger swath of their class, including some of its most prominent members and many women. Many of the aristocrats who participated in the July 20, 1944 plot on Adolf Hitler's life had originally been Nazi sympathizers and supporters. Malinowski rejects the "legend" (p. 588) that resistance to the Nazis was widespread in the German aristocracy. Only the southern German Catholics remained largely immune to the siren call of the fascists. Malinowski sees an explanation for this widespread support of the Nazis in the mistaken belief of German aristocrats that the Nazis' emphasis on blood and race was compatible with their own values and would fortify and modernize their caste. The nobility paid dearly for this "misunderstanding."

Malinowski shows that the aristocracy played an important role in destroying democracy and helped the Nazis take power and carry out their monstrous racial program. His book is overly long, but Malinkowski's writing style is graceful and clever. This is an important, stimulating work that deserves to be widely read by German historians.

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Elizabeth Harvey. *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 384.

This book is extraordinary in the extent of its research, the nuance and brilliance of its interpretation, and the importance of its subject matter. In a highly original study of the participation of women in building the Nazi empire in the East, Elizabeth Harvey moves from the ethnographic projects on rural borderland settlements during the 1930s, to the efforts at Germanization in newly annexed Polish territories in 1939 and 1940, and on to the outposts of the Nazi empire in Lublin and Galicia in the period 1942–1944. By way of immense archival work, she introduces readers to the very particular villages, kindergartens, and households that Germany's resettlement policies targeted; and she keeps the focus on individual women, young school teachers, social workers, and other auxiliary officials whose reports, letters, and diaries project the voices, ambitions, and frustrations of Germany's colonizers. Harvey carefully distinguishes between "true believers" in the colonial project and the more representative middle-class women who moved to the East to find personal fulfillment and to enhance their careers as well as to serve the national community. Harvey is careful to let readers make their own judgments about degrees of complicity without withholding her own views. Insightful analysis between contemporary documents and subsequent recollections permits her to analyze as well the work of memory and the process of critical self-examination over the last sixty years. No book that I have read better reveals the everyday parameters of being an activist in the Third Reich or the texture of German racism. Both for its documentation and interpretation, this book instantly reconfigures the historiography of German empire, German genocide, and National Socialism. Its impact should match that of William Sheridan Allen's analysis of Northeim (*The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1922–1945* [1984]), a very different (and shorter) book, to be sure, but similar to Harvey's in its ability to present robust characters and vivid choices, to evoke sights and sounds, and to provide readers interpretive room.

"Far from being a private matter, remote from the affairs of state and nation," Harvey asserts, "the German home was elevated into the site where the nation was generated and reproduced" (p. 31). It was the home that became the mark of Germanness on the borderland and the site of Germanization in the occupied territories, and it was these domestic settings that authorized the large-scale role of women activists

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in the German racial project. Throughout the 1930s, they traveled to eastern settlements to monitor and catalogue and to reform villagers in a more Germanic fashion, tidying their households, disposing of their kitschy (or "Polish") decor, teaching them folk customs, and diminishing the role of the churches. With the beginning of the war, activists augmented their highly gendered maternal responsibilities; through their status as racial superiors, they sought to become comrades of National Socialist men. New German settlements needed teachers, particularly to make children into proper Germans. In a very compelling chapter, Harvey follows Germany's kindergarten teachers as they made their way to the newly settled German villages in the districts of Lublin and Galicia. There they requisitioned houses and supplies from Jews and Poles, and somewhat later picked over the remains of emptied Jewish ghettos (in one place finding a usable child's pram, elsewhere cutlery and dishes), resisted Polish influence, and provided moral support as Germany's outposts became more and more vulnerable to partisan attacks in 1943 and 1944. Galicia very much resembled a Nazi version of frontier society with its transgressions, improvisations, and day-to-day racism. It becomes clear that kindergarten teachers (and they are just one, particularly effective example) were active participants in the resettlement of Germans and the deportations of Poles and witnesses to and beneficiaries of the evacuation and murder of Jews. Young women came to the East with different motives, and Harvey does an excellent job sorting these out, but for the most part they unthinkingly reproduced the crude racial stereotypes of their upbringing and training, and they remain unsure what to do with their mostly bright memories to this day. This was a time and place when a twenty-nine-year-old teacher from Thüringen could take satisfaction in the work she had done for "her realm" in Sitno in Galicia, ride out under a bright moonlit sky with "Oberfeldw. L." on the night of the Allied invasion of France, see "in the distance [that] a Polish village was burning and a great cloud of smoke hung in the sky," and comment in her diary before going to bed that "one could really forget all one's worries—yes, cares?—in this paradise with flowers and horses" (p. 278). Harvey's special gift is to unpack an entry like this and make it available as historical knowledge. Her book is incisive, unforgettable, and astonishing.

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GABRIELE LOFTI. *KZ der Gestapo: Arbeitserziehungslager im Dritten Reich*. Foreword by HANS MOMMSEN. (Die Zeit ders Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2003. Pp. 451. €15.90.

The establishment of Labor Education Camps (*Arbeitserziehungslager* or AEL) reveals that the oppression of the German population and persecution of the foreign forced laborers in wartime Nazi Germany was given into the hands of lower-level local and regional civil and police authorities. Gabriele Lofti deconstructs the myths that the approximately 200 AEL that existed during World War II were centrally inspired, organized, and guided. Far from that, the author clearly shows how initiatives from below shaped this ever-expanding terror instrument of the Gestapo.

Lofti's book is based on her dissertation and was first published in hardcover in 2000. The slightly revised paperback edition analyzes the complex history of the AEL before the background of the social and labor policy of the Third Reich as well as its forced labor program. The author describes the power struggles over the competences and the goals of the AEL not only between different power holders and organizations in Nazi Germany but also between different levels of the SS and police structure. Lofti's study is not matched by any other contribution on the history of the AEL and gives a vivid account of the policy-making process within the Gestapo and Security Police as a whole.

The early camps of this type—the name AEL was not yet used—emerged close to the famous Western Wall and were exclusively aimed at the German male workforce. They were the result of the increasingly oppressive labor laws in Germany and growing worker dissatisfaction, especially among those German laborers compelled to work at the fortification sites. In special camps, disobedient workers were gathered and submitted to hard labor and harsh treatment. Lofti concludes that from that time on, repression replaced the labor and social consensus aimed for in the early days of the Nazi dictatorship (p. 311).

On the model of these early sites, of which Hinzert was the most notorious, the new AEL camps were shaped. The first of those officially carrying the name Labor Education Camps was founded in a rural district of Westphalia. The Higher SS and Police Leader West in Düsseldorf, strongly supported by regional industry tycoons of the Ruhr Valley, were instrumental in setting up the Hunswinkel camp in August 1940. Although the head of the camp was a Security Police member, the guards came from the ranks of the Order Police. Soon, new AEL were established all over Germany.

Germans as well as increasingly foreign forced laborers were sent into these camps by local Gestapo and police stations. These imprisonments were mostly inspired by local and regional businesses and labor offices. For companies, the camps provided the best means to combat seemingly bad work output, disobedience at the workplace, etc. Unlike the concentration camps, labor education prisoners were sent to the AEL only for a limited period of time. Thereafter, the delinquents returned to the workplace. That was approved by the business owners because they wanted to discipline their workforce but not to lose them to the SS concentration camp and forced labor system.

From the outset, Heinrich Himmler was no cham-

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pion of the AEL. And even after they were generally accepted, he did not want to admit the so-called "Eastern Workers." In his opinion, those people were destined to be imprisoned in concentration camps. However, local Gestapo and police authorities adhered more to the calls of the local businesses. Eastern workers, too, were imprisoned in the AEL. For the Gestapo offices in the field, the AEL constituted a more or less independent terror instrument. Therefore, not only disobedient laborers but also those who were seen as political risks ended up in the camps. The AEL became the local all-purpose prisons for the Security Police (p. 97). Clearly, power shifted from the center to the local and regional level.

Toward the end of World War II, conditions in the labor education camps matched those in the concentration camps. Forced to work under appalling conditions, undernourished, without medical care, and beaten by the police guards innumerable prisoners met violent deaths. Frequently prisoners were handed over to the concentration camp system.

While the steady decline in the living conditions in the AEL is apparent, I disagree somewhat with the notion that the labor education camps were generally comparable to the concentration camps and were, indeed, the concentration camps of the Gestapo. The AEL were not a different kind of concentration camp but a new institution with its own history and character (p. 11). Although a good portion of AEL inmates were eventually released, most concentration camp prisoners remained imprisoned, and the majority died. This is, however, only a minor point in assessing this important and well-written contribution to our understanding of the internal politics and terror system of Nazi Germany.

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Wewelsburg District Museum, Germany

THERESIA BAUER. *Blockpartei und Agrarrevolution von oben: Die Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands 1948–1963.* (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, number 64.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 639.

Theresia Bauer's impressive study of the Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands (Democratic Peasant Party of Germany, or DBD) is nothing if not thorough. An artificially created subservient agricultural party in an undemocratic system receives nearly 560 pages of text and mostly archival footnotes, thirty pages of statistical tables, and over forty pages of scholarly apparatus—and all this for the first sixteen years of its forty-three-year existence. This might seem excessive, and, in terms of reader concentration and the need for editorial restraint, it is. The impact of Bauer's meticulous research would have been greater if some of the detail and all of the repetition had been lost along the way. Nonetheless, the book is a fine achievement, superseding all previous studies.

By 1948, according to Bauer, the Soviet administration in Germany was concerned about the way in which the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, or SED) was handling the aftermath of the 1945 distributive land reform, about the inadequacies of the peasant-aid association (VdgB), and about the political difficulties associated with the existing "block" parties, the Christian Democrats (CDU) and the Liberal Democrats (LDPD). Against the wishes of the SED and—perversely—in order to reassure the CDU and LDPD of the continuing importance to the Soviet Union of "block" politics, the Soviet authorities pressed for the foundation of a peasant party in 1948. The DBD's role was to engage the small farmers and thereby to consolidate the land reform, but very swiftly it became acquainted with its wider schizophrenic purpose. The SED's attack on "kulak" larger farmers developed from 1948 into the first collectivization drive in 1952, which the DBD was supposed to support, while at the same time fostering connections with the independent peasants and stressing the whole-German dimension of agricultural policy. This early collectivization resulted in rural protests, real and alleged sabotage, and farmer flight from the German Democratic Republic (GDR) into the Federal Republic. The DBD leadership and membership were purged, and from late 1953 the party had to pick up the pieces. It was charged by the SED both with supporting the foundering agricultural cooperatives and with maintaining the compliance of the independent peasantry.

Bauer makes excellent use of the archives of the SED Sector "Friendly Organizations" and of the Ministry for State Security to show how the DBD was controlled and criticized in the mid-1950s. She draws in a range of political personalities and regional differences but could have developed her comments about the village experience of farmers in their relations with the DBD, about religious observance, and about the experience of rural women. The crunch came in 1957–1958, when SED pressure for collective agriculture mounted. In the first half of 1958 there was a substantial increase in the founding of agricultural cooperatives (LPG) and of LPG members in the DBD, despite the fact that the party was not supposed to recruit from either cooperative farmers nor from individual peasants with larger landholdings. Bauer then argues that the first sign of the next drastic course of action to be taken was in the postponement and relocation of the DBD party congress to May 1960 in Güstrow. The significance of this was that Güstrow was in a northern district of advanced collectivization and that May was being set as a target for full collectivization. Bauer charts the complex process of debate within the SED leadership, within the DBD and with the Soviet allies. She draws in the local initiative for collectivization in the Rostock district, which went under the slogan "*De Appel is riep*" ("The apple is ripe"), and concludes that urgent decisions were made by the SED in mid-January 1960 to proceed with enforced full collectivization, not least in order to grab

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the agricultural machinery of the middling peasants. There were 400,000 of these in late 1959 and only 30,000 in April 1960. Bauer successfully conveys the phases of organizational and economic chaos throughout the period. The DBD, led in the main by experienced farmers but thoroughly infiltrated by SED stooges and informers to the Ministry for State Security, trod a precarious course between asserting the interests of individual farmers, pressing for collectivization, and coping with protest, violence, and sabotage. It was capable of reflecting peasant discontent, but its main function was to deflect attention from the SED and to coerce the agricultural population. By 1963, collectivization was more or less complete and the GDR sealed off from the West, so the DBD was forced into a submission that lasted for the next twenty-seven years.

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HOPE M. HARRISON. *Driving the Soviets up the Wall: Soviet-East German Relations, 1953–1961*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 345. $42.50

Primarily, Hope M. Harrison's study is a contribution to the history of the Berlin Crisis. Based on relevant sources of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) regime, eyewitness accounts, and individual sources from Moscow, she is able to show that throughout this crisis Walter Ulbricht and Nikita Khrushchev pursued different priorities and applied different methods. The tensions between East Berlin and Moscow that resulted led to a crisis within the crisis, and at least temporarily Khrushchev acted under the pressure that Ulbricht managed to create. While Khrushchev hoped to win the Germans for socialism and pursued an agreement in the Berlin Crisis with the Western powers, Ulbricht continuously aimed at force and control. He wanted to terminate the rights of the occupation powers unilaterally without giving thought to the risk of war that would result. Ulbricht's long-term objective was the incorporation of West Berlin into the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

The tensions between Moscow and East Berlin escalated after the U-2 incident caused the spectacular failure of the plan to negotiate a solution at the Paris Summit of May 1960. While Khrushchev still pursued an agreement, now with the president who was to succeed Dwight D. Eisenhower, Ulbricht grew increasingly nervous because of the new wave of refugees who left the GDR. Harrison is able to show that the new regulation for visits by West Berliners and West Germans to East Berlin was introduced in September 1960 without prior Soviet authorization. In January 1961, Ulbricht presented an urgency program to Khrushchev for the lifting of the occupation statute of West Berlin and the transfer of the control of the access routes from West Berlin to the GDR. Due to the bleeding of the GDR, possibly as early as March (if the account of Jan Sejna can be trusted) but definitely in June, Ulbricht wanted to carry through with the cutting off of West Berlin independent of a peace treaty. According to Yuli Kvitsinsky, Ulbricht warned Khrushchev at the end of June or the beginning of July that "if the present situation of open border remains, collapse is inevitable" (p. 185). The July 4 memorandum of Ambassador Pervukhin confirms Khrushchev's later report (to his son Sergei and to ambassador Hans Kroll) that he then decided to build the wall.

Harrison's account somewhat exaggerates the course of events: "The tail boldly wagged the dog" (p. 139). It does not fit that Khrushchev in the final analysis denied Ulbricht the separate peace treaty, first, because after his meeting with John F. Kennedy in June 1961 he considered the risk of war too high, and second, because he feared the consequences of an economic embargo imposed by the West. By giving in to Ulbricht's demand to close the borders, Khrushchev at the same time took the German's most important tool to put pressure on the Soviet leader. However, Harrison examines the Berlin Crisis in the context of a recapitulation of recent research results on the creation of the GDR and the crisis of 1953. She also recounts the tensions between Ulbricht and Khrushchev in the phase of destalinization in 1956–1957. This portrays Ulbricht as pursuing independent policies; primarily, it was his dogmatic stubbornness that created the GDR with its weaknesses, independently of other objectives and changing methods of Soviet policies. Harrison's study firmly supports this account.

Khrushchev's objectives in the Berlin Crisis remain somewhat unclear, not only because of the Soviet leader's volatile nature and the inaccessibility of the presidential archive. Curiously enough, Harrison does not use the sources of the Moscow Foreign Ministry, which Oleg Grinevsky used in his monograph on Khrushchev's foreign policies. Harrison is able to show that after Anastas Mikoian warned that the transfer of the occupation rights to the GDR would be too risky, Khrushchev understood the idea of a "Free West Berlin City" as an offer for compromise. However, this does not show as clearly as she gathers that the stabilization of the GDR was the major objective of Khrushchev's initiative and that fear of the atomic armament of the German Federal Republic played only a minor role. Regarding the reasons for the renunciation of the separate peace treaty, Harrison at times is rather speculative, even though the documents she presents clearly show that in Vienna Khrushchev was unable to obtain the certainty that the West would renounce military resistance. Such inaccuracies, however, do not alter the fact that this study essentially contributes to the understanding of Soviet policies in the Cold War.

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JAN-WERNER MÜLLER. *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 292. $30.00.

This book by Jan-Werner Müller examines the reception of Carl Schmitt's political thought by European intellectuals in the period after 1945. Beginning with a summary of Schmitt's thought and life up to that point, the book reviews his associates and students in the immediate postwar period and moves from there through the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, all the way to the postmodernist response to Schmitt in writers like Slavoj Žižek and Jacques Derrida. Müller's reading is truly impressive and he manages, on the whole, to convey his information a clear and precise prose. Nevertheless, he does not escape the two problems faced by all reception narratives: their tendency to sweep up everything, the important and the insignificant, under the indiscriminate label of "reception," and their complementary inclination to pay insufficient attention to what is being received. In the course of his study, Müller considers the views of jurists, political scientists, historians, and philosophers and of conservative, right-wing, and left-wing writers—some influential and others marginal, some intellectually significant, and some truly negligible. At points his narrative creates genuine excitement, as in the discussion of Schmitt's encounter with Alexandre Kojève or in the account of his debate with Hans Blumenberg. Some other figures in the story (men like Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, Ernst Forsthoff, or Hanno Kesting) could, however, have been given shorter shrift. As a result of Müller's evenhandedness, his expositions are sometimes too short to make clear what is at stake, as in his examination of Reinhart Koselleck's *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (1987). One also misses a thoroughgoing treatment of Schmitt's relation to such notable figures as Ernst Jünger, Hannah Arendt, and Jürgen Habermas.

This book does little to throw light on Schmitt's own thinking apart from the summary account at the beginning and occasional glances into his subsequent writings. But Müller does not want to provide "another attempt to identify the essence of Schmitt's thought" and that on the astonishing ground that "in fact, there is no such essence" (p. 6). He appears indeed motivated by unrelieved venom against Schmitt and everything he stands for. This leads him to make some rather indiscriminate judgments. "No part of Schmitt's own oeuvre is unproblematic," we are told, and "an isolation (or sanitation) of certain parts is impossible" (p. 252). But is such a separation and isolation of parts of Schmitt's thought not exactly the theme of Müller's own narrative? While Schmitt's thought is thus declared an organic unity, it also said to display "numerous contradictions even within a single work" (p. 9). The two characteristics are reconciled, presumably, because "behind the complex theorizing lay nothing but a politics of antimodern paranoia" (p. 58). It follows that "a study of Schmitt in the post-war period is necessarily also a study in spitefulness" (p. 7). Müller displays not an ounce of interpretative generosity in his treatment of Schmitt. That Schmitt (presumably, like other scholars) often made changes to new editions of his books is ascribed to his "conceptual opportunism" (p. 7). His extensive correspondence after 1945 (continuing an earlier practice) shows that he used "whatever means were necessary . . . to leverage his deeply damaged reputation" (p. 59).

A sharp and, indeed, devastating critique of Schmitt may, indeed, be called for. But Müller's indiscriminate hostility does not generate the conceptual tools for such an undertaking. Schmitt's view is on his interpretation neither a political conservatism nor can it be called a radical conservatism or a reactionary modernism. Schmitt's is rather "a philosophical or anthropological conservatism" (p. 11). The distinction might be illuminating, but Müller fails to give an adequate clarification of this crucial concept. Philosophical conservatism is for him a "predilection for the concrete and the particular" (p. 73) but also an "anti-universalism, anti-individualism, or a pessimistic philosophical anthropology" (p. 81). It is a view shared by, among others, Schmitt, Edmund Burke, and George Lukacs. This rather unrefined concept is taken to be opposed to an equally undifferentiated "liberal modernity" characterized by "science, rationalized law and bureaucracy as well as liberal representative institutions, and finally, rationalized religion and ethics, which allow for a priority of the right over the good" (p. 251). Given such indiscriminate categories, it is no surprise that the feeble outcome of Müller's study is the thought that "a chastened liberalism has to be historically conscious and, if possible, include an apologia for nothing less than modernity, in its liberal version, itself" (p. 250).

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WILLIAM D. BOWMAN. *Priest and Parish in Vienna, 1780–1880*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Humanities Press. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 268.

This book by William D. Bowman is a study of the Catholic priesthood in the Vienna archdiocese from the Josephinist reforms of the late eighteenth century to the development of the Christian Social Party a century later. A revised doctoral dissertation, it is published as part of the Humanities Press series "Studies in Central European History." Bowman's book is based on extensive source material from church and state archives in Austria, is well footnoted, and contains a thorough bibliography of secondary sources. It is enhanced by illustrations, tables, and charts.

The Josephinist reforms in Austria, named for Emperor Joseph II but begun under his mother, Empress Maria Theresa, attempted, in the spirit of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, to turn Catholic priests

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into a moral police force to unify the ethnically and socially diverse population of the Austrian crownlands in allegiance to the transnational dynastic Habsburg state. Bowman argues that the priests were given a task they could not fulfill. Lacking the education and resources to accomplish their mission, but politicized by Josephinism, the priests turned away from a universalist mission in Austria and, at the end of the nineteenth century, embraced the sectarian, shrill, and antisemitic politics of the Christian Social party to compete as an interest group with Liberals and, later, Socialists. "In a paradoxical sense, the strength of priests' support for the Christian Social party was a tacit recognition of their *weakness* in Austria" (p. 219).

Bowman focuses on a social and cultural analysis of religion rather than institutional or theological history. He addresses the social and geographical development of the Vienna archdiocese, the national and social origins of the priests, their education, their economic situation, and the interaction of priests and parish in sacraments and on feast days. Vienna's modern ecclesiastical borders, which include the city and much of Lower Austria, were established by Joseph II to bring church governance more into line with state jurisdictions. The number of parish priests, however, failed to keep up with an increasing population, making the parishes ever larger and the close contact between priests and congregations, essential to the Josephinist policing mission, virtually impossible. Czechs migrated into the Vienna archdiocese in growing numbers, and few priests either knew their language or were sensitive to their needs (p. 71).

Priests came largely from middle-level artisanal and upper-level peasant backgrounds, in which the priesthood was an upward step in social mobility, whereas day laborers and the rural poor could rarely afford the education required. Consequently, priests were recruited mainly from groups unlikely to be sympathetic to an emerging urban working class (p. 89). Under Joseph II, many monasteries were closed, their wealth converted into the *Religionsfonds*, a state fund that helped pay parish priests, effectively making them state employees, somewhat as were French priests under the 1790 Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Invariably short of funds, Austria's parish priests suffered from inflation through the 1870s. Bowman shows how the lack of meaningful reform in the outmoded and rote training of priests rendered them ill-equipped to deal with the spiritual and social needs of a changing population. In addition, they were asked to help enforce unpopular Josephinist restrictions on expressions of local piety, such as processions and feast days, seen as legacies of medieval "superstition" and distractions from work.

A few questions remain to be addressed, perhaps in a second edition. What were the reasons behind the state's unwillingness or inability to support the priests more adequately in their Josephinist mission? Bowman sees the roots of the 1860s anticlerical Liberal legislation in a growing disaffection with the church and its priests (pp. 202–03), but there may have been larger cultural forces at work in the secularization of European society. He concludes that "it is part of the legacy of Josephinism and nineteenth-century priest-parish conflicts that present-day Austria is so overwhelmingly secular" (p. 215), but is Austria more secular today than other European countries that did not experience Josephinism? Apart from a brief discussion of the priests' roles in performing marriages, Bowman says little about women, who comprised half the parish population. Lastly, a few minor errors include the list of chapters in the table of contents skipping from number six to number nine and the spelling of Archbishop Sigismund Anton von Hohenwart's name two different ways on consecutive pages (pp. 112 and 113), together with the "von" being dropped. These points aside, Bowman has made a significant contribution to our understanding of church and politics in nineteenth-century Austria.

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LAURA BARLETTA. *Fra regola e licenza: Chiesa e vita religiosa, feste e beneficenza a Napoli e in Campania (secoli XVIII-XX)*. (L'identità di Clio; Collana di storia e scienze sociali, number 24.) Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 2003. Pp. 446. €32.00.

Laura Barletta, best known for her classic study of the Neapolitan carnival during the great famine of 1763–1764 (*Il Carnevale del 1764 a Napoli: Protesta e integrazione in uno spazio urbano* [1981]), has collected six previously published articles dealing with the two topics of her subtitle, "the church and religious life" and "festivals and charity" in the city of Naples and its province, Campania, from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. A new introduction connects these two topics around a set of sophisticated questions and suggestive conclusions that propose the Italian South as a good model to explain the effect of modernization and secularization on the daily sense of the sacred in a pluralistic society open to people and influences near and far. The book's title, "Between regulation and license," captures the unresolved tension between the attempted social control of popular practices and their unstoppable spontaneity, ambiguity, and creativity. Barletta's nuanced, interdisciplinary approach explores the boundaries between history, sociology, anthropology, and psychology to reveal the rich, often contradictory social and human realities in southern Italian formal and popular religion and culture.

Part one includes two essays on church-state relations in Naples and Campania from Italian unification in 1860 to the 1980s. Giuseppe Garibaldi's entrance into Naples on September 7, 1860, opened a completely new fissure fracturing civil and religious power in southern Italy and its capital, as Risorgimento Italy attempted to appropriate both the physical and ritual spaces that the church had occupied for centuries by confiscating church property and ending the church's

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monopoly of functions from public education to marriage. Barletta documents the slow erosion of church authority and the decline in clerical presence with the number of priests in Naples decreasing from 2,803 in 1885, to about 1,560 in 1915, only 1,004 in 1951, and fewer than 600 by the end of the 1970s, compared with an extremely high population/parish density almost two-thirds higher than that in Milan, so that by 1985 Naples's 242 parish churches had 5,657 inhabitants per parish. This church crisis found scant relief in the pronouncements of local bishops, the ministry of various church officials, the spread of Marian cults and devotion, or the development of Catholic charitable institutions that did not translate into ballot box support from a hoped-for Catholic "silent majority" on hotly contested social issues such as divorce and abortion. Barletta finds two key disjunctions: first, between clergy and laity because of the disconnect between civil and diocesan administrators, the origins and social class of diocesan leaders, internal alliances and tensions within the diocesan bureaucracy, and a diocesan culture so tied to its traditions that it was incapable of change; and second, in the relationship between the poor as recipients and the rich as donors, which established a circulatory system within society that fostered personal dependence and further separated rich and poor.

Part two reprints three essays on carnival and a fourth on women in charitable institutions. The long-term trajectory of carnival in Naples shows the cooption of popular celebration by elite civil power in the early modern period and the exhaustion of any authentic popular participation with the democratization of middle-class society after unification. A valuable seventy-nine-page appendix reprints texts, poems, songs, diary entries, newspaper articles, and miscellaneous references to the Neapolitan carnival from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. From the city's central ceremonial place, the large open square in front of the royal palace (*largo di Palazzo*) and the Via Toledo, the Neapolitan carnival in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries articulated a polyvalent communication system that crossed social barriers, rural/urban divisions, and native/foreigner distinctions to express societal sentiments, desires, and tendencies as it reasserted state power, promoted assent, allowed for dissent, and dissipated in the tension of contested power from the church, whose fragmented power base was weakened by discordant and competing demands from the numerous churches, oratories, convents, hospitals, chapels, and religious houses in the old city. In 1774, the carnival *cuccagna* (distribution of free bread and food) was transferred from the *largo di Palazzo* to the *largo del Castello* and became a top-down form of charity that conveyed to spectators an image of regularity, order, and obedience that marginalized the plebs. With the abolition of the carnival *cuccagna* in 1779 and its replacement with eighty dowry gifts for poor girls, the popular character of carnival was eviscerated by governmental centralization of charity and the noblesse oblige of the city elites. Over this long period from the Tridentine enclosure of nuns, a quantitative examination of the participation of women in religious foundations finds their presence significantly reduced in the foundation and direction of faith-based charitable institutions. "Between regulation and license" traces the complex, long-term decline of religious authority over the practices and mentality of the common people and the people's growing alienation from the church.

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PAUL GINSBORG. *Italy and Its Discontents: Family, Civil Society, State 1980–2001*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xv, 520. $35.00.

This book was published in Italy in 2001 and became an instant bestseller. In May of that year, the center-right scored a stunning victory in the national elections, so the English translation includes a postscript that tries to make sense of the Berlusconi phenomenon. A companion volume to Paul Ginsborg's *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943–1988* (1990), it charts the transformation of politics and civil society in the aftermath of the Cold War. Whereas the 1960s saw the consolidation of an urban Italy and the growth of an industrial proletariat with political muscle, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed the expansion of the service sector and the emergence of the salariat who entertained individualist and consumerist concerns.

The influence of the middle classes, the vital sector of Italian society according to Ginsborg, broadened during the final decades of the last century. If the workers lost job security and rights due to a fragmented trade union movement, entrepreneurs, professionals, senior management, and shopkeepers did remarkably well during the economic boom of the late 1980s. The collective sense of civic mindedness that had emerged by the 1970s gave way to an individualistic and localistic interpretation of modernity: the home, the family, and consumption. Ginsborg calls this bourgeois mentality "Thatcherist without Mrs Thatcher" (p. 66).

The chapter on "Families and Consumption" lays bare fascinating paradoxes of the Italian nuclear unit. As he did in *A History of Contemporary Italy*, Ginsborg uses the concept of "amoral familism," a term originally employed by Edward Banfield in 1958 to explain the primal and anti-civic connection of backward peasants in Basilicata to their families. Ginsborg updates the notion by casting aside the qualifier of amorality. The distrust of the collective associated with the disparaging dictum still stands, however. In the modern and urban world of Italy today, he claims, familist strategies allow citizens to stay away from the public sphere, embrace the private domain, and thwart the development of civil society.

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But families underwent demographic change, grew smaller, and stayed intergenerational longer. Birthrates in Italy, an overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country, declined dramatically. Couples deferred childbearing and out-of-wedlock pregnancies dropped, so that by 1990 the average age of first-time mothers stood at twenty-nine and the average number of children per woman at 1.30. Many have blamed this trend on paltry state aid, in Italy well below that of France and Germany. Yet Emilia-Romagna, which claimed the best child services in all of Europe, had birthrates of one child per woman. Adults postponed marriage or remained single, cohabiting with their parents rather than living on their own. The "mama's boy" syndrome, whereby Italian bachelors chose to reside at home dependent on their mothers for care and comfort, has emerged as a filial proclivity throughout the whole country.

The small screen provided the main leisure interest in the home. Ginsborg argues in forceful narrative that commercial television, which still constitutes the primary cultural activity of which most Italians partake daily, accelerated the retreat from collective concerns. Color monitors arrived in 1977. The videocassette recorder was the hottest-selling single commodity in the late 1980s, and by 1992 45.4 percent of households owned one (p. 84). National private networks took off soon after. Government regulated the industry haphazardly, public television tossed away the initiative, control concentrated in the hands of a few, and Silvio Berlusconi widened his reach. Consumers, housewives and pensioners in particular, also got lazy. The poorest and least educated Italians became addicts of soccer, soap operas, and variety shows. This sort of cognitive conditioning does much to explain the immense popular appeal of the "tireless little Milanese businessman" in the 2001 elections (p. 321).

During the early 1990s, a new political culture seemed to have emerged both in northern and southern Italy. When corruption scandals broke in Milan, the public outcry was overwhelming. In Palermo, the popular outrage over mob killings of anti-Mafia judges awakened civic consciousness there. How did successive governments of the left squander such immense political and moral capital? In his compelling and comprehensive survey of Italian democracy over two decades, Ginsborg tries to assess responsibility for the denouement of civil society in the fin de siècle. He places much of the blame on Italy's political class and also on moribund public administration. The party system, moreover, failed to regenerate itself after the Cold War. Communism and Catholicism declined but no integrative third force developed in their stead. And the center-left made its share of mistakes, especially in 2001. Its reforms were half-baked, its attempts to build grass-roots support half-hearted. Natural allies turned against the center-left. Rifondazione Comunista, which split off after the dissolution of the Italian Communist Party, ran outside the coalition, as did Antonio Di Pietro, the former magistrate of Tangentopoli fame. Berlusconi took advantage of age-old anxieties about the wasteful and distant bureaucracy. In the struggle against an onerous state, he aligned himself with middling families, who wanted lower taxes, material prosperity, and liberty from the intrusions of big government.

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JOHN R. LAMPE and MARK MAZOWER, editors. *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 309. Cloth $49.95, paper $23.95.

This ably edited volume dealing with twentieth-century southeastern Europe is most welcome. After an introduction and guide to further reading, eleven chapters follow. Seven of these chapters deal with Yugoslavia or one or another part of Yugoslavia; one chapter deals with the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) and its activities in Macedonia and Bulgaria; one chapter deals with the Albanian state's attitude toward Kosovo over the years 1912–2001; the two remaining chapters treat Romania and Bulgaria. There is no conclusion, although this reviewer did not consider that to be a disadvantage.

Coeditor John R. Lampe says that the purpose of this collaborative enterprise is "to examine the ideas and identities whose representation connects the twentieth-century history of Southeastern Europe to the European mainstream" (p. vii). As he tells it, the project coordinators came to an agreement with their collaborators to focus on nationalism, communism, fascism, liberalism, and religion. And indeed, all of these elements may be found between the covers of this volume, although the contributors were evidently given free rein. The result is a book that is stronger in its parts than as a whole. Indeed, had someone been assigned to write an analytical conclusion in which the sundry threads of this book would have been drawn together, it is hard to imagine how that person might have synthesized strands drawn from chapters on Yugoslavia's Pioneer Organization, on noise in socialist Bulgaria, on the uses made of Njegoš's poetry, and on Croatian Catholic youth organizations.

To be sure, nationalism emerges as a theme or subtheme in at least six of the chapters. These are: Constantin Iordachi's study of the interwar Legion of the Archangel Michael, which claimed the membership of about twenty percent of all Orthodox priests as of 1937; Mark Biondich's study of nationalism, myth, and memory in twentieth-century Croatia, which traces the story of Croatian nationalism back to Ante Starčević; James Frusetta's chapter on IMRO, in the context of rival Macedonian and Bulgarian claim; Andrew Wachtel's analysis of the way in which Njegoš's "Mountain Wreath" has been used in the twentieth century; Robert Austin's discussion of Albania's attitude toward the question of Kosovo; and

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Marko Bulatović's chapter on interwar Serbian political thought.

Three of the chapters could be described as dealing with the theme of socialization. Sandra Prlenda, for instance, argues Croatian Catholic youth organizations were a not negligible political force during the years 1922–1945, and notes that the Catholic Crusaders participated in the Ustaša movement (a point denied by some writers). Ildiko Erdei, in a chapter devoted to the Yugoslav Pioneer Organization, notes that the organization was modeled on the Soviet Pioneer Organization, and points out that some 13,000 Pioneer units were formed already during the People's Liberation War of 1941–1945. And Maja Brkljačić's study of popular culture and communist ideology in Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia reviews the oral poetry produced after the People's Liberation War, to show how it was used to portray the war as a clash between good and evil.

Rossitza Guentcheva's chapter, "Sounds and Noise in Socialist Bulgaria," does not have any obvious connection with the themes of nationalism and socialization. The author's concern is to show how, in the course of communist rule in Bulgaria, machine sounds were first classified as "progressive," with a differentiation being made later between industrial sounds and urban automotive, radio, and appliance noise. Eventually, even the noise of industrial machines was declared to be "harmful." By the early 1970s, the regime, in typical communist fashion, was organizing a campaign against noise! This highly original chapter is my own particular favorite in this volume.

The final chapter is Dejan Jović's chapter, "Communist Yugoslavia and its 'Others.'" Taking his departure from the maxim that "Socialism was by definition a denial of reality" (p. 278), Jović argues that Yugoslavia was brought down by loss of confidence in socialist ideology and by the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Available in paperback, this volume offers insights into some neglected areas and is a most welcome addition to the literature on the history of East Central Europe.

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Edda Binder-Iijima. *Die Institutionalisierung der rumänischen Monarchie unter Carol I: 1866–1881.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 118.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 628.

Modernization is the theme of this careful, logically organized analysis of Prince, later King, Carol I's first fifteen years on the Romanian throne. It is the account of how he and various politicians brought Romania closer to Western Europe by laying the foundations of a stable constitutional monarchy. Primarily a study of politics, of how the many components of a new political order were put in place, Edda Binder-Iijima's book is divided into four main parts, each anchored by a crucial year in the evolution of the fledgling state: 1866, when Carol was elected prince and a new constitution was adopted; 1871, which marked both the low point in Carol's fortunes and the beginning of an era of relative political calm; 1876, when Romania became involved in the great Eastern Crisis, the outcome of which proved decisive in consolidating Carol's constitutional position; and 1881, when the country was proclaimed a kingdom and a new sense of national worth was confirmed. The author's examination of all these matters is based on new archival research and a new reading of the secondary literature.

Carol's personality and ambitions are the main focus of attention, as Binder-Iijima accords him the key role in the political evolution of Romania between 1866 and 1881. But the author is no less concerned with the political culture of the time, as represented by the Radical Liberals and Conservatives, and she treats the conflicts between the prince and the parties as a learning experience for both sides. The Carol she sketches in the early years of his reign differs strikingly from the one who emerges a decade later. He arrived in Romania full of pride in his origins and intent on remaking Romania into a modern state based on the Prussian model. Binder-Iijima attributes the political impasse between Carol and the Radical Liberals in great measure to his determination to press ahead with modernization at all costs, his disregard of local mentalities and traditions, and his failure to appreciate the limited resources available from a small, poor country for such a bold enterprise. She does not absolve the Radical Liberals and other politicians of blame either, for they were equally determined to be the predominant force in the new state. She describes in detail how both sides eventually reached a compromise by accepting specific, complementary roles for themselves in the emerging political structure. They discovered good reasons to cooperate: the Liberals (and others) remembered why they had chosen a foreign prince in the first place—to stand above the local political fray and to persuade the great powers to support the cause of independence—and both sides were committed to constitutional government but not democracy and thus were unwilling to share power with the mass of the peasants. For his part, Carol found congenial his newly won constitutional autonomy, which removed his office from direct involvement in political conflict and made him the arbiter between contending parties. Binder-Iijima concludes that, by 1881, Carol and those who cooperated with him had put in place those elements of a constitutional order that brought Romania into the mainstream of the European age of modernization and nationalism.

Binder-Iijima's view of these matters is comprehensive, enabling her to enter into ample discussions of the evolution of the party system, the relationship between domestic politics and the power struggles it engendered and the conduct of foreign relations, especially the drive of the Radical Liberals for immediate independence; the Bessarabian question and

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relations with Russia and how prince and parliament were brought closer together by external threats; and the Jewish question and the causes and nature of antisemitism during the period. Her analysis of foreign policy as pursued by Carol and the Radical Liberals and Conservatives adds new insights into their motivations and strategies. She has used sources, notably from the Haus-, Hof und Domänenarchiv in Sigmaringen and the State Archives in Bucharest, that shed much light also on European international relations. Perhaps more space could have been given to the ideas of Romanian intellectuals about development models and to Romanian attitudes toward Austria and Russia. Nonetheless, this work as it stands is a first-rate account, thoroughly researched and thoughtfully argued, of the complex issues attending the birth of the modern Romanian monarchy.

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ALEXEI MILLER. *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 295. $44.95.

Over the past two centuries, Ukrainians made up the largest single national minority in the Russian and Soviet empires. To be sure, under the tsars Ukrainians were considered a mere branch of the Russian nation (along with Great Russians and Belarussians), and even under the Soviets many Russians found the idea of a truly independent Ukraine ridiculous. Following the official line of "friendship between peoples," Soviet historians were loath to delve into the thorny past of Russian-Ukrainian relations. Scholarly advancements, some of them considerable, were made by émigrés in Toronto, Cambridge, and Munich, but the archives were for the most part closed to these scholars. Alexei Miller's new book makes a particularly important contribution to bridging the East-West divide by applying recent theories of nationality to the issue of Russian-Ukrainian relations and then testing his hypotheses with thorough research in archives and contemporary periodicals. The result both sums up a large historiography and adds to it substantially. For anyone interested in tsarist Russia's nationality policy, or Russian or Ukrainian history, this book is a must read.

Miller's thesis is simple and compelling. He argues that while the Russian Empire did pursue an "All-Russian nation project," it lacked the means and ability to carry this project to its logical conclusion. Dismissing the essentialism that is so often present (despite everything) in studies of empire and nationality, Miller subtly suggests that given a less restrictive and more flexible policy toward the Ukrainians, the "All-Russian nation project" might have—almost—succeeded. That is, if instead of clumsily prohibiting all publishing (except belles lettres) in Ukrainian, the government had proceeded more cautiously (and had established more schools teaching Russian in the area), perhaps the present situation in Ukraine would be closer to that in Belarus. But such speculations are only subtly hinted at in Miller's work; his main interest lies in the historical question of why the "Ukrainophiles" ended up prevailing in the twentieth century. To answer this question, Miller examines in close detail the archival record from the 1860s to 1881. Although his findings will not come as an enormous surprise to specialists, they certainly corroborate the now prevalent notion that russification, however defined, was an inconsistent and controversial bundle of policies, not a rigid and ruthless line.

The two key documents, cited in nearly every study, underlying the Russian government's repression of the Ukrainian language in late imperial Russia are minister of the interior Petr Valuev's 1863 circular and Tsar Alexander II's notorious "Ems dispatch" of 1876. Miller's analysis of the documents' texts (which he helpfully includes in an appendix) and, more importantly, their implementation demonstrates convincingly that considerable elements within tsarist officialdom—including the governor general of Kiev, A. M. Dondukov-Korsakov, favored a more gentle approach to Ukrainian culture. Indeed, Miller shows from archival documents that the restrictions of 1876 might very well have been abolished entirely had it not been for the tsar's assassination on March 1, 1881. In other words, Russian officialdom was not united on this question; indeed some of the most important actors argued that by forbidding Ukrainian entirely, the government was only fomenting the demands of the most radical "Ukrainophiles."

A second major contribution of Miller's book is his broad reading of the Russian periodical press during these decades. He shows that even major Ukrainian figures like M. Dragomanov wavered in tactical questions (e.g. the relative predominance of Russian and Ukrainian languages in various spheres of life). The Russian press of this period was full of polemics on the status of Ukrainian; Miller presents the reader with a thorough and interesting analysis of these press controversies.

Even the best book is seldom without its flaws. Some readers may find the very thorough analysis of memos, circulars, and bureaucratic battles somewhat old fashioned; however, we do not have this material anywhere else. More serious are the frequent lapses in English in this translation: a careful copyeditor would have cleared these up. In the end, however, this book represents a real step forward in our understanding of the Russian government's policy toward Ukrainians in the nineteenth century.

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ELAINE RUSINKO. *Straddling Borders: Literature and Identity in Subcarpathian Rus'*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 560. $125.00.

The Carpathian Mountain region historically has been home to a wealth of peoples for whom questions of identity have proven especially thorny. This certainly was true of Subcarpathian Rus', the northeastern edge of historic Hungary that became a part of interwar Czechoslovakia and, subsequently, the westernmost section of (Soviet, then independent) Ukraine. It is a subset of what Elaine Rusinko terms "Carpathian Rus'" (on her map on p. xiv), lands inhabited by an East Slavic people asserting an identity distinct from that of the other peoples alongside whom they reside. The map, while painstakingly drawn, cannot convey the complex underpinnings and intriguing uniqueness of the identity of the people of this region as it has been expressed in literature, which is the subject of Rusinko's book. This study fills a lacuna in the scholarship on Subcarpathian Rus', providing in chronological chapters an overview of the entire (albeit small) literary output of the East Slavs of the region from its beginnings through World War II.

Although neither a literary specialist nor a specialist on Subcarpathian Rus', this reviewer found much of interest in Rusinko's book. It can be read with profit by a broader audience, in particular those interested in questions of nation-building and identity or those with postmodern sensibilities. Rusinko's discussion of the literary output of this backward and peripheral region owes much to cultural studies (acknowledged on pp. 10–14) as well as postcolonial perspectives (p. 14). More than just window dressing, references to theorists pepper the substantial work, a full 465 pages of analysis. Close readings of original texts, helpfully provided in the original (Cyrillic) as well as in English translation, shed light on the identity of this stateless people as presented by the narrow stratum of its literary intelligentsia.

The author acknowledges the uncomfortable position of her subject, calling it "a marginalized literary culture that was written in several languages, that produced no internationally recognized geniuses, an ungainly Slavic stepchild that is recognized only reluctantly and with some embarrassment by its nearest (Ukrainian) relative" (p. 6). Yet, these drawbacks in a way also contribute to the subject's unique hybridity, with the writers demonstrating modernist concerns *avant la lettre* (p. 16) in part through their unapologetic acceptance of "multiple, communicating identities" (p. 143). An "exuberant linguistic mélange" (p. 174), the idiom used—whether the high language of religion (often inflected with macaronisms, referred to as "*iazychie*"), literary Russian or Ukrainian, or the low language of the various piedmont vernaculars—depended on the audience and the experiences of the authors. For example, Russophile tendencies, as seen in the writings of the region's greatest literary figure, Aleksander Dukhnovych (the subject of chapter three), were strengthened by the encounter in 1849 with invading Russian troops, who spoke a language the locals could understand. Of course, the terminological overlap between the adjectives "Russian" and "Rusyn" likewise muddied some of these distinctions in ways that often favored Russophiles over Ukrainophiles or Magyarones. Only during World War II was there a real literary flowering of a distinct Rusyn language, a development soon ended with Soviet/Ukrainian control over much of the territory.

Readers of this book may choose to ignore the controversies surrounding the modern-day identity of the region's inhabitants. Although Rusinko calls them Rusyns, she makes agnosticism on this point easier by ending her discussion of the region's literature at the end of World War II. The scope of this book actually suggests that there are good reasons *not* to see the peoples of Carpathian Rus' as a unitary whole. Rusinko restricts her survey to the literary oeuvre of the East Slavs of Subcarpathian Rus', omitting discussion of those to the north of the Carpathians. Whether or to what extent they share this literary heritage is thus left for other scholars to demonstrate.

Yet, this narrowing of subject is perhaps apt, given the very real influences of history as well as geography on Subcarpathian Rus'. The latter provided a challenging borderland environment, the internal Habsburg frontier that ran along the Carpathians. It long kept the locals in blissful (if impoverished) backwardness, isolated from other strong Slavic influences. Indeed, history—as seen in the centuries of Hungarian rule—trumped other influences. Polish linguistic influences to the north made those dialects less accessible to those within the Hungarian zone and helped to keep the East Slavs of the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the empire distinct. One wonders, however, whether the alpine folk across that border (identified by Rusinko as Rusyn), such as the Hutsuls, Bojkos, and Lemkos, really had no interaction with their brethren to the south. Some discussion of this terminology would have been helpful, as would clarifications regarding the terms "Carpathians" and "Beskid," which seem to be used interchangeably.

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CYNTHIA HYLA WHITTAKER. *Russian Monarchy: Eighteenth Century Rulers and Writers in Political Dialogue*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 308. $42.50.

In this elegantly written book, Cynthia Hyla Whittaker successfully recasts the study of eighteenth-century Russian political thought. With clear and careful argumentation, Whittaker demonstrates that throughout the eighteenth century, starting as early as Peter the Great's reign, monarchs and educated society exchanged opinions through a back and forth dialogue of justificatory writings issued by the rulers and their propagandists and advice literature proffered by their

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subjects. With a keen ear for the messages and meanings of complex texts, Whittaker finds that monarchs and educated subjects shared with each other and with most of their European counterparts a common set of beliefs about what constituted good governance. All agreed that the proper form of rule for most states, and particularly for a land as vast and diverse as Russia, was monarchy. Neither aristocratic rule nor democracy held any allure for political commentators, and both were seen to promise only corruption and anarchy. Strikingly illustrating this point, Whittaker shows how the history of the medieval republic of Novgorod figured in Russian historical accounts and plays through most of the century as a cautionary tale warning of the dangers of democracy.

Much of the scholarship on eighteenth-century Russia has attempted to establish whether or not Russia could claim something deserving the name of civil society. The apparent absence, until at least the 1790s, of any truly oppositional or critical voices has traditionally constituted a major obstacle in the quest for a civil society. Whittaker gracefully dispels this entire problem by showing that support for monarchy pervaded Enlightenment thought across the continent, but this did not preclude an active and critical engagement on the part of the educated elite in discussing and improving the conduct of the ruler and the life of the realm. Criticism and suggestion could take the positive form of explicit advice or praise of the accomplishments of the monarch, praise being considered a worthy incentive to honorable conduct. Negative observations took more allegorical forms, as censure of historical or fictional rulers who veered from the path of virtue.

Whittaker's educated society not only followed the trends of European thought but even set them. Peter the Great moved Russia to the forefront when he became "the first European ruler to bind monarchy together with the Enlightenment notion of progress," as he vindicated "his absolute power with a breathtaking program of reform" (p. 40). Peter downplayed some of the traditional bases of royal legitimacy: divine selection, popular election, designation by the previous ruler, and dynastic linkage. He introduced a novel idea of justification through deeds and accomplishments. His successors played with these multiple modes of legitimation, depending on the strengths of their own various claims, and added innovations of their own times. The later eighteenth century saw the introduction of the claim to rule within and through the law as a legal monarch, and an increasing emphasis on the personal virtue of the ruler.

As the century progressed, the presumption that elite society would take an active role in shaping the state bore unanticipated fruit in the series of palace coups that ousted monarchs unwilling to play by the rules, unable to build the inclusive consensus between them and their nobles that they required for their own survival. Far from accepting unquestioningly the oppression of tyrants, Russia's elite had little compunction in removing bad tsars, while remaining loyal to the general concept of absolute monarchy. This analysis helps put the series of palace revolutions and regicides of the century in a meaningful political context, providing a far more enlightening framework than the usual dismissive idea that the coups reflected merely the foolish interactions of frivolous rulers and self-indulgent favorites.

This marvelous book dispels three of the dominant myths that have distorted understandings of Russia in the century of Enlightenment. First, Whittaker demonstrates that Russia was a full and active participant in the vital intellectual world of the European Enlightenment, not a peculiar and benighted outlier. Embedding Russia's political dialogue in a pan-European one, the book normalizes Russia's experience of the Enlightenment. From this premise, Whittaker addresses two other, even bigger, misconceptions about the nature of Russian autocracy: that tsarist rule was despotic and unlimited; and that, correspondingly, the educated elite was cringing, subservient, and politically inert. Instead, this study shows, successful rulers in Russia as elsewhere had to involve their elites in a dialogue of exchange and advice, through which the elite took an active part in the business of governance. By the same token, Russian writers showed themselves in their works to be "determinedly *engagés* and willing to act on their convictions" (p. 188).

These central arguments, all extraordinarily well documented with effectively arrayed quotations from Russian and European authors of the time, resonate with the findings of other recent works in eighteenth-century Russian history, a field that is experiencing a small but noteworthy florescence at the moment. Recent books, particularly Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter's *The Play of Ideas in Russian Enlightenment Theater* (2003), support the idea that Russia's educated elite took an active, engaged, and generally supportive rather than contentious role in shaping and building the monarchical state.

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ROLF HELLEBUST. *Flesh to Metal: Soviet Literature and the Alchemy of Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 221. Cloth $42.50, paper $18.95.

As Rolf Hellebust points out in his introduction, although "the artistic and political symbolism of Soviet metal imagery" is familiar "to anyone acquainted with the broad outlines of Soviet culture" (p. 4), his study is the first attempt at an in-depth engagement with the various manifestations of this symbolism. Its fundamental premise is articulated with welcome clarity: "*In Soviet literature and culture as a whole, the essential symbol for communist transformation is the metallization of the revolutionary body*" (p. 29). The italics lend Hellebust's statement a supererogatory stridency, although they also serve to reinforce the connection with his earlier, no less emphatic claim that "The history of

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our particular narrative can be traced back for millennia . . . *This is the myth of spiritual transubstantiation through the metallization of human flesh*" (p. 23). This insistence that what might otherwise appear to be merely a predictable reflex of the Soviet Union's hyperbolized celebration of industrial production should be placed within a broader historical, geographical, and anthropological framework is the book's greatest methodological virtue and provides the strongest support for its claim to a place among the wide-ranging and theoretically sophisticated accounts of Russian and Soviet cultural history that have since the early 1990s supplanted more narrowly focused, often tendentious approaches. Thus references to, for example, the work of Mircea Eliade and major figures of the European Enlightenment, or to East Slavic folklore and the Russian Orthodox and religious-philosophical traditions, add depth and diversity to the discussion of the literary texts that are Hellebust's principal concern (as he argues, other cultural forms, notably the visual arts and sculpture, proved inherently less capable than the written word of providing multifaceted treatments of the flesh-to-metal myth, frequently having recourse to textual glosses on their own figurative significance [pp. 65–72]). The major hero in Hellebust's alchemically inflected literary history is Aleksei Gastev, the proletarian poet and enthusiast for rationalized industrial production whose celebrations of the metallized, mechanicized body of the worker provided a reference point for supporters and opponents alike in the years immediately following the 1917 revolutions. Gastev's at first sight surprising indebtedness to classical Russian literature (notably Aleksandr Pushkin), as refracted by Symbolism (Andrei Belyi), is in fact just one instance where the unexpected follows hard on the heels of the expected. It is entirely predictable that the "fellow travelers" of the 1920s (writers who retained a critical distance from the Bolshevik Revolution and its works), the iconoclastic young progeny of the Khrushchev "thaw" in the 1960s, or the writers of the post-Soviet years should have treated the flesh-to-metal theme with ambiguity or out and out irony; but the revelation that in the Socialist Realism of high Stalinism, even in production novels with metallurgy at their very heart, the trope is treated with extreme caution is one of the book's most incisive moments. No less interesting for those concerned with the relationship between political authority and (cult of) personality is the helpful distillation of scholarship on the etymologically problematic pseudonym of the man of steel himself, Joseph Stalin. Indeed, Stalin is an emblematic figure for the book as a whole, for it is overwhelmingly about *men* of metal. With the exception of Vera Mukhina's 1937 sculpture, "Worker and Collective Farm Woman," the works discussed at length by Hellebust are by men and focus overwhelmingly on the male body. There may be good reasons for this, but Hellebust is silent on the role that gender does or does not play in the dynamics of the cultural history that he outlines with such brio. This is one respect in which his study stands apart from other recent work on Soviet culture. Another, no less significant, is the approach taken to questions of ideology. One does not have to be a Marxist to appreciate the importance of differentiating between what at various points in Soviet history was (misre)presented as Marxist theory and practice and, on the one hand, classical Marxism, or, on the other, nonreductive reflexes of Marxist thought. But at times Hellebust seems to work with a template of Marxism (as a movement with a "need for a myth to bridge the utopian gap in its rationalist narrative of history" [p. 144], or in which "the materialism of Marx and Engels . . . gains a covert spiritual dimension through the workings of the mysterious dialectic" [p. 152]) that is cast from the inferior-grade materials of an earlier age rather than from the amalgam of high-quality primary and secondary sources used to construct most other elements of his study.

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SABINE DULLIN. *Des Hommes d'Influences: Les ambassadeurs de Staline en Europe, 1930–1939*. Paris: Payot. 2001. Pp. 383. 145FR.

Confronted by the growing threat from Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union executed two 180 degree turns in foreign policy within the space of seven years. In December 1933, the Stalin leadership reversed its opposition to collective security. Moscow accordingly resolved to join the League of Nations and to conclude multilateral mutual defense treaties with other "peace loving powers." Thus began the heyday of Maksim Litvinov, the new policy's architect, the avatar of collective security and, since 1930, USSR Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

In the face of appeasement, Litvinov and his ambassadors, the "men of influence," failed to win League action against aggression or conclusion of a mutual security treaty with Britain and France, even after the Nazi occupation of Prague in March 1939. On May 4, Joseph Stalin dismissed Litvinov and appointed Viacheslav Molotov, Stalin's most trusted lieutenant, to head the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel). Some two and a one-half months later, in the midst of negotiations in Moscow for a mutual defense alliance with Britain and France, Stalin abruptly reversed foreign policy course again. On August 23, Molotov and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop signed the German-Soviet Nonaggression Treaty with its infamous secret protocol, which partitioned Poland and divided Eastern Europe into Nazi and Soviet spheres of interest.

Historians, Sabine Dullin points out, divide on the question of Moscow's motives in its pursuit of collective security. One school holds that the Soviet government pursued the classical aims of any state: avoidance of war and enhancement of its international prestige. There was no double game; the actions of the diplo-

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mats abroad comported with the real objectives of the decision makers in the Kremlin. Failing, however, to attain a satisfactory mutual defense treaty with Britain and France to forestall Adolf Hitler, Moscow concluded the German Soviet Nonaggression Pact, a supreme act of realpolitik, the only solution enabling the USSR to avoid war and acquire a security glacis. Bolshevik ideology thus was more an instrument than the driving force of policy.

The other school holds that the Soviet pursuit of collective security was a sham whether the diplomats who carried it out were aware of this or not. It was a perfidious double game designed to spread Bolshevism by stoking war among the great capitalist powers. Right from 1933, Stalin's ideologically driven goal was a deal with Hitler that would leave the capitalist world to fight it out while a neutral USSR would enjoy its role as *tertius gaudens*. In August-September 1939, Stalin achieved his goal.

According to Dullin, the historiographic problem stems from the duality inherent in the Soviet system. Narkomindel's mission was to advance and defend Soviet state interests through alliance with governments opposed to Nazi aggression; the Comintern's mission was to achieve the worldwide triumph of communism by overthrow of these same governments. Superficially, these seem to be incompatible goals. Since, however, the Stalinist leadership manipulated the levers of both institutions, no significant incompatibility embarrassed this arrangement. Indeed, this duality developed into an embryonic "revolutionary-imperial" synthesis. The Kremlin directed a serious pursuit of collective security between 1933 and 1936. But from 1936, Litvinov's continued failure to overcome appeasement and win iron-clad military-defense alliances with Britain and France impelled Stalin to move the USSR increasingly toward self-imposed isolation, a key feature of the Great Terror. Behind the scenes, a split widened that opposed foreign policy decision makers in the Kremlin (Stalin, Molotov, Kliment Voroshilov, and Lazar Kaganovich) to Litvinov and his corps of diplomats out in the field. The latter's belief in the necessity and possibility of collective security agreements, although shaken, was not abandoned.

This poses another problem for the historian. Litvinov and his men shared the same ideology as the Stalinists. Why the break between them after May 1939? Dullin holds that this divergence stemmed from two utterly different kinds of life experience, which had shaped two antithetical outlooks. Litvinov and his corps of diplomats were highly competent, polylingual, cosmopolitan, sophisticated men, revolutionaries who had lived abroad for years before 1917. The Stalinists lacked these qualities and experience. The Litvinov corps knew the West. Stalin and his men did not. Indeed, their Great Russian nativism, reinforced by their unlimited hatred of capitalism, made them most distrustful, contemptuous, and fearful both of the West and the "westerners" in Narkomindel. Stalin and Molotov used them until they were no longer needed. By 1941, most of them were purged or, like Litvinov, held in reserve. Stalin and Molotov replaced them in Narkomindel with men of their ilk whose principle qualification was "loyalty," as understood by Stalin, rather than competence, as understood by Litvinov.

Why "men of influence"? Contrary to expectations, they were not simple cogs in the wheels of a totalitarian machine. They exerted two-way influence. Their competence and connections abroad enabled them to supply Moscow vital information, opinion, and advice, not all of which passed unheeded. And they skillfully won sympathy in the host countries for the Soviet view of collective security. Going beyond suasion, the Soviet Embassy in Paris passed funds to friends and to an array of French newspapers, including *Le Temps*, which received the largest monthly subventions (p. 211).

Dullin has made effective use of recently declassified diplomatic papers but does not throw new light on how and why the Politburo took the critical decisions of 1933 and 1939. She intended, however, that this book show the human conflicts played out within a system very largely inhuman. She has for the most part succeeded.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

THE PASSION OF THE CHRIST. Directed and produced by Mel Gibson. Written by Mel Gibson and Benedict Fitzgerald. Aramaic, Latin, and Hebrew, with English subtitles. 2004; color; 127 minutes. Distributed by Newmarket Films.

"Critics who have a problem with me don't really have a problem with me in this film. They have a problem with the four Gospels." So Mel Gibson told Diane Sawyer in one of his many interviews in advance of the release of *The Passion of the Christ*. The implication, of course, is that Gibson has created a film faithful to the Gospels and therefore historically reliable. But the so-called Gospels of the New Testament (they do not even declare themselves "gospels," and their uniform titles are secondary) were written anonymously by individuals who were not eyewitnesses of the events described, and even a casual reading reveals that they are in fundamental conflict and contradiction. Gibson ignored entirely the historical problems presented by the evidence in basing his film not on the Gospels, as he claims, but on the Romantic poet Clemens Brentano's novelization of the "visions" of one Anne Catherine Emmerich, a nineteenth-century anti-Jewish German nun (1774–1824) who, aside from the director's own fantasies, is the ultimate witness to just about everything that happens in this film (from the diabolical depiction of the Jews, to the unbridled glorification of Mary, and above all the unrelenting brutality). The result is, at best, a piece of late medieval Catholic

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devotionalism, and, at worst, a special-effects-enhanced version of the notorious "passion plays" of the fifteenth century. But it is more than a little disingenuous of Gibson or anyone else to assert or imply that the film is historical.

One of the techniques Gibson uses to manufacture an aura of historical realism in this film is to have his characters converse almost exclusively in Aramaic and, on occasion, Latin. The four Gospels were written in *koiné* Greek, the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean during the Roman imperial period. Yet Greek is one language we do not hear in this film. Instead we are expected to believe that a Roman governor possessed the linguistic savvy to address Jesus in Aramaic and that Jesus could respond in fluent Latin (more precisely, the ecclesiastical Latin of the Vulgate). Indeed, Gibson's Jesus seems more at ease in speaking Latin with Pilate than in the slow, staccato vocalizing of his supposedly native Aramaic. If Gibson were striving for fidelity to the canonical Gospels, why did he not present all of the dialogue in the "original" Greek? As with almost every scene in this film, both historical accuracy *and* historical verisimilitude dissolve under careful scrutiny.

The fact is that Gibson has concocted his narrative out of a very selective reading of the Gospels, chiefly those of "Luke" and "John." The very Jewish "Gospel of Matthew" is largely ignored, with the notable exception of the cry of a Jewish mob for the blood of Jesus to descend on the heads of its children (Matthew 27:25). Gibson had promised to cut this scene from the film, apparently in response to certain Jewish groups who had protested its inclusion, but he did not. The scene is still there, spoken in Aramaic; only the English subtitles were removed. Why include such an incendiary line when it is attested in only one of the Gospels? What determined Gibson's selection of Gospel texts is neither historical accuracy nor verisimilitude but the fanciful "meditations" of Emmerich's *The Dolorous Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, which is the real script of this film—a kind of "Fifth" or "Super Gospel"—trumping the authority of the other Gospels and, indeed, history itself.

The deliberate choice to follow Emmerich (that is, the choice to adopt the genre of the "passion play") precludes the possibility of subtlety, nuance, or depth in the representation of Jesus's arrest, trial, and execution. Gibson's characters are cartoonish—with the notable exception of a sympathetic Pilate—and their moral and religious valence is almost always signaled by the condition of their teeth. Moreover, apart from a couple of flashbacks, Jesus's "passion" has been completely cordoned off from his life, so that there is an utter lack of coherence between his life and his death (however one may choose to construe that coherence, historically or theologically). The result is that the brutality so graphically represented on the screen is senseless and gratuitous, verging on the voyeuristic. Proponents of the doctrine of vicarious or substitutionary atonement have some explaining to do.

Far more interesting than the film is the fury—both pro and con—engendered by its release, which indicates just how much of a problem religion continues to be on the American scene. The film itself gives raw expression to a major conflict raging within the Catholic Church, with Gibson and other "traditionalists" (like the Opus Dei movement) on one side, atavistically hearkening back to the Middle Ages, who lament Vatican II and regard the current pope as too liberal. On the other side are those "progressives" who believe that *The Da Vinci Code* isn't fiction and have succumbed to the new obsession with the *other* Mary—Magdalene, not the Virgin—and who despise the current pope as a reactionary. Neither side expresses the slightest chagrin over its ingenious hermeneutics and strained casuistry; both see religion as the answer—religion, that is, rightly understood.

In this sense, the *Passion* and the passion it has unleashed are very much of our time, when religion has reasserted itself as a favored site for the articulation of a Manichaean vision of the world and its future. At the risk of generalizing about religion, I would say that in the last several decades religion has increasingly come to serve, both nationally and transnationally, as modernity's alienated other. Against those who would insist that religion is the answer, whether in its recrudescent or utopian form, I would submit that religion continues to be a problem, perhaps the defining problem of the twenty-first century. Indeed, we have witnessed in the last several decades the undoing of the Enlightenment critique of religion. Just as that critique helped bring an end to the Wars of Religion, so its undoing seems to be leading us into a new thirty (or fifty or hundred) years' war with a potential for unprecedented destruction. Solving that problem will require a good deal of intellectual labor and courage—and a lot less of Gibson's bloody passion.

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Beshara Doumani, editor. *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property, and Gender.* (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 341. Cloth $86.50, paper $29.95.

This book edited by Beshara Doumani is evidence of the strides scholars have made in recent decades in defeating old stereotypes about women, family, and children in the Middle East. The dozen essays are readable and accessible to those otherwise unfamiliar with the region. Because that area of the world contains so many peoples and countries, there is no safe generalization about the "Middle Eastern family," nor should there be. Four sections of the book treat these topics: "Family and Household," "Family, Gender, and Property," "Family and the Praxis of Islamic Law," and "Family as a Discourse." The essays range from the seventeenth century to the present, a period

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in which dramatic changes occurred with unprecedented speed and created the groundwork for the continuous crises of modern times.

"Family and Household" treats demographic issues. Philippe Fargues harvests data from the 1848 survey of population in Cairo and has some surprising findings, among them: 2.5 percent of the population were slaves, mostly concubines (far less than previously assumed); there was a low rate of polygyny ("only 2.7 percent of married men are recorded with two or more cowives in their household" (p. 41); those who shared the same profession (particularly those who were literate) tended to live in the same neighborhoods, regardless of religious affiliation; by "10–14 years of age, seventy percent of boys already lived outside their family residence," primarily because of death or divorce of the parents (p. 36); significant numbers of children lived alone and were counted as heads of household (p. 37); age at marriage strongly correlated with socioeconomic status; and a significantly larger number of women than men were single. This portrait of Cairo indicates enormous family stress, changing economic conditions, and a strong centralized state that demanded young men (exclusively Muslim) for military service. Tomoki Okawara tackles many of the same issues for Damascus in the early twentieth century, which he compares with Istanbul at the same time. In contrast with Cairo more than fifty years earlier, Damascus presented many more cases of polygyny and many more families living in multifamily and multigenerational households; Istanbul had many more "medium" instances of "simple, extended, and multiple" households (p. 70). Finally, Mary Ann Fay's study of elite Egyptian households strongly suggests that modern state organization and policies diminished the role that elite women had had during the eighteenth century, when power was decentralized. By the twentieth century, elite women were arguing for a strong nuclear family in order to restore women to their former power at home and to extend that power to education and the workplace.

Three essays frame the issue of "Family, Gender, and Property." Annelies Moors, an anthropologist, considers bridal gifts over much of the twentieth century in Jabal Nablus, Palestine, although what she says might apply elsewhere as well. Shifting patterns of taste in gold are an important part of her story; but there is much more to be done. The author has begun an important discussion. In a closely related article, Martha Mundy and Richard Saumarez Smith consider the gift (*mahr*) that Muslim grooms gave their brides as part of the marriage contract. Their setting is a Jordanian village where they did fieldwork in family reconstruction. This village remained closed to the idea of marriage with non-villagers; exchange of property at marriage thus assumed great significance to local families, particularly where land was involved. The distinction between private property (*milk*) and state-owned land (*miri* or leasehold) had broad implications for levels of wealth and prestige, because alienation was possible with the first, less so with the second.

The essays on "Family and the Praxis of Islamic Law," all written by anthropologists, deal with some of the most contentious issues in interpreting Islamic law as it was actually practiced in different settings. Part of the difficulty is the terseness of surviving court records, which are summaries of cases rather than transcripts of proceedings. Another issue concerns the tension between what one finds in the manuals of Islamic law and what one finds in the judicial records, which are often at variance! In his contribution, Doumani considers family disputes in Greater Syria between 1700 and 1860. Doumani argues that Islamic courts sponsored by the Ottoman state were the location of memory in ongoing struggles over property: "Propertied urban groups were very much aware of the importance of this textual memory" (p. 196). Iris Agmon explores two domestic disputes in late nineteenth-century Palestine, when Ottoman reforms were changing legal procedures dramatically. She argues that, as a result, "both court and family were undergoing a complicated process of transformation" (p. 202). Finally, Heather Ferguson considers a single case from late seventeenth-century Tripoli (now in Lebanon), which she reads as a "performance": that is, the surviving legal texts "perform a unique social act by labeling and demarcating the very terms of . . . negotiations" between the litigants (p. 230). This is an original and innovative work.

The book's last section, "Family as Discourse," includes two essays. First, Kenneth Cuno considers the Egyptian royal household's transition to monogamy within the context of dramatic socioeconomic and political changes, most notably the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, which left the royal family intact, at least in name. The royals, in promoting this change, had to speak to two audiences: one European, which had fixed ideas about Middle Eastern harems and sex; and one Egyptian, which wanted to preserve Muslim family identity (even though one ruler covered up the fact that he was polygynous). The last essay, by Akram Khater, considers family arrangements in immigrant Lebanese communities in the United States from about 1890 to the 1920s. Here we read about the classic conflicts that pitted immigrant cultural forms against an idealized American way of life. Discussions of the meaning of marriage (now much in the news) and the raising of children in a new environment all took place within an American context in which there was increasing resentment of immigrants and debates concerning their assimilation.

Well produced and well edited, this collection of essays marks the beginning of what this reviewer hopes will be a much broader inquiry into Middle Eastern family life. Historians of whatever specialization will learn much from it.

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Siena College

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MEHMET HACISALIHOGLU. *Die Jungtürken und die Mazedonische Frage (1890–1918)*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 116.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 445. €59.80.

The failure of the Young Turks to promote their ideology of Ottomanism, trying to create a pan-Ottoman patriotism as an alternative to the nationalist movements challenging Ottoman rule in the Balkans, is well captured in a response of the Bulgarian newspaper *Den* (Sofia) in January 1910 to an article published by the Young Turkish paper *Ikdam*. The latter claimed that the different ethnic groups in Macedonia, despite the restoration of constitutional rule in the Ottoman Empire by the Young Turks in 1908, had not given up their separatist agendas and were, in fact, using the freedoms granted by the constitution to advance their own nationalist goals. The Bulgarian paper replied that the very concept of an "Ottoman nation" was an illusion, that the ideology of Ottomanism demanded of the various groups living under Ottoman rule to renounce their own national identities, and that the constitutional revolution of 1908 could not obliterate the facts of national difference (p. 360).

This exchange illustrates the impossibility of reaching an understanding on the so-called "Macedonian question" between the Young Turks and their Ottomanist ideology, on the one hand, and the various national groups—Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians, Albanians—living in Macedonia, on the other hand. As Mehmet Hacısalihoglu suggests in his study of the Young Turks and their relations with the various parties involved in the fight over Macedonia, a region including the three Ottoman provinces of Salonika, Monastir, and Skopje, the imperial idea of Ottomanism and the goal of national self-determination in an ethnically based nation-state were simply too incompatible to create a meaningful dialogue between the different sides.

In his study, Hacısalihoglu positions himself primarily vis-à-vis the historiography of the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, such as in Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. He shows an impressive command of sources in various languages, particularly of Bulgarian archival and published sources and of Ottoman sources representing the views of the Young Turk leaders. He concludes that it was the incompatibility of the Young Turks' Ottomanist ideology and the separatist Balkan nationalisms that made coexistence within a constitutional Ottoman framework impossible. He argues that the nationalist agenda of the new Balkan nation-states (Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia) with their own competing interests in Macedonia was an even more important factor in the failure of the policy of Ottomanism than the growing intolerance of the Young Turk regime itself. Taking issue with a claim often found in the national historiographies of the Balkan states, Hacısalihoglu discusses the question whether the Young Turks tried to "Turkify" Macedonia by force and whether their Ottomanism may have been more of a Muslim-Turkish nationalism than a unifying ideology. He concludes that until the beginning of the first Balkan War in 1912, one cannot really speak of a strong Turkish nationalism or Pan-Turkism among the Young Turks, and he argues that there is little evidence to suggest that there was a systematic politics of "Turkification" in Macedonia.

Hacısalihoglu gives a very detailed and thoroughly researched account of the relations between the different groups involved in the "Macedonian question." Written as a political and diplomatic history, this book presents his analysis within a chronological framework by identifying three main periods: the Young Turk opposition to Sultan Abdülhamid's autocratic regime and the Young Turk organization in Macedonia, establishing formal contact with the other national "parties" in Macedonia; the Young Turk revolution in 1908, predictably marking a turning point and followed by a second period with the Young Turks in power (1908–1912), during which the new regime tried unsuccessfully to implement its program of Ottomanism. The third period, following the Balkan Wars through the end of World War I (1912–1918), is discussed only briefly.

Hacısalihoglu's work provides a starting point for future research. Yet, his study remains quite unsatisfying for its lack of any engagement with the vast theoretical literature on nationalism. While this new study provides a plethora of detail in its description of the interaction between the Young Turk leadership and various national groups in Macedonia, it fails to examine the ideologies and constructions of community and identity on the various sides of the conflict in any systematic way. Given the wealth of the material presented, a coherent analytical framework that grounded the study in debates about nationalism, ethnicity, and empire could have led to a much more compelling result.

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ALI M. ANSARI. *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After*. New York: Longman. 2003. Pp. xii, 272. $28.00.

Iran's turbulent and dynamic twentieth-century history has made it a subject of interest to historians and other fields of social science and humanities. Beside its two revolutions, Iran's attempts to modernize under the Pahlavi shahs, its oil nationalization movement under Mohammad Mosaddeq, its Islamic movement under the Shi'a clergy, and its leftist/communist movement have had a profound influence on the Middle East.

Ali M. Ansari's book is a brave, if concise attempt to provide a history of Iran during the twentieth century and beyond. It is based on mostly secondary sources but also includes some archival and other primary research. The author's starting point is 1921, when a

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military coup put Cossack Colonel Reza Khan (Pahlavi) on his path to become king and to attempt to modernize Iranian society from above. Ansari provides a background of events leading to the 1921 coup that may stand as a brief analysis of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909 (chapter one).

The author then attempts to explain and analyze the rule of Reza Shah (chapters two and three). Neither here nor in the following chapter four, covering the period from 1941 to the coup of 1953, is there any groundbreaking analysis. Perhaps the only new element that distinguishes Ansari's approach to this period from others is his emphasis on the fact that, after his overthrow, Mosaddeq gained a somewhat mythical standing in Iranian politics (pp. 129–31).

Chapters five to seven are a summary of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's reign from 1953 to the 1979 Revolution. Here again, the author presents his readers not with any new analysis but rather with a focused synopsis of the period leading up to the revolution. Coverage of the radical guerrilla movements during this period is minimal and certainly deserved more attention, as they contributed to the resistance to the shah's dictatorial rule.

The book's strength is Ansar's methodical attempt to dispel pro-monarchy myths put forward by some Iranians (including the shah himself) to portray the revolution as an attempt by the United States and Britain to undermine their former ruler. By going through the shah's reign step by step, the author once more shows how the shah's own mismanagement and the despotic nature of his rule, not any plot by foreigners, were the cause of his regime's demise. Another strong point of the book is Ansari's provision of context, chronology, and analysis for the thirteen months of revolutionary upheaval that culminated in the toppling of the shah's regime.

Some historians will disagree with aspects of the author's analysis regarding the fate of the Imperial Iranian Armed Forces, whose collapse is still a subject of discussion. The shah had spent a good portion of Iran's wealth on the armed forces, and they were expected to be the pillar of the regime's stability; instead they proved incapable of saving it. Ansari's explanation of why this happened focuses entirely on the fact that, once the shah was out of the picture, the army was incapable of acting independently (p. 209). This is certainly part of the reason why the army collapsed as quickly as it did, but perhaps not all. The book's bibliography does not include memoirs and other documentary sources related to key players involved with the army during the last months of the Pahlavi regime. These include the memoirs of Gen. Abbas Qarabaqi (the shah's last joint chief of staff) and Gen. Robert Huyser, the deputy NATO commander sent to Iran to assess the condition of the military. According to these and other sources, Iran's Imperial Armed Forces (seventy-five percent of whose personnel were temporary draftees) was losing men to desertion at an accelerated rate. This factor should at least have been considered by the author.

Finally, chapters eight and nine cover the postrevolutionary period only very broadly. Perhaps a pause and an in-depth study of the first two years of the revolution would have been a better and more practical manner of closing the book.

Ansari's work should not be considered a detailed analytical study of Iran in the twentieth century but rather an overview of a turbulent century in Iran's long history. As such, the book should be welcomed and will appeal to those who wish to read a concise version of Iran's twentieth-century history. It could also be used as a text for any undergraduate Middle Eastern history course.

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TOBY DODGE. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 260. $29.95.

Toby Dodge correctly depicts Iraq as a failed state arising from failed British policies and administrations early in the twentieth century. Dodge is not so much a historian of Iraq and the modern Middle East as he is a political sociologist concerned with what he calls "the birth and evolution of the postcolonial state in the international system" (p. 249). Dodge's eleven-page preface offers some observations on U.S. intervention in contemporary Iraq, and his fourteen-page conclusion speculates on Iraq's future. While the audience for such commentary is wide, the usefulness of such views is limited. Therefore, the value of the book lies in how much the remaining 150 pages help us to understand what the British did and did not do in Iraq from 1914 to 1932.

Dodge's chapter on the British use of the so-called Mandate System contributes little to our understanding of the period from 1917 to 1922, when mandates became a convenient way of avoiding the stigma of imperialism. Within less than two years, the ambitious postwar schemes and costly military operations devised by British administrators and officers in Iraq began to give way to London's determination to cut the huge military costs there. From 1923 to 1932, the British ran Iraq on the cheap by relying on Sunni, Hashemite, military, and minority collaborators; by insisting that Iraq pay its own way; and by keeping the British profile in Iraq as low as possible. The British secured their dominance in Iraq by using airplanes for intelligence and police work, with Winston Churchill setting the precedent as colonial secretary by ordering rebellious tribes to be bombed from the air. Later his successor, Leopold Amery, justified British imperial paramountcy in Iraq on the grounds of aviation as well as oil.

Dodge devotes three chapters to showing how little the British knew about the region and peoples they dominated technologically and militarily. Most offi-

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cials in Iraq and London were clueless about how religion and law had operated in the Ottoman Empire for centuries. Having dismissed Turkish rule as despotic and corrupt, the British put their hopes in the Arabs. The British distrusted the seemingly slippery and effeminate Arab notables in the towns, who had actually made the old Ottoman system work. Instead, they preferred the simpler tribal chiefs of the villages and countryside, whom they empowered. This bucolic bias was not peculiar to Iraq but resembled prejudices projected elsewhere throughout the British Empire.

In a chapter entitled "The Social Meaning of Land," Dodge ambitiously asserts that "No policy debate was more important for the making of the Iraqi state than that over the system of land tenure and revenue" (p. 101). Unfortunately, his treatment of landlords and peasants is not very illuminating. Conceptualizing this issue as a debate between "collectivist" and "individualist" visions of Iraq may have meaning for social scientists, but I doubt that such discourse gets readers today any closer to the situation for most Iraqis on the ground than did the British officials there who simply tried to maintain as much order and derive as much revenue as possible to the early 1930s.

At the risk of appearing self-serving, I note that Dodge did not cite two relevant books of mine in his bibliography. Given Sir Mark Sykes's great influence in shaping British policy toward the Middle East during World War I, particularly his role in drafting the Baghdad Declaration naming Iraq (1917) and speaking out in support of the anti-imperialism of U.S. President Wilson, Dodge's treatment would have been better if he had noted my detailed biographical study, *Mark Sykes: Portrait of an Amateur* (1975). He also ignored my *London and the Invention of the Middle East: Money, Power, and War, 1902–1922* (1995), a survey that might have helped Dodge to grasp more fully some of the constraints and complexities that operated upon policy makers in London and among British administrators on the spot.

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YORAM BAR-GAL. *Propaganda and Zionist Education: The Jewish National Fund, 1924–1947.* Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 210. $75.00.

The Jewish National Fund (JNF) was established by the fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 and began operations the following year. It collected funds from diaspora Jews to purchase land in Palestine/the land of Israel. Yoram Bar-Gal's book is a narrative institutional-intellectual history of the organization that considers the JNF's major propaganda and educational instruments, especially the small blue box—its most ubiquitous symbol.

Blue boxes were distributed to Jewish homes, social and educational institutions, and synagogues. They were simultaneously fundraising vehicles and Zionist icons. Periodically, representatives of the JNF collected the donations deposited in these boxes. Collections became an opportunity to spread Zionist propaganda, a term used by both the JNF and Bar-Gal with positive connotations. Bar-Gal also examines other symbols and propaganda techniques: stamps, games and toys, the youth library, and films.

Following five descriptive chapters, Bar-Gal offers three chapters considering how the JNF's symbols, rituals, and educational messages became part of Zionist and Israeli discourse. The book's main strength is its detailed documentation of the processes, techniques, and institutional mechanisms through which this occurred. Bar-Gal acknowledges that he does not use his evidence "to realize a de-mystification of the organization or any of its activities, nor to effect any historical revision"; rather he seeks "to relocate its role in the Zionist ethos" (p. 169). Those familiar with recent trends in social and cultural theory may use his data for more critical purposes.

Lands purchased by the JNF were to be the collective property of the Jewish people in perpetuity. In Zionist discourse, this was known as "the redemption of Eretz Yisrael" [the land of Israel] (p. 39). As Bar-Gal acknowledges, from this point of view the effort failed (pp. 38–39). From 1918 to 1938, only about .5 percent of all capital imported into Palestine was collected from the JNF's blue boxes. From its origins until 1937, the JNF "redeemed" 400,000 dunams (one dunam equals .23 acre). Of these, only 63,000 dunams were purchased with funds collected through the blue boxes. Moreover, only twenty-one percent of all Jewish capital imported into Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s was "national capital," funds collected by the JNF or the United Jewish Appeal. The rest was private capital, which was invested primarily in urban enterprises.

Bar-Gal does not acknowledge that the entire Zionist effort to purchase land was only a qualified success. By 1947, when the United Nation General Assembly partitioned British mandate Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, Jews owned only six to seven percent of the territory in question. Nonetheless, the partition plan awarded fifty-five percent of the territory to the Jewish state.

Bar-Gal's book is primarily a history of ideas, individuals, and institutions. In this sense, it exemplifies the "Jerusalem school" of Jewish history and the functionalist sociological approach to Israeli society pioneered by Shmuel Eisenstadt. These methods stress the centrality of Zionist ideology—largely formulated outside Palestine—in shaping the state of Israel. The assumption is that Zionist practice was the result of the inspired thoughts and actions of individuals and elite groups. Thus, Bar-Gal writes that the "character, ideas, and actions" of Menahem Ussishkin, president of the JNF from 1923 to 1941, "presumably influenced the organisation's policies work [sic] during the period under study" (p. 15). Although this is undoubtedly true to some extent, such an approach obscures a great

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deal. Gershon Shafir's materialist historical sociology, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882–1914* (1989), and Zachary Lockman's relational history, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948* (1996) suggest, in different ways, that Israeli identity and Zionist institutions were formed in Palestine through interactions with the indigenous Arab population.

Palestinian Arabs—the great majority of the population throughout the period—are barely present in Bar-Gal's study. When they do appear they are marginalized by his uncritical terminology. The Arab revolt of 1936–1939 is referred to as "the . . . anti-Jewish riots in Eretz Israel (known in Israeli history as the *me'ora'ot* [events])" (p. 8). The revolt was in part sparked by increased Jewish immigration and land purchases. But it is so insignificant for Bar-Gal that he does not bother to get its dates right (chronology on p. 4). He refers repeatedly to "redemption of the land" as the natural and appropriate term to designate transferring land from the indigenous Arabs of Palestine to Jews.

Finally, this study is marred by poor copyediting and minor factual errors that make the book unattractive and give it an aura of unreliability, despite the useful information it contains.

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LYDA FAVALI and ROY PATEMAN. *Blood, Land, and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 352. Cloth $54.95, paper $24.95.

Lyda Favali (a legal scholar) and Roy Pateman (a political scientist) have made a valuable and timely contribution to the contemporary social sciences with their ambitious, jargon-free, and carefully researched study of the confluence of "traditional" and contemporary legal practice in the new nation-state of Eritrea. Based on extensive, previously unpublished archival materials, and on Favali's field research of some twenty years, the authors focus on the transformation of legal custom in Eritrea with regard to notions of customary law, litigation, land tenure, marriage, gender relations, and the practice of female genital surgery. The concluding chapter contextualizes contemporary Eritrean life by reference to more general processes of social transformation that are typically, and often glibly, termed "globalization."

At the heart of each of the ten chapters is an analysis of pluralism in its many forms: what is tradition, how is legal legitimacy established, and how can consensus be attained in the polyethnic nation state? Here, pluralism is defined as "a state of society where different ethnic, social, linguistic, and religious groups maintain their culture and special interests within the confines of a common civilization or nation-state" (p. 1). Such dilemmas are daily fare in the social discourse of all postcolonial societies. The Eritrean case is particularly dense, however, given the historical experiences of "multiple colonialisms." Over the past 300 years, Turkish, Egyptian, Sudanese, Italian, and British governments imposed their particular views on how tradition and modernity should be reformulated in this region of Africa. Adding to this complexity is the fact that some peoples of the region have practiced a form of Christianity for centuries while others accepted Islamic theology and social practice in the tenth century. As the authors point out, "Tradition and religions have coexisted and merged in Eritrea since time immemorial, and sometimes it is difficult to understand whether a certain rule has a traditional or religious origin . . . whenever elements of the state system have been imported into Eritrea, they have interacted with previous layers in a circular process" (p. 14).

The book should be regarded a major contribution to the narrow specialization of "Eritrean Studies" but also welcomed more broadly as a model of research and analysis that sets a clear course for the future out of the morass and befuddled mind games of so-called postmodernism. It is also testament to the fact that while history and anthropology were once considered distant cousins, they must properly be regarded as uterine siblings.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LUISE WHITE. *The Assassination of Herbert Chitepo: Texts and Politics in Zimbabwe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 139. Cloth $39.95, paper 415.95.

In this fascinating study, Luise White examines several conflicting accounts of the murder of the Zimbabwean nationalist Herbert Chitepo, who was killed by a car bomb in Zambia in 1975. This is not a detective story, and readers curious as to the identity of the culprits will be disappointed. Rather, it is a scholarly evaluation of the remarkable number of accusations and confessions that arose in the wake of Chitepo's mysterious murder. Since his death, several individuals have claimed responsibility for the crime. White is not particularly interested in the identity of the killer (or even in Chitepo, who is but a minor figure in the text). She focuses instead on another set of questions: what encouraged these accusations, most of which must have been false? What was at stake in claiming to have martyred Chitepo? Why has this particular murder become an integral thread in the fabric of several competing national histories?

Since his death in 1975, many people have claimed to know who killed Chitepo. Zambian politicians, Zimbabwean guerillas, and Rhodesian secret agents have all been implicated, or have implicated themselves, in the crime. Some accounts of the murder have appeared in the memoirs of former officials of the white Rhodesian government. Others were published

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by nationalist politicians in exile. Zimbabweans have maintained a high level of interest in the crime, and an account of the murder was serialized recently in national newspapers. Interest in the story reached a crescendo in the run-up to the presidential elections of 2002, in which Robert Mugabe retained his hold on power amid accusations of ballot stuffing and voter intimidation. This public fascination with the Chitepo murder reflects its enduring relevance to contemporary politics.

White is interested in the ways in which each account of Chitepo's death invests the event with a unique meaning, thereby locating the murder in a grand narrative of Zimbabwean history. If Chitepo was the victim of Rhodesian intelligence operatives, then he becomes a martyr to the liberation struggle that brought the ZANU/PF regime to power, and his death lends legitimacy to the current ruling party. If his murder resulted from internecine "tribal" conflict among nationalist politicians, then his assassination serves as a cautionary tale of the ethnic conflict that simmers uneasily below the surface of modern Zimbabwean politics. If he was murdered at the behest of members of his own ZANU party, then he becomes a kind of Banquo's ghost hovering over the regime of current president Mugabe. Each text provides an oblique commentary on contemporary politics in Zimbabwe and repudiates the claims implicit in contrary versions of the event. White sees in these interpretations "exclusionary analyses, each one a way of fixing the assassination that is a frame, an either/or analysis, that both provides structure for and limits our understanding of the events it describes." This approach to writing Zimbabwe's history has produced "a national narrative in which agency and causation are subsumed." White's analysis urges scholars to reevaluate the competing master narratives that have come to dominate Zimbabwean historiography.

White's study is a model of close and thoughtful textual analysis. Her careful and original readings of the documents illuminate subtle clues that cast light on the agendas of the storytellers behind the texts. She has written a book that will serve as an invaluable teaching aid for bright undergraduate and graduate students. White aspires to write for a general audience. Toward this end, she patiently and scrupulously explains and contextualizes the biographies, acronyms, and historical details that populate her story. Despite her best efforts, however, nonspecialists will find the book challenging. The very complexity of Zimbabwe's story—the same tangle of political parties, contested loyalties, and shifting alliances that threw up so many accounts of the same event—may overwhelm readers who are new to the field.

White is well known to African historians for her books *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (1990) and *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (2000). A theme that runs through this body of scholarship is the ways in which history is negotiated and produced in colonial and postcolonial settings. The same interest lies at the heart of White's new book. With it she has contributed yet another thought-provoking monograph that raises fundamental questions about nationalism, politics, and the production of history.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

LAUREN RABINOVITZ and ABRAHAM GEIL, editors. *Memory Bytes: History, Technology, and Digital Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 346. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

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ARTICLES

To the Editor:

I feel obliged to respond to Nelly Hanna's review of my book, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen*, in the *AHR* 109 (June 2004): 1015. I consider Hanna a friend and a valuable colleague whose scholarship has made an important contribution to the study of Egypt under the Ottoman Empire, but she belongs to an older generation of scholars of Ottoman Egypt with whom I have agreed to disagree on the most productive approach to the history of Ottoman Egypt. I consider Hanna's endeavors somewhat less positivist and more creative than those of other members of this generation, and I applaud her engagement with global themes such as international commerce. At the same time, it has to be said that she does not engage seriously with scholarship on the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire or on the Ottoman center, and this lies at the heart of her differences with me on questions of approach and interpretation.

While Hanna recognizes the postmodern, text-oriented approach of my book, she fails to mention two key contributions the book makes: a plausible explanation for the origins of the Faqari and Qasimi factions, and an examination of Ottoman Egypt's symbiotic links to Yemen, hitherto unexplored. More troubling is her skirting of the key point that the factions constituted a *bilateral* factional scheme that differed fundamentally from the multiple factions of the Mamluk sultanate. She asserts, furthermore, that the book does not offer "an explanation of the political polarization of the Fiqari [*sic*] and Qasimi factions." In fact, as the book points out, the factions were *not* politically polarized; rather, the main concern of their leaders seems to have been acquiring as large a share of positions and revenues as possible. Moreover, her assertions that "the book does not explore what exactly was at stake" and that "society and social dynamics are in fact absent from the book" are inaccurate; I stress that the factions emerged during a period (the early seventeenth century) of widespread demographic flux and provided an acculturative mechanism, as well as a source of group solidarity, for members of disparate ethnic and regional groups. While I examined "the mechanisms of [the factions'] demise" in more detail in my first book, I reinforce and expand on this examination in the current book, pointing out how the Qasimis divided internally while the Faqaris were subordinated to the Qazdağlı household, which arose from within their midst. I further make the point that factional origin myths began to crystallize just as the factions were nearing desuetude, circa 1730.

In her final paragraph, Hanna claims that "neither the Mamluk nor the Ottoman interpretation of the history of Egypt can go very far in answering these questions [noted above] because neither goes beyond elite history." I am convinced that the historiography of Ottoman Egypt cannot be reduced to an either-or choice between "Mamluk" and "Ottoman" interpretations, in the sense of an integrative Ottoman provincial approach versus the ahistorical and, frankly, untenable view that Egypt's Ottoman-era political culture somehow represents a continuation or revival of the institutions of the Mamluk sultanate. Furthermore, my book points out that while the *tales* of the factions may have been dominated by elite leaders, the factions themselves incorporated many members of decidedly modest substance, including humble soldiers and tribespeople. This was part of what differentiated these two factions from the factions of the Mamluk sultanate.

Moreover, contra Hanna's assertion, I am indeed aware of the work of the young Egyptian scholars whom she mentions. They are engaged in what she has termed "history from the ground up," based on primary research in Egyptian archives. The problem I have with these efforts is that they ignore the context

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of the Ottoman Empire in which four centuries of Egypt's history unfolded. Indeed, clues to the connections that some of the figures illuminated by these archives enjoyed to other Ottoman provinces and to the Ottoman central authority are often missed by scholars whose focus is limited by the boundaries of the Egyptian nation-state. It is all very well to build a house "from the ground up," but if one pays no attention to the neighborhood in which one is building, one may well find that the house is out of place and that the neighbors can't understand what it's doing there. Where the historiography of Ottoman Egypt is concerned, an Arabic proverb proves instructive: "Check out the neighbors before you check out the house."

JANE HATHAWAY
Ohio State University

NELLY HANNA REPLIES:

Jane Hathaway's letter has raised a number of objections in reaction to my review of her book *A Tale of Two Factions*. I will take this opportunity to respond to the issues she raises, which deserve a broader discussion, hoping that doing so can engage other historians. At the forefront of Hathaway's concerns is the relationship between the Ottoman center and its province. Contrary to her statement, I fully agree on the importance of the Ottoman and the regional context for the study of Egypt. Our difference lies with the way this should be approached. My review suggested that the author deals with it from above, whereas my preference is for history from below. But I do realize that the issue is a problematic one, without a single right answer. In recent decades, historians of empires have been less inclined to write political narratives from the center and have tried various methods to incorporate into their frameworks very large territories with diverse cultures, languages, and histories. I am all for exploring appropriate methodologies but remain wary of history written from the center showing a dynamic core and passive peripheries. The challenge remains to identify the economic, social, or cultural trends relevant for such a study.

Again, we both agree that the history of Ottoman Egypt cannot be studied as being essentially either Mamluk or Ottoman. Hathaway has, in a number of studies, successfully argued against Peter Holt's suggestion that the Mamluk households of the eighteenth century were a revival of the households of the Mamluk sultanate. This may be so. I nevertheless stress that the link between the Mamluk sultanate and Ottoman Egypt is still largely unexplored. The Ottoman conquest of Arab lands is considered by some historians as a rupture with the past. A new generation of historians is now challenging that concept. T. J. Fitzgerald's study of a multi-generational family in Aleppo and Amina al-Bindari's study of Cairo street protests in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries should help us to understand better the early decades following this conquest. These scholars, as well as the other young scholars in Cairo I referred to in my review who are exploring society through the use of archives, cannot be dismissed as positivist historians. Moreover, Hathaway's statement on "scholars whose focus is limited by the boundaries of the Egyptian nation-state" suggests that they are writing nationalist history from a nineteenth-century perspective. In fact, they are not. They are doing social history, in part as a reaction to elite history. The archives in question reflect the boundaries of the administrative division of Ottoman Egypt, and they are available in voluminous quantities in Cairo. Scholars who study history through such primary sources often follow the geographical boundaries of their sources, whether in Egypt, France, or the United States. It is not the only approach, but it is certainly a valid one.

Another controversial issue that the letter raises is the relationship between myth and reality. Hathaway has made innovative use of an important eighteenth-century myth, showing how it was used by political leaders to further their aims. My review did not miss the fact that myths "were incorporated by men of decidedly modest substance." My concern was, rather, with the way that such myths, and consequently the legitimacy they confer on those who dominate them, pass from political leadership to ordinary people. Here matters become decidedly more complicated. If these concepts are part of a social context rather than having a life of their own, one would like to know if they were imposed on a submissive society that did not understand their implications, or if people knew where their interests lay; if tribesmen, craftsmen, and peasants, representing quite diverse concerns, all reacted in the same way, or if some of them challenged or refuted the myth that gave rulers legitimacy; if, in other words, we are talking of a one-way traffic from ruling groups to the rest of society or of a process of negotiation albeit between unequal parties.

It is to Hathaway's credit to have raised this and other important issues and tackled some of their complexities with erudition. I, like many historians who appreciate her contribution to the field, look forward to reading more of her work in the near future.

NELLY HANNA
American University, Cairo

TO THE EDITOR:

Nobel Laureate George Stigler argued that "people demand much higher standards of evidence for unpopular or unexpected findings than for comfortably familiar findings" (*Memoirs of an Unregulated Economist* [Chicago 2003], 201). James E. Broussard's review of *Hamilton Unbound* (*AHR* 109 [June 2004]: 899–900) would be a prime example did it not also misinterpret

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my book from cover to cover. *Hamilton Unbound* is not a biography of Alexander Hamilton but rather a Hamiltonian view of early U.S. history. I wrote the book because historical interpretations of the era tend to be Jeffersonian or Adamsesque. In addition, I believe that economic and financial interpretations are just as important to our understanding of America's past as are those rooted in leftist or cultural perspectives.

Chapter 1 argues that the colonists rebelled in part because British control of monetary policy and interest rates capriciously deprived them of their property and liberty. After colonists' net worth became negative, their property was subject to confiscation and their bodies to imprisonment. Broussard correctly notes that I do not cite a letter that lays out the entire argument. That should not be surprising. Historians have long ceased being mere scribes. They see the past imperfectly, but colonists' views of reality were also obscured. Verbal communications, body language, and so forth, not to mention the vast bulk of letters, are lost to me. But I have the advantage of hindsight, not to mention access to a much wider range of sources than any colonist did. So I can know that the wave of bankruptcies that occurred during the 1760s recession helped spur an economically rational Lockean rebellion in 1775–1776 even if no contemporary explicitly wrote as much.

Chapter 2 explains why, self-interest aside, those involved in the more advanced sectors of the market economy were more likely to support the U.S. Constitution and the stronger state constitutions. Hitherto, historians have ignored the fact that the framers of the state and national constitutions also formed the nation's first business corporations and that both types of documents were extremely similar in form and function. Mitigating the principal-agent problem in mercantile and other business ventures in the colonial era underpinned the creation of both. The notion that business experience, and not just political theory or rank self-interest, was crucial to U.S. state-making *is* new and deserves additional research.

Chapter 3 summarizes a decade of detailed research into the importance of finance to early U.S. economic growth and American political stability. (See my *Wealth of Nations Rediscovered: Integration and Expansion in American Financial Markets, 1780–1850* [New York, 2002] and *Origins of Commercial Banking in America, 1750–1800* [New York, 2001].) As a general rule, historians of early America know little about finance, so the chapter concentrates on the financial aspects of the happy, three-pronged autocatalytic process that I describe.

In Chapter 4, I argue that the Manhattan Bank made a contribution to Jefferson and Burr's victory in 1800 at a crucial margin, namely, by swinging Manhattan artisans in the spring state election. Rather than engage the argument, Broussard reiterates the standard Jeffersonian view of the election, the importance of which I do not dispute.

Chapter 5 assumes that duels were fought for a variety of *rational* reasons. From the perspective of financial theory, dueling could signal creditworthiness in underdeveloped economies. Indeed, dueling disappeared from an area soon after fully articulated, modern credit markets arose. Again, no smoking gun letter (forgive the pun) "proves" this point, but my Hamiltonian interpretation nicely explains why dueling disappeared and does so without reference to cultural terms lacking empirical content.

Broussard's criticism of Chapter 6 is also unfounded. Far from being a "deliberate" decision by men, as Broussard insinuates, women's shift toward passive investment was the result of a complex socioeconomic process. The point of the chapter, like the chapter on dueling, is that it is possible to explain "cultural" changes without resort to amorphous terms like honor or Victorianism. Textual deconstruction is a powerful tool, but it need not be wielded to the exclusion of other views.

Stigler had it right: unpopular findings come under close scrutiny. But a valuable review challenges rather than dismisses, and all reviews should adequately characterize a book's arguments.

ROBERT E. WRIGHT
New York University

JAMES BROUSSARD REPLIES:

I sympathize with Robert Wright's objections to my review of his book; no author likes to put great effort into his work and have it grotesquely misinterpreted by a reviewer. However, I plead not guilty and still believe the review was a fair assessment of the book.

JAMES BROUSSARD
Lebanon Valley College

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book, *Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor: Why the U.S. Declared War on Germany* (*AHR* 109 [February 2004]), James Schneider confesses his astonishment that Adolf Hitler's declaration of war on the United States was virtually meaningless to Americans at the time. Schneider apparently still wants to believe the long-vaunted but erroneous thesis that Hitler's declaration was somehow important or decisive to Americans, and I am the first historian ever to challenge that thesis. But perhaps Schneider should also be astonished that no historian has written a book that explains exactly what Hitler's declaration of war did mean to Americans in 1941. That is truly an astonishing void in the historiography, until one investigates the primary sources and discovers that the declaration of war meant next to nothing to Americans at that time. My book, by contrast, examines what really was historically significant in 1941 and throughout the war.

Schneider also cannot bring himself to believe that Americans actually accepted Hitler's denial/retraction

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of his declaration of war. But my book provides a sample of contemporary opinion on that issue, as on the declaration itself. If Americans assumed that Hitler was lying about the denial/retraction, why would anyone have thought differently about the declaration the day before? That logical question, and my evidence, are what Schneider avoids.

Can Schneider provide any evidence to support his own assumptions and to deny the thesis of my book? Why has no one written on this before now? Can he or any historian give an explanation with detailed evidence about why the U.S. chose to declare war on Germany? Schneider alludes to German aggression, but neither he nor any other historian has specified any German aggression that would have changed the U.S. policy of before December 11, 1941, to that adopted afterward. Why the enormous change on that specific date?

Schneider concludes that he does not like my logic, presumably because he does not like my evidence. Can he provide any actual evidence to the contrary? If not, then one must question his logic.

RICHARD F. HILL
Palm Beach Community College

JAMES C. SCHNEIDER REPLIES:

Richard F. Hill misstates the source of my astonishment. It was not his claim about the meaninglessness of the German declaration of war. Rather, I was surprised by the lack of support for his claim (on p. 2 of his book) that Berlin denied having declared war on the U.S. and that "this denial was acknowledged by the U.S. public and accepted as a virtual retraction . . ." As for his other points, readers should consult *Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor* and judge accordingly. I will say that the American declaration of war passed by Congress refers directly and explicitly to the German declaration of war, and to nothing else. The same is true of Roosevelt's message to Congress asking for a declaration of war. Obviously the declarations must be put in context, and Hill and I seem to differ on what the proper context is and on the influence and significance of the American perceptions of German involvement with the Pearl Harbor attack. On another matter, my reviewed linked the "back door to war" concept to Harry Elmer Barnes, whereas it is of course most directly associated with Charles Callan Tansill.

JAMES C. SCHNEIDER
University of Texas, San Antonio

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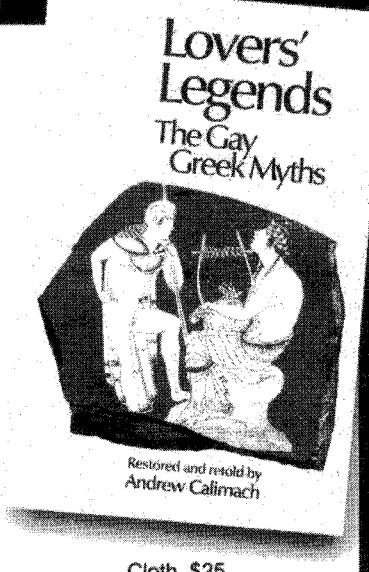
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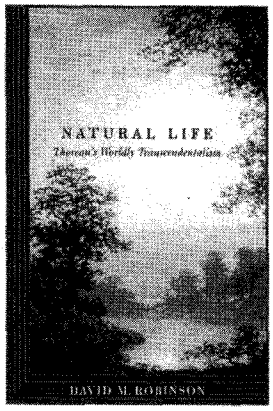
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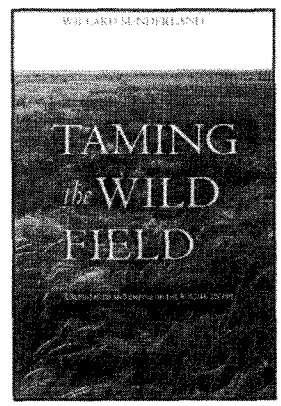
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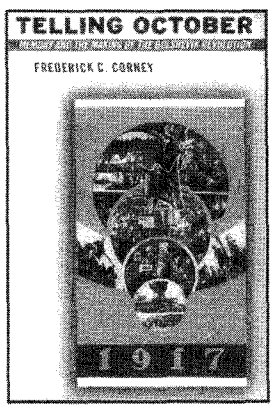
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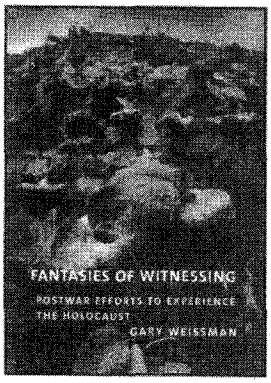


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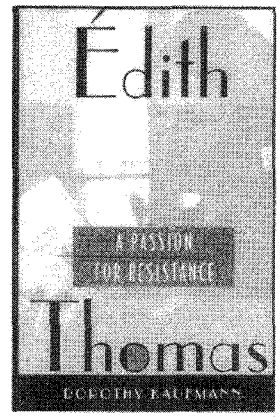
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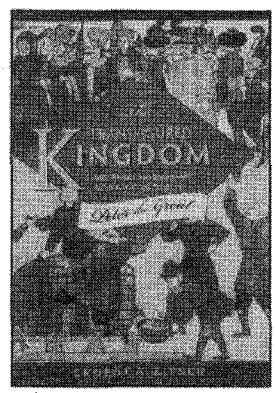
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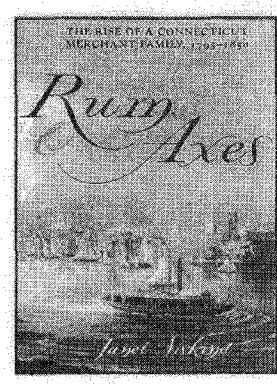


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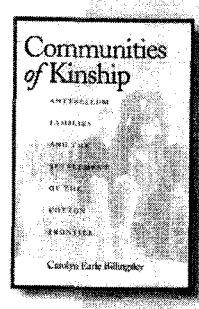
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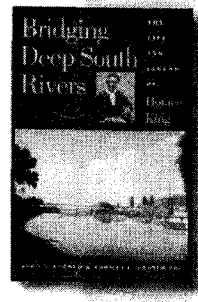
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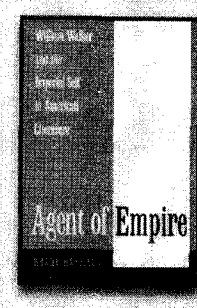
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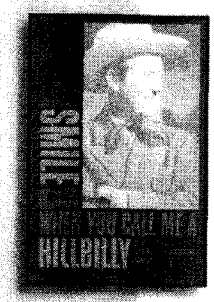
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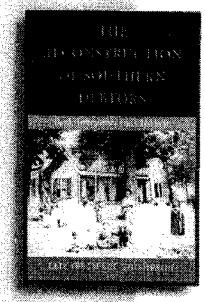
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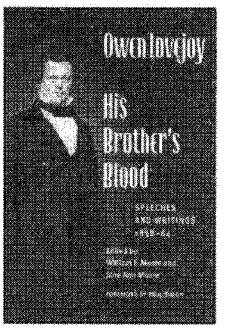
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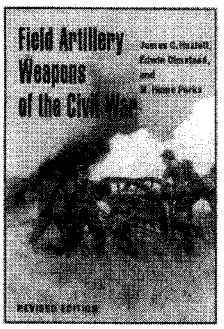
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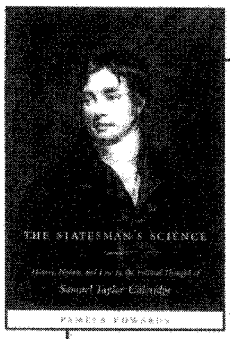
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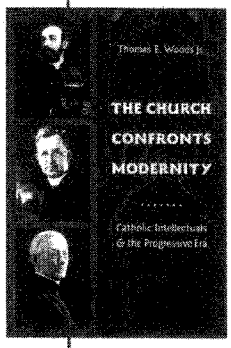
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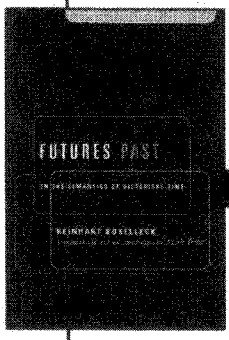
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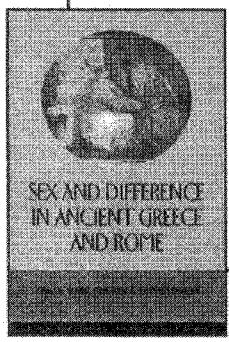
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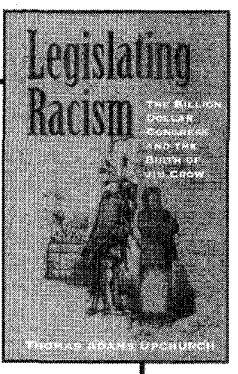
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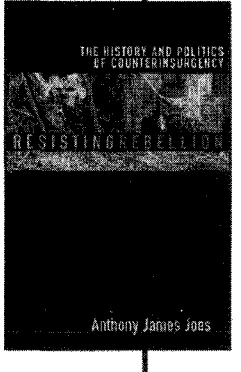
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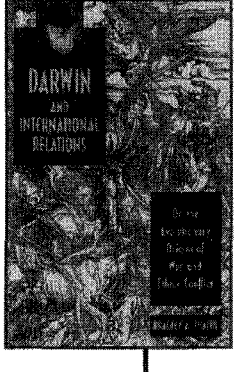
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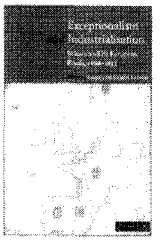
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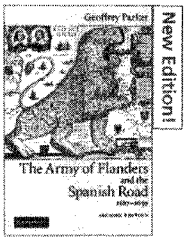
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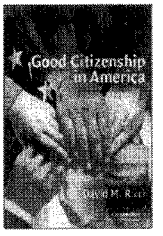
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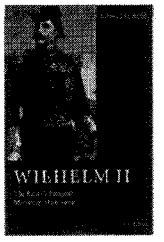
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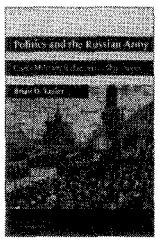
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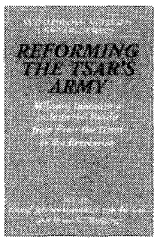




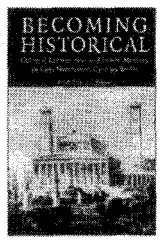












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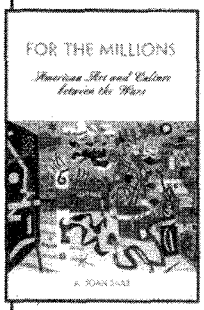
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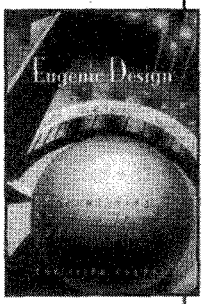
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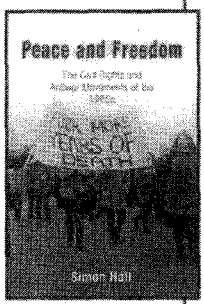
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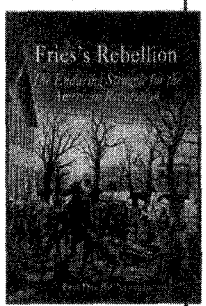


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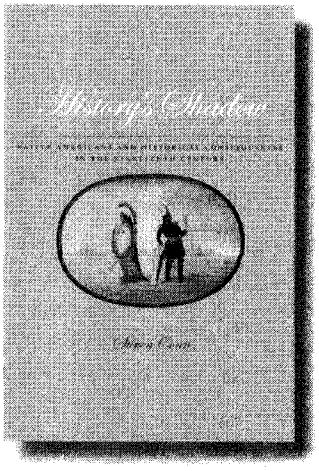
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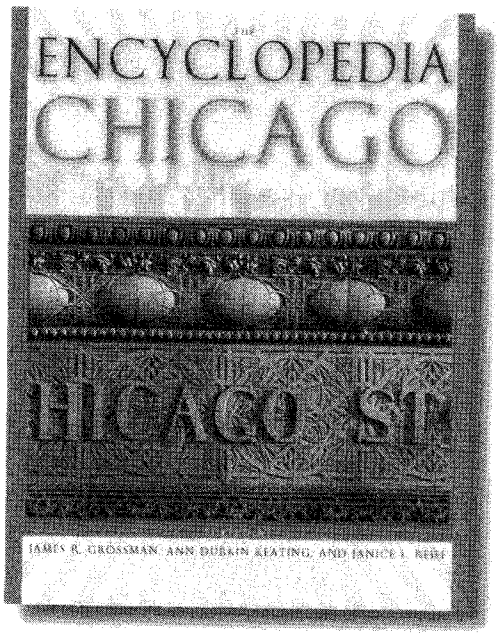
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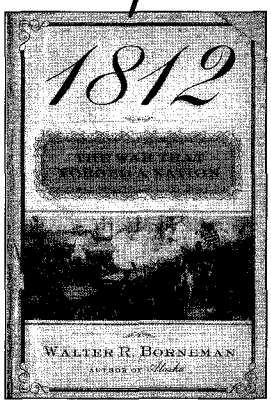
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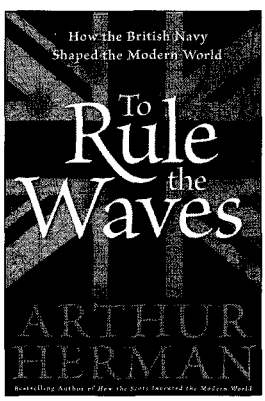
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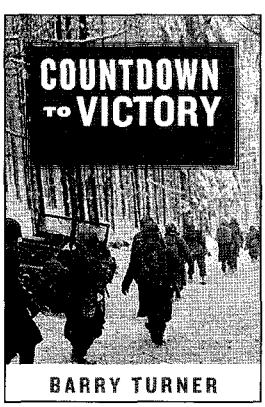
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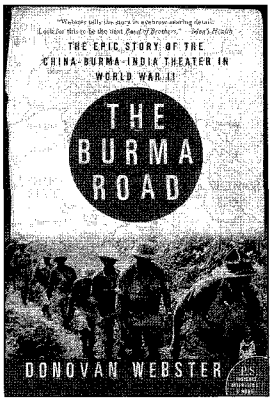
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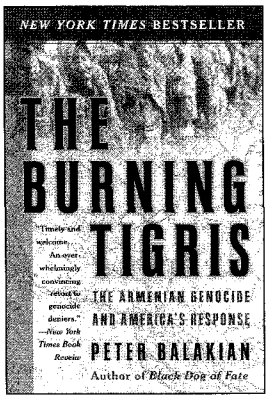
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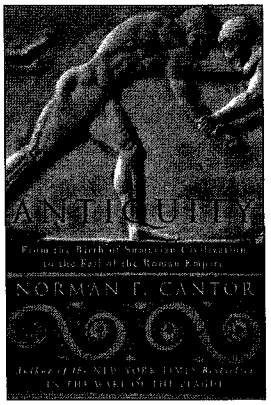
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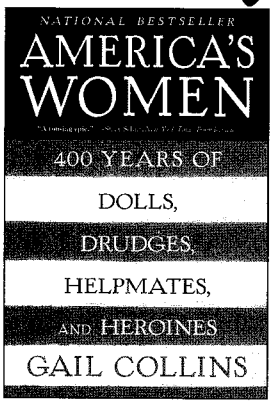
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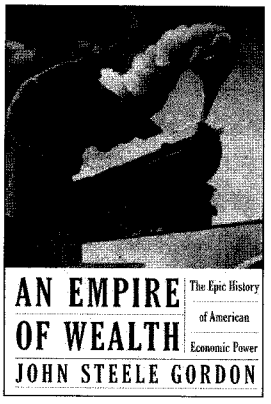
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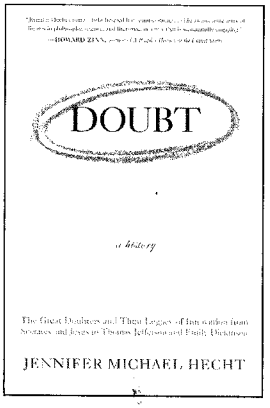
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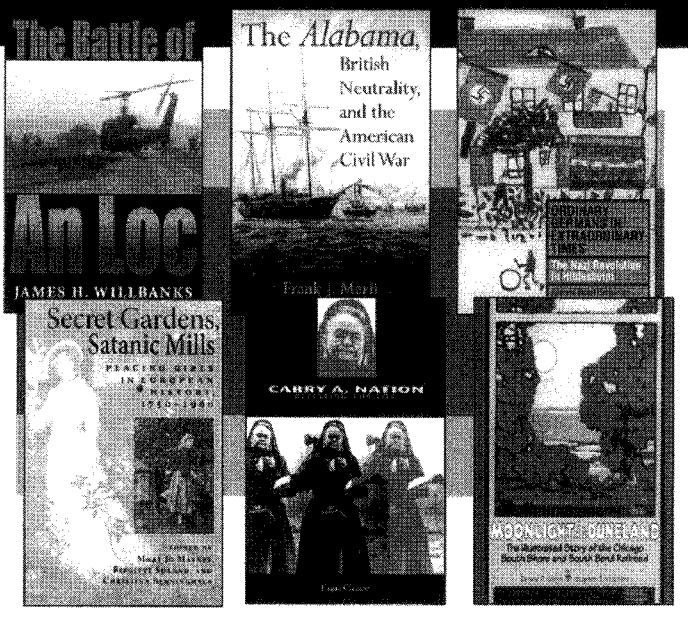
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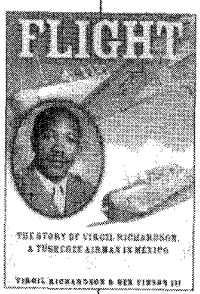
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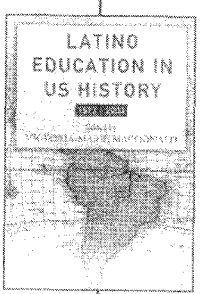
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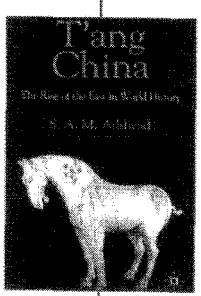
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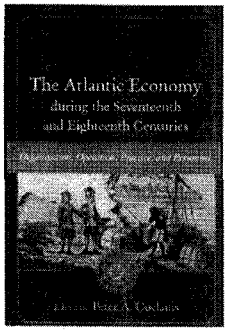
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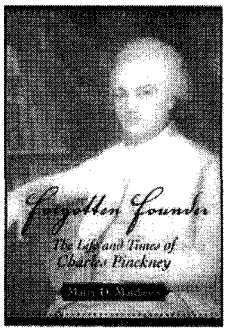
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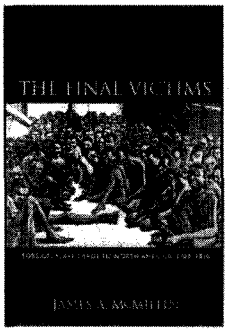
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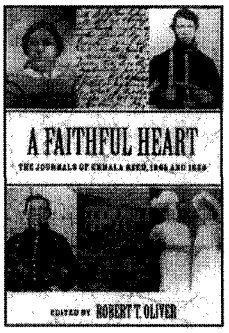
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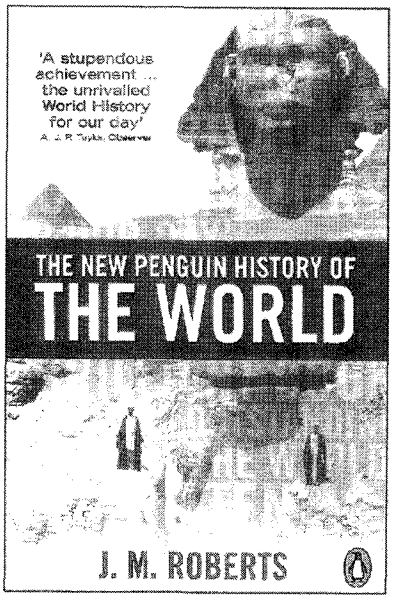
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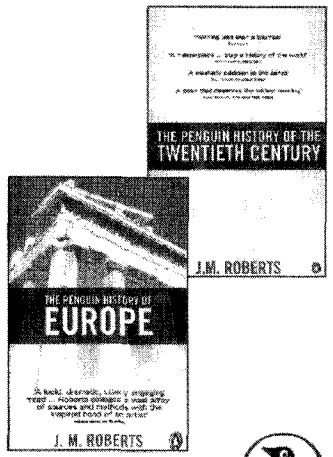
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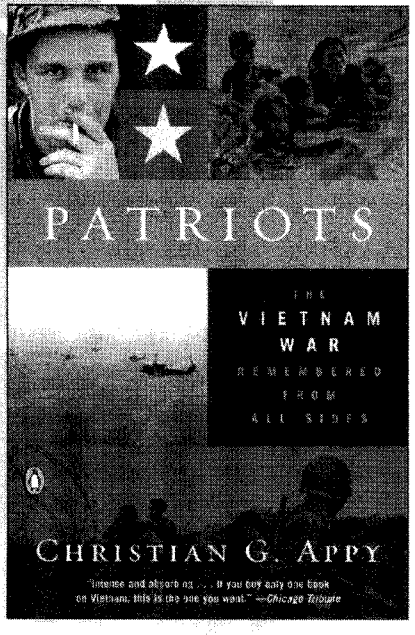
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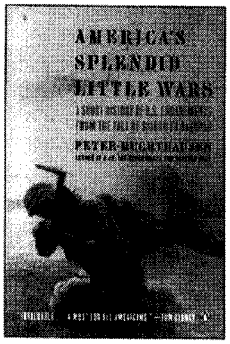
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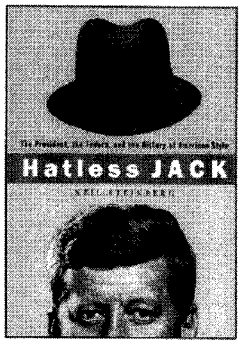
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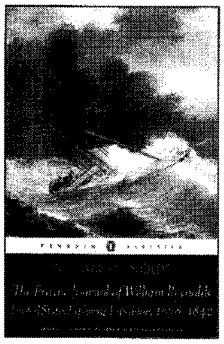
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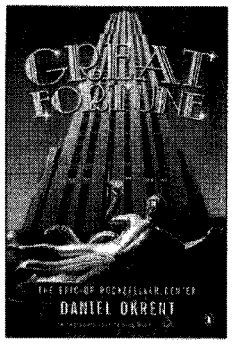
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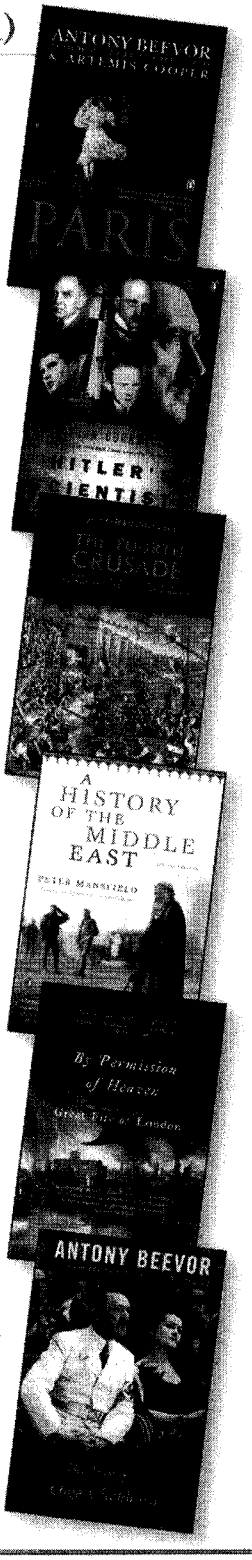
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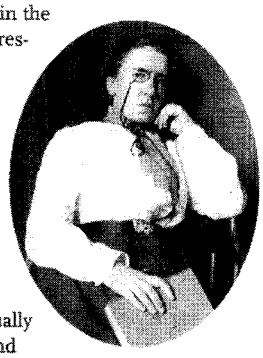
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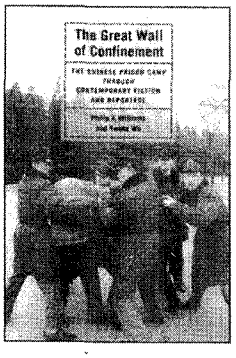
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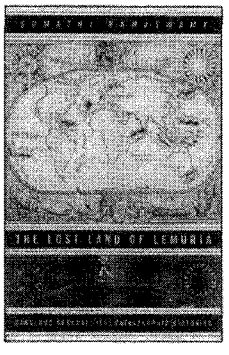
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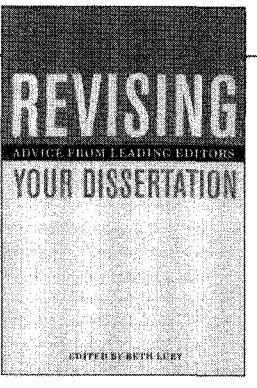
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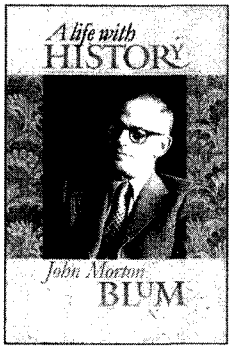
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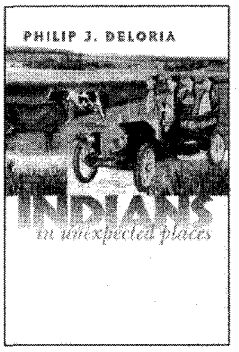
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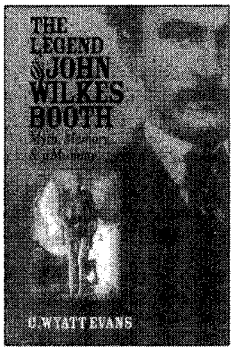
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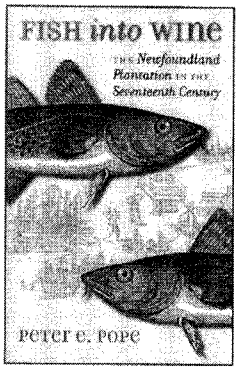
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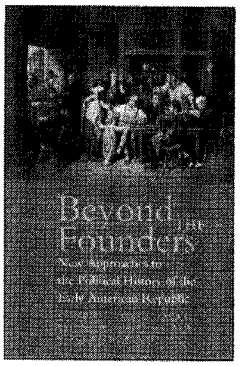
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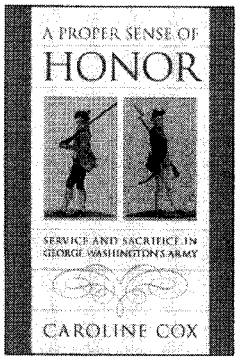
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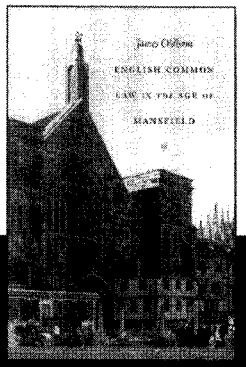
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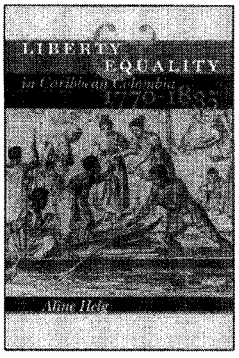
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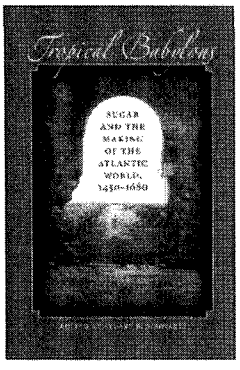


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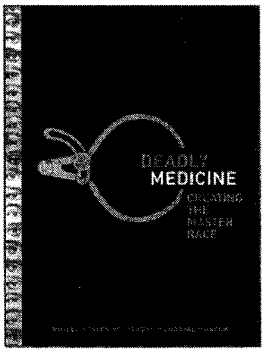
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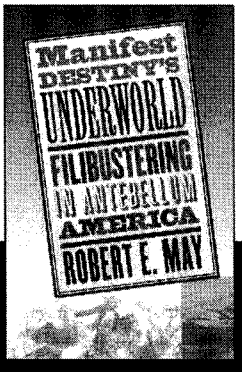
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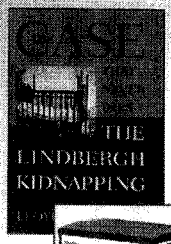
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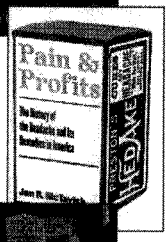
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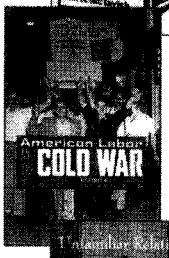
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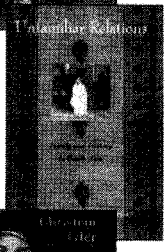
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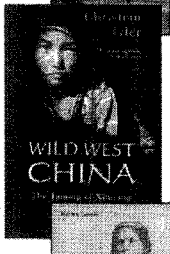
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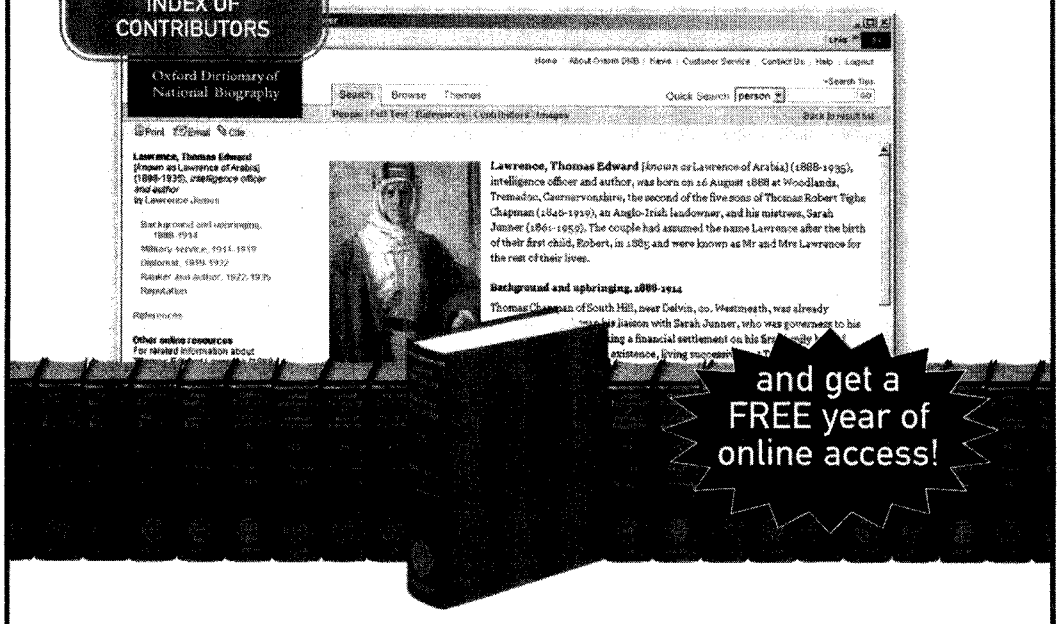
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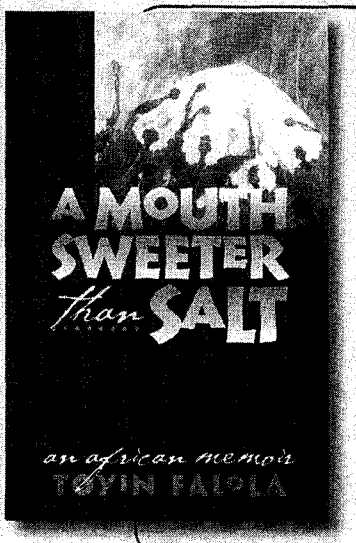
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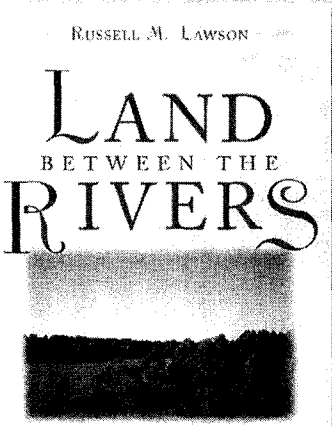
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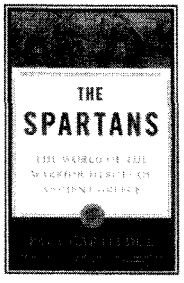
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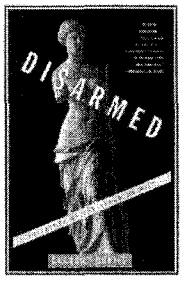
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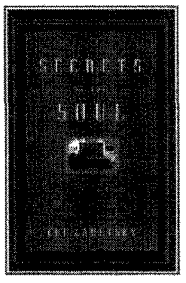
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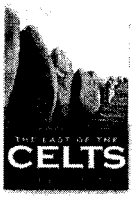
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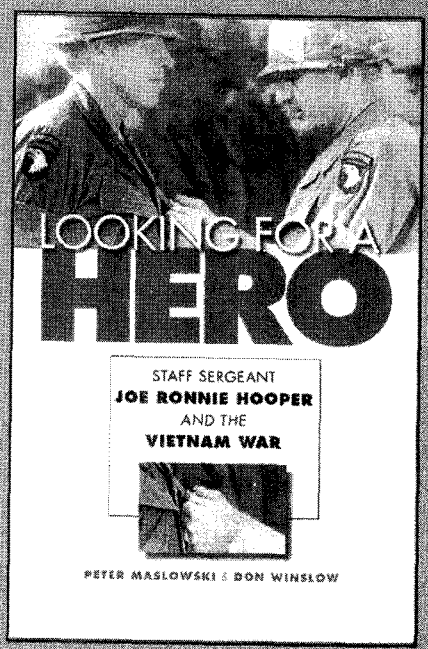
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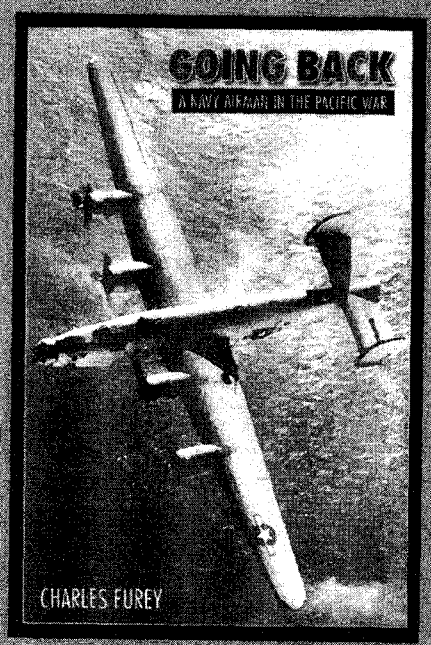
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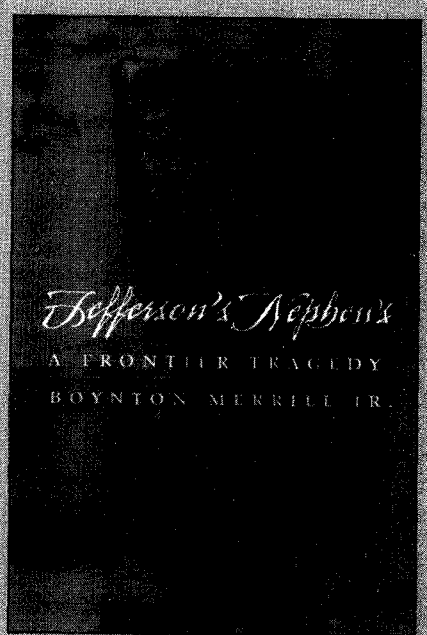
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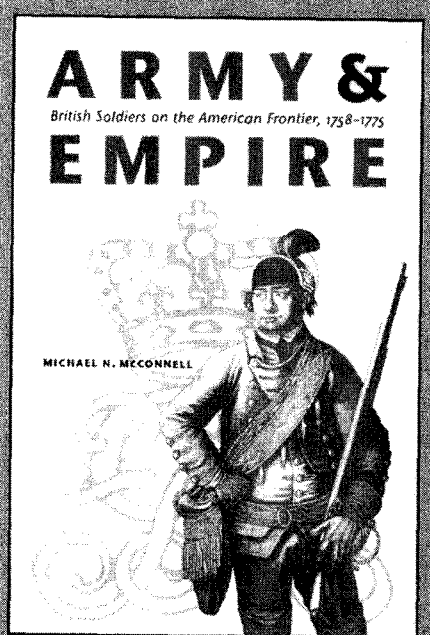
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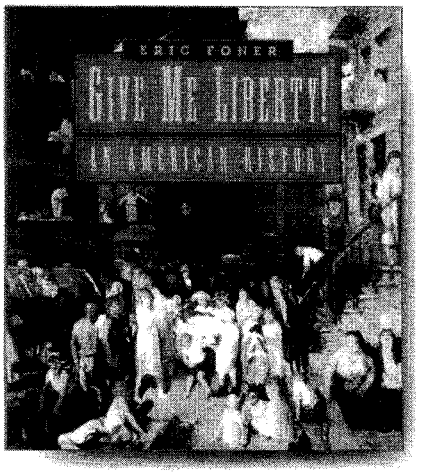
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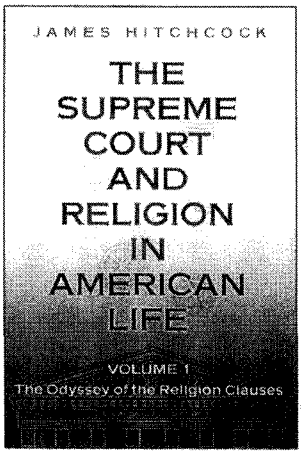
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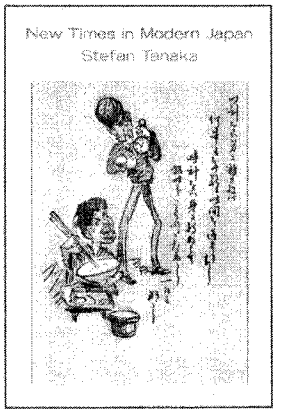
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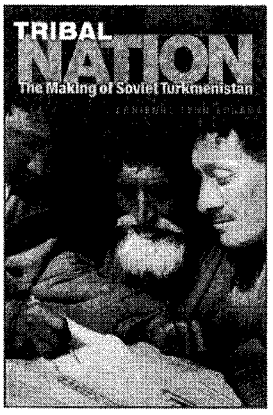
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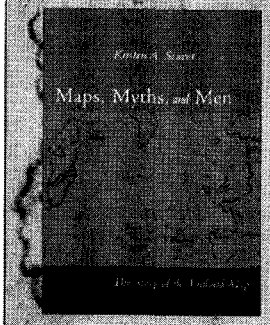
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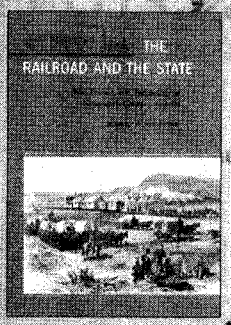
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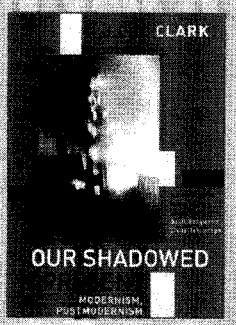
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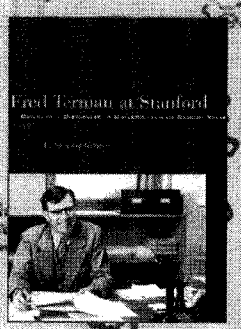
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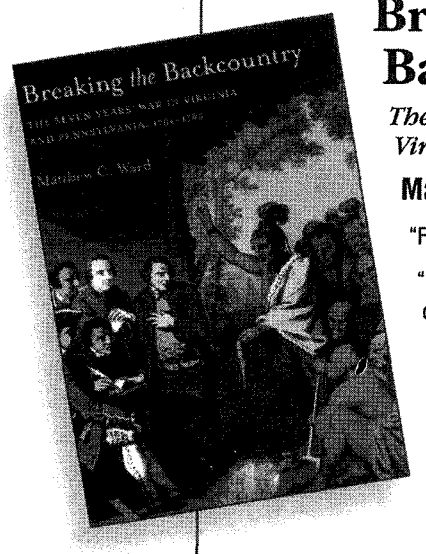
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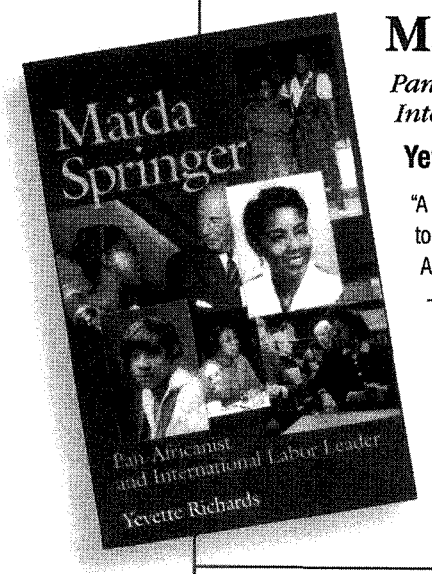
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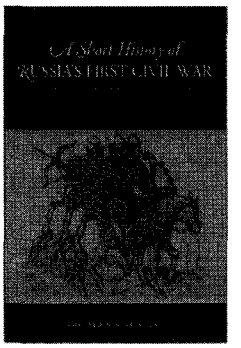
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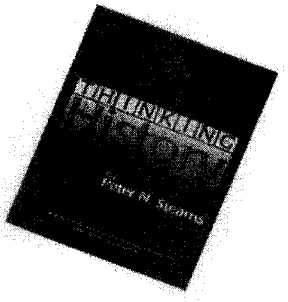
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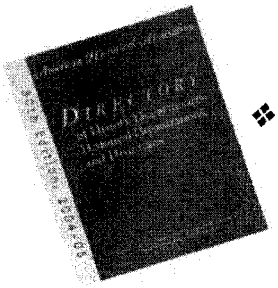
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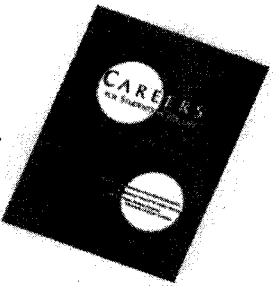
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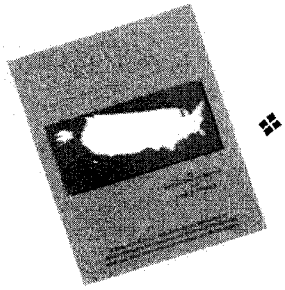
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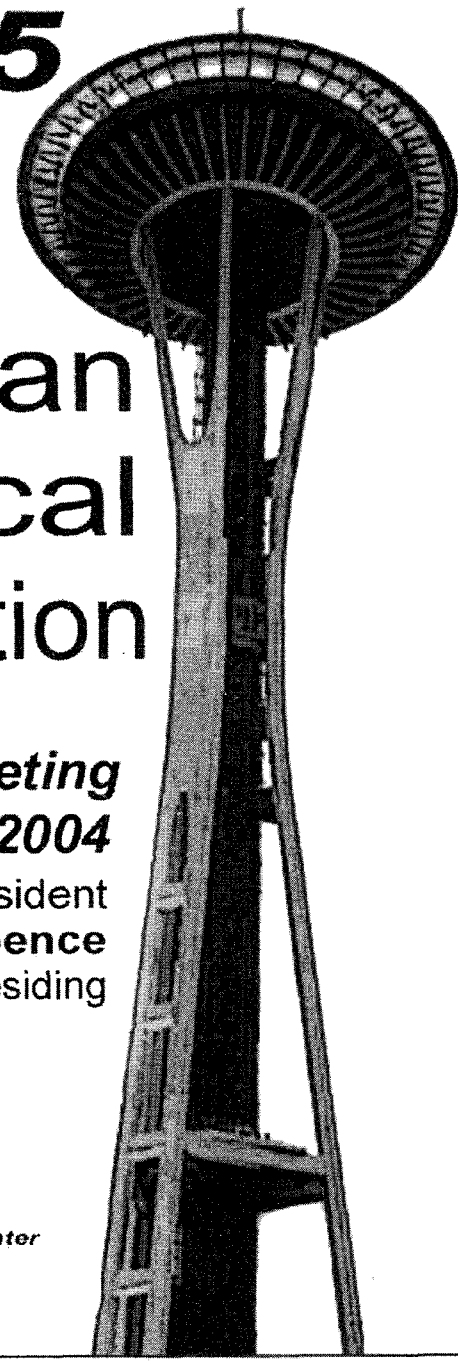
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AHA Prize in Atlantic History: This annual award recognizes an outstanding book that explores aspects of the integration of Atlantic worlds before the 20th century.

George Louis Beer Prize: The Beer Prize is awarded annually for the best work by a U.S. citizen or permanent resident on European international history since 1895.

Albert J. Beveridge Award: The Beveridge Award is conferred annually for the best work on American history from 1492 to the present (history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America).

James Henry Breasted Prize: The Breasted Prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book in any field of history prior to A.D. 1000.

John B. Dunning Prize: The Dunning Prize is awarded biennially in odd years for a book on any topic in U.S. history. Entries must be the author's first or second book.

John E. Fagg Prize: The Fagg Prize is awarded for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America.

John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History: The Fairbank Prize was established in 1968 by friends of John K. Fairbank for an outstanding book in the history of China proper, Vietnam, Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, or Japan substantially after 1800.

Herbert Feis Award: Established in 1984, the Feis Award—funded by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation—is conferred annually for the best book, article(s), or policy paper by a public historian or independent scholar.

Morris D. Forkosch Prize: Awarded for the first time in 1993, this prize is offered for the best book in the fields of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history since 1485.

Leo Gershoy Award: This award, established by a gift from Mrs. Ida Gershoy in memory of her husband, is given annually to the author of the most outstanding work in English on any aspect of the field of 17th- and 18th-century western European history.

Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History: Established in 1984 by the CCWHP/CGWH (now CCWH) and administered by the AHA, the Kelly Prize is offered annually for the best work in women's history or feminist theory.

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George L. Mosse Prize: Established in 1999, the Mosse Prize will be awarded annually for a major work in European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance.

Wesley-Logan Prize: Established in 1992 by the AHA and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, this prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book on some aspect of the history of the dispersion, settlement, and adjustment, or return of peoples originally from Africa.

There are no application forms. Entrants must submit one copy of their work to each committee member. Further information and submission guidelines are available on the AHA web site at

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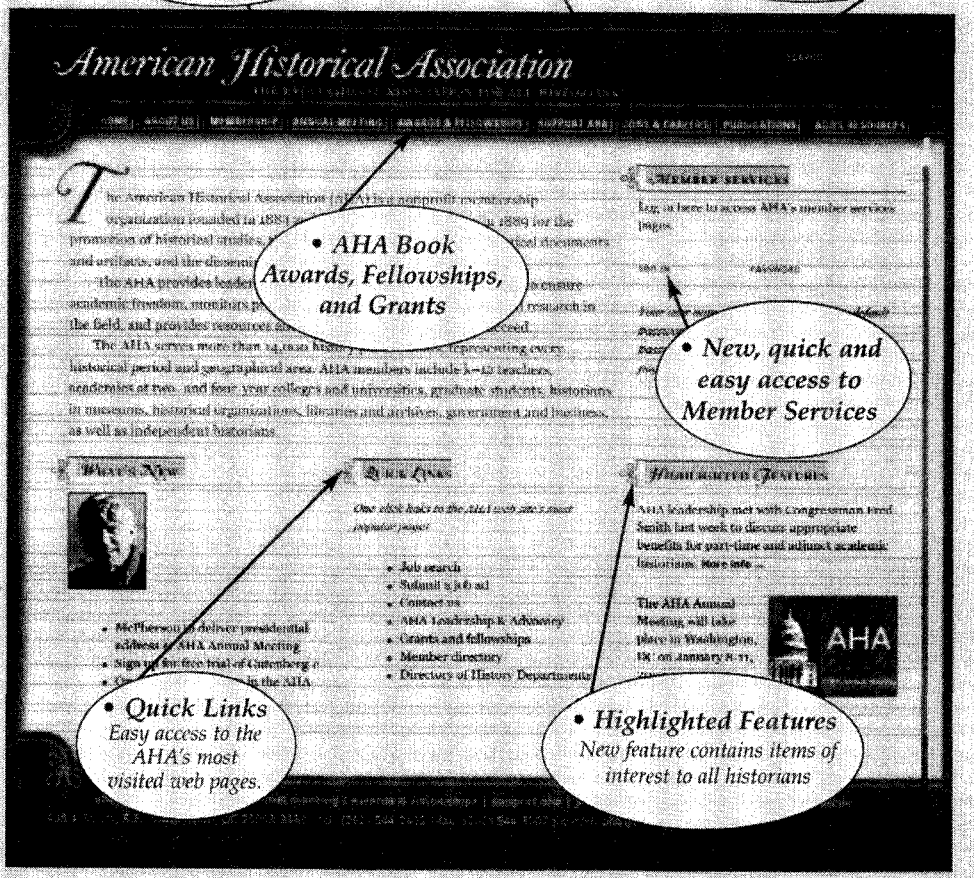
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Eligibility: Applicants must possess a doctorate degree in history or in a closely related field, or be enrolled as a student (having completed all coursework) in a doctoral degree-granting program.

Term And Residency: The fellowship term is for a period of at least six months, but not more than one year. The fellow will be expected to devote the term entirely to the proposed research project. The fellow will have (and be encouraged to take advantage of) the opportunity to use the documentary resources of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and may also spend the fellowship in residence at the NASA headquarters or one of the NASA centers.

Other Requirements: The applicant must complete an application form and offer a specific and detailed research proposal that will be the basis of the Fellow's research during the term. At the term's conclusion, the fellow will be expected to write a report, and to present a paper or a public lecture on the fellowship experience.

Stipend: The stipend is $20,000 for a 6 to 9 month fellowship. This amount is adjustable to the length of the fellowship term. Funds may not be used to support tuition or fees. A fellow may not hold other major fellowships or grants during the fellowship term, except sabbatical and supplemental grants from their own institutions, and small grants from other sources for specific research expenses. Sources of anticipated support must be listed in the application form.

Deadline, Submission Information, and Notification: Applications and letters of recommendation must be postmarked by **March 1, 2005**.

Submit to:Fellowship in Aerospace History, American Historical Association, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889

Notification: The winner will be announced in **May 2005**.

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12th NANCY LYMAN ROELKER MENTORSHIP AWARD

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNOUNCES CALLS FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE TWELFTH NANCY LYMAN ROELKER AWARD

ABOUT THE AWARD This award was established to honor teachers of history who taught, guided, and inspired their students in a way that changed their lives. Mentoring is as important to the discipline of history as fine scholarship and good teaching. The ideal mentor is forthright, supportive, and constructively critical, committed to the student as a person, regardless of age or career goals.

While it is difficult to formulate a precise definition of a multifaceted process, there are some essential elements:

- belief in the value of the study of history and commitment to and love of teaching it to students regardless of age or career goals;
- consistent personal commitment by the mentor to the student as a person;
- honesty and integrity of the mentor; and
- the mentor's contribution to the process of mentoring as a one-to-one partnership in learning that is comfortable to both, that is likely to endure and develop beyond the initial context as each learns from, gives to, and shares with the other, enriching both professional and personal lives.

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N.B.: The notice published in the September Perspectives *wrongly indicated that the 2004 award was for graduate mentors. The error is regretted.*

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1. A completed **cover sheet and check list.**
2. A **minimum of five letters supporting the nomination.** These letters can be from students, former students, parents, colleagues, and others. There is no set proportion or formula on the "right" mix of letters. Individuals organizing nominations should solicit a cross selection as appropriate to address the essential elements noted above. *Preferred maximum length of letters is two pages.*
3. The nominee's **vita** highlighting educational experience and student mentoring (publications and professional activities should be summarized in no more than 2 pages). *Preferred maximum length of c.v. is two to five pages.*

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Cover sheet and checklist, all letters supporting the nomination, and vita must be postmarked *no later than* March 31, 2004.

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At the time of application, applicants must hold the Ph.D. degree or equivalent; must have received this degree within the past seven years, and must not have published or had accepted for publication a book-length historical work. The fellowship will not be awarded to complete a doctoral dissertation. The applicant's project in American history must be one for which the general and special collections of the Library of Congress offer unique research support. Applicants should include a statement substantiating this relationship.

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Selection will be by a committee of the American Historical Association, in consultation with designated officers of the Library of Congress, who will advise the committee on the strength of Library holdings to sustain the research project. The AHA encourages non-tenured faculty, public historians, independent scholars, and two-year faculty to apply. The complete application should include six copies plus the original of each of the following: applicant's **vita** (no more than 3–5 typed pages in length); a **statement** concerning the proposed project and its relationship to the Library of Congress holdings; a tentative **schedule** for residence of the fellowship; one copy of each letter of recommendation; three different letters of recommendation by individuals qualified to judge the project, each addressing the applicant's fitness to undertake it (these letters must accompany the application—do not mail separately).

All application materials and letters of recommendation must be postmarked by **January 15, 2005**. Applicants will be notified by letter in April 2005. No phone calls, please.

Submit application materials to: **J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship, AHA, 400 A Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003-3889**

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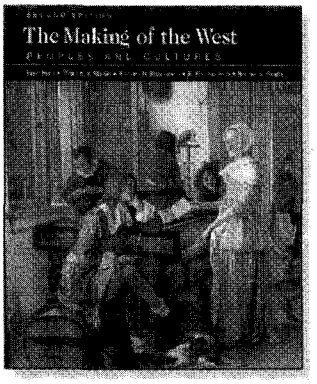
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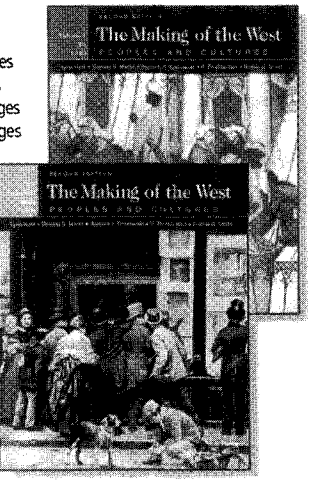
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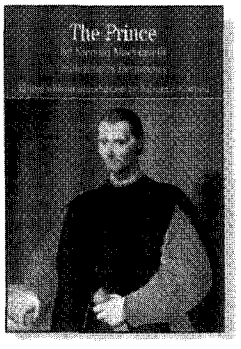
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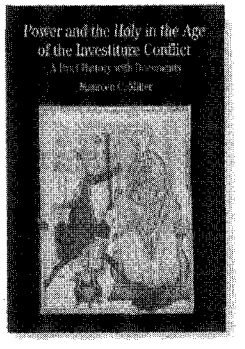
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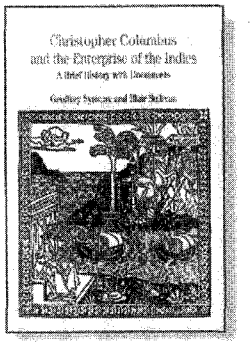
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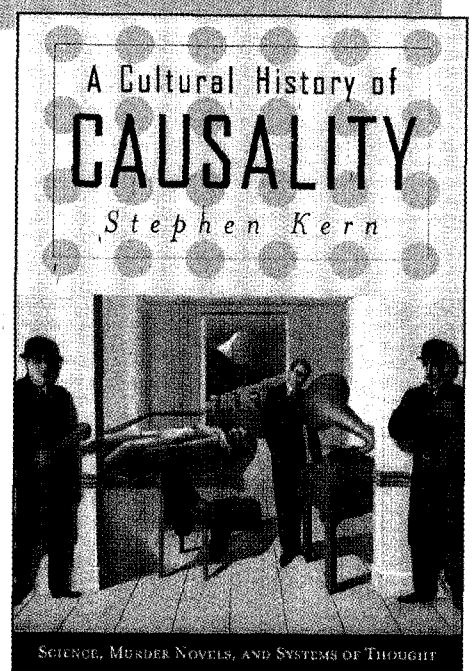
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